



MORYSON
TEN YEERES
TRAVELL

1617







773 **Moryson** (Fynes) AN ITINERARY, containing his Ten Yeares Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland. Divided into Three Parts. The I. Part containeth a JOURNAL THROUGH ALL THE SAID TWELVE DOMINIONS. The II. Part containeth the REBELLION OF HUGH, EARL OF TYRONE, and the appeasing thereof, written also in the forme of a Journal. The III. Part containeth a DISCOURSE upon several heads, through all the said severall Dominions, with woodcuts, folio, contemporary calf. Printed by John Beale, 1617

£7 10s

Fynes Moryson was born in Lincolnshire in 1566, and graduated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. Having secured a fellowship, he obtained from the master and fellows of his college a license to travel, and thus a very observant mind was sent for the long space of ten years to gather in a larger store of facts about the people and countries of

various foreign dominions and set them forth in a manner that proved greatly entertaining not only to his own generation but to the many that have followed it.

"He began his travels," relates Fuller, "May 1, 1591, over a great part of Christendome, and no small share of Turkey, even to Jerusalem, and afterwards printed his observations in a large book, which, for the truth thereof, is in good reputation; for of so great a traveller he had nothing of the traveller in him, as to stretch, in his reports."

482 **MORYSON** (Fynes) His Itinerary, written first in the Latine Tongue, and then translated by him into English. Containing his ten yeeres Travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Folio (the rare leaf before title mounted: a few marginal restorations), FIRST EDITION, woodcut plans, etc., large, clean, and crisp copy, in old russia, Francis Freeling bookplate. 10 guineas

1833

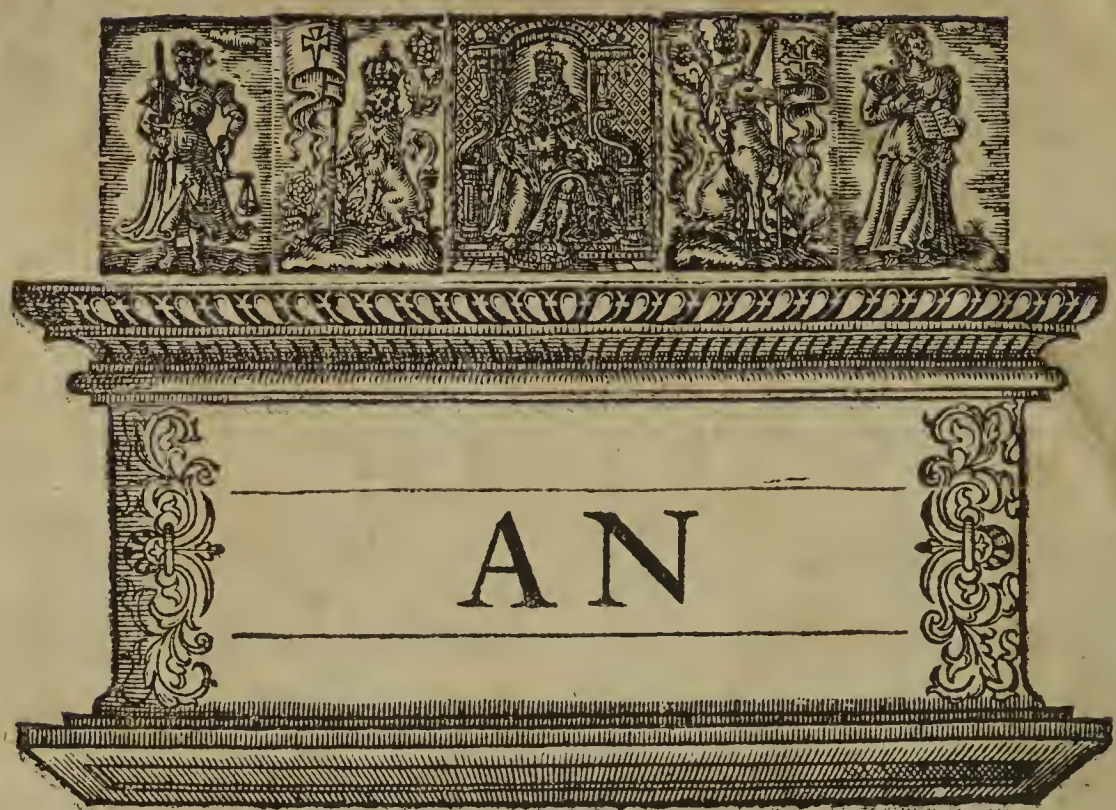
At London, Printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate street. 1617
* * One of the classic books of travel, full of entertaining particulars, even down to the rates of hiring coaches or horses from place to place, diet expenses and other such trifles. On returning from abroad, he became secretary to Sir Charles Blount, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to which country he proceeded in 1600, assisting in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. He embodies a history of Ireland during this period in the above itinerary, and it is of primary historical importance. Drake, in his 'Shakespeare and his Times,' warmly commends the book as a reliable authority on the manners and customs of England and Scotland.

4464
X
S.T.C. 18205

Faint, illegible handwriting in the upper left corner.

284

215



ITINERARY

VVRITTEN

By FYNES MORYSON Gent.

First in the Latine Tongue,

AND THEN TRANSLATED

By him into ENGLISH:





CONTAINING
HIS TEN YEERES
TRAVELL THROUGH
THE TWELVE DOMJNIONS OF
Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland,
Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, Eng-
land, Scotland, and Ireland.

Diuided into III Parts.

THE I. PART.

Containeth a Iournall through all the said twelue Dominions: Shewing particularly the number of miles, the soyle of the Country, the situation of Cities, the descriptions of them, with all Monuments in each place worth the seeing, as also the rates of hiring Coaches or Horses from place to place, with each daies expences for diet, horse-meate, and the like.

THE II. PART.

Containeth the Rebellion of *Hugh*, Earle of *Tyrone*, and the appeasing thereof: written also in forme of a Iournall.

THE III. PART.

Containeth a Discourse vpon severall Heads, through all the said severall Dominions.




AT LONDON
Printed by *John Beale*, dwelling in Aldersgate
street. 1617.



WITH the *Kings Maiesties* full and sole
 Priuiledge to the Author *Fynes Moryson* Gent. his Execu-
 tors, Administrators, Assignes and Deputies for 21 yeeres
 next ensuing, to cause to be imprinted, and to sell assigne and dispose to
 his or their best benefit, this Booke and Bookes as well in the English as
 in the Latin tongue; as well these three Parts finished, as one or two Parts
 more thereof not yet finished, but shortly to be perfected by him: Srait-
 ly forbidding any other during the said yeeres, to imprint or cause to be
 imprinted, to import vtter or sell, or cause to be imported vttered or sold
 the said Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof within any of his Maiesties
 Dominions; vpon paine of his Maiesties high displeasure, and to forfeit
 three pounds lawfull English money for euery such Booke, Bookes, or
 any part thereof printed, imported, vttered or sold contrary to the mea-
 ning of this Priuiledge; besides the forfeiture of the said Book, Books, &c.
 as more at large appeareth by his Maiesties Letters Patents, dated the 29
 of *Aprill*, in the fifteenth yeere of his Maiesties raigne of *England, France*
 and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fiftieth.



 To the Right Honourable,
 WJLLIAM, EARLE OF PEMBROKE;
 Lord Chamberlaine of his Maiesties Houshold;
one of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuie
 Counsell, and Knight of the most noble Order
 of the GARTER, &c.

Right Honourable;



*Since I had the happinesse imputed to
 Salomons Seruants by the Queene of
 Sheba, to stand sometimes before You;
 an eye and eare witnes of your Noble
 conuersation with the worthy Earle of
 Deuonshire, (my deceased Lord and
 Master,) I euer admired your vertues
 and much honoured your Person. And
 because it is a thing no lesse commendable,
 gladly to receiue fa-
 uours from men of eminent worth, then
 with like choice to ten-
 der respect and seruice to them: I being
 now led by powerfull
 custome to seeke a Patron for this my
 Worke; and knowing that
 the weakest frames need strongest
 supporters, haue taken the
 boldnes most humbly to commend it to
 your Honours protection:
 which vouchsafed, it shall triumph
 vnder the safegard of that
 massy shield; and my selfe shall not
 only acknowledge this high
 fauour with humblest thankfulnessse,
 but with ioy imbrace this
 occasion to auow my selfe now by
 publike profession; (as I haue
 long been in priuate affection,)*

Your Honours most humble
 and faithfull seruant,

FYNES MORYSON.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

Handwritten text in the upper middle section of the page.

Handwritten text in the middle section of the page.

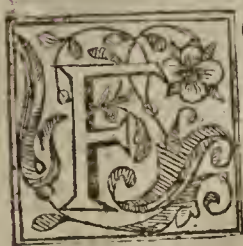
Handwritten text in the lower middle section of the page.

Handwritten text in the lower section of the page.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page.



To the Reader.



Or the First Part of this Worke, it containes only a briefe narration of daily iournies, with the rates of Coaches or Horses hired, the expences for horses and mans meat, the soyle of the Country, the situation of Townes, and the descriptions thereof; together with all things there worthy to be seene: which Treatise in some obscure places is barren and vnpleasant (espetially in the first beginning of the worke,) but in other places I hope you will iudge it more pleasant, and in some delightfull, inducing you fauorably to dispence with the barrennes of the former, inserted onely for the vse of vnexperienced Trauellers passing those waies. Againe, you may perhaps iudge the writing of my daily expences in my iournies to be needles & vnprofitable, in respect of the continuall change of prices and rates in all Kingdoms: but they can neuer be more subiect to change, then the affaires of Martiall and ciuill Policie: In both which, the oldest Histories serue vs at this day to good vse. Thirdly and lastly, touching the First Part of this VVorke, when you read my expences in vnknowne Coynes, you may iustly require the explaining of this obscurity, by expression of the values in the English Coynes. But I pray you to consider, that the adding of these seuerall values in each daies iourney, had been an Herculean labour; for auoiding whereof, I haue first set before the First Part, a briefe Table expressing the value of the small Coynes most commonly spent, and also haue expressly & particularly for each Dominion and most part of the Prouinces, set downe at large, how these values answer the English Coynes, in a Chapter written of purpose to satisfie the most curious in this point, namely the fifth Chapter of the third Booke, being the last of this First Part: in which Chapter also I haue briefly discoursed of the best means to exchange monies into forraigne parts.

Touching the VVorke in generall, I wil truly say, that I wrote it swiftly, and yet slowly. This may seeme a strange Riddle, and not to racke your wit with the interpretation, my selfe will expound it: I wrote it swiftly, in that my pen was ready and nothing curious, as may appeare by the matter and stile: and I wrote it slowly, in respect of the long time past since I viewed these Dominions, and since I tooke this worke in hand. So as the VVorke may not vnfitly bee compared to a nose-gay of flowers, hastily snatched in many gardens, and with much leasure, yet carelessly and negligently bound together. The snatching is excused by the haste, necessary to Trauellers, desiring to see much in short time: And the negligent binding, in true iudgement needs no excuse, affected curiositie in poore subjects, being like rich imbroidery laid vpon a frize ierken; so as in this case, onely the trifling away of much time, may bee imputed to my ignorance

To the Reader.

rance, dulnes or negligence, if my iust excuse be not heard: in the rendering whereof I must craue your patience. During the life of the worthy Earle of Devonshire, my deceased Lord, I had little or no time to bestow in this kind: after his deth, I lost fully three yeers labor (in which I abstracted the Histories of these 12 Dominiōs thorow which I passed, with purpose to ioine them to the Discourses of the seuerall Commonwealths, for illustration and ornament: but when the worke was done, and I found the bulke thereof to swel, then I chose rather to suppress them, then to make my gate bigger then my Citie.) And for the rest of the yeers, I wrote at leasure, giuing (like a free and vn hired workeman) much time to pleasure, to necessary affaires, and to diuers and long distractions. If you consider this, and withall remember, that the worke is first written in Latine, then translated into English, and that in diuers Copies, no man being able by the first Copie to put so large a worke in good fashion. And if you will please also to take knowledge from me, that to saue expences, I wrote the greatest part with my owne hand, and almost all the rest with the slowe pen of my seruant: then I hope the losse of time shall not be imputed vnto me. Againe, for the worke in generall, I professe not to write it to any curious wits, who can indure nothing but extractions and quintessences: nor yet to great States-men, of whose reading I confesse it is vnworthy: but only vnto the vnexperienced, who shall desire to view forraign kingdomes. And these may, the rather by this direction, make better vse of what they see, heare, and reade, then my selfe did. If actiue men neuer reade it, I shall wish them no lesse good successe in their affaires. If contemplatiue men shall reade it at leasure, making choice of the subiects fitting their humours, by the Table of the Contents, and casting away the booke when they are weary of reading, perhaps they may finde some delight: only in case of distaste, I pray them remember, to and for whom it was written. To conclude, if you be as well affected to me, as I am to you, howtoeuer I deserue no thanks, no doubt I shall be free from blames. And so I wish you all happinesse, remaining

Tours in due respect,

Fynes Moryson.

THE



A Table of the Contents of *the severall Chapters contained in this Booke.*

THE FIRST PART.

The first Booke.

- Chap. 1. **O**F my iourney from London (in England) to Stode, Hamburg, Lubecke, Lüneburg: my returne to Hamburg, and iourney to Magdeburg, Leipzig, Wittenberg; and the neighbouring Cities (in Germany.)
- Chap. 2. Of my iourney from Leipzig, to Prague, (in Bohemia) to Nurnberg, Augspurg, Ulme, Lindoy, Costnetz, (in Germany) Schaphusen, Zurech, Baden, and Bazell, (in Sweitzerland.)
- Chap. 3. Of my iourney from Bazell to Strasburg, to Heidelberg, to Franckfort, to Cassiles, to Brunswicke, to Luncburg, to Hamburg, to Stode, to Breme, to Oldenburge and to Embden, (the last Citie upon the confines of the Empire of Germany.)
- Chap. 4. Of my iourney from Embden in Germany, to Leiden in Holland, and through the united Prouinces of the Low Countries.
- Chap. 5. Of my iourney out of the united Prouinces, by the sea coast to Stode, and Lubeck, in Germany, of my sailing to Denmarke, and thence to Dantzke in Prussen, and my iourney thorough Poland, to Padua in Italy.

The second Booke.

- Chap. 1. Of my iourney from Padua to Venice, to Ferrara, to Bologna, to Rauenna, and by the shoare of the Adriatique Sea to Ancona; then crossing the breadth of Italy, to Rome, seated not far from the Tirrhene Sea.
- Chap. 2. Of my iourney to Naples, and my returne to Rome, and of the description of both Cities: of my iourney cursory to Sienna, Fiorenza, Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa, and the description of the three last Cities.
- Chap. 3. Of my iourney to Ligorno, my returne to Florence, (or Fiorenza) and to Sienna, and the description of these Cities. Of my iourney by land to Lirigi, (in which againe I passed by Lucca and Pisa) and by sea to Genoa, with the description of that Citie, and my iourney by land to Pauia, to Milano, to Cremona, and to Mantoua, with the description of the Cities, and of my returne to Padua.
- Chap. 4. Of the Sepulcher of Petrarch at Arqua; of my iourney to Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo: (in Italy) then passing the Alpes to Chur, Zurech, Solothurn, Geneva, and (in my returne thence) to Berna, (in Sweitzerland,) thence to Strasburg, (in Germany,) and to Chalon, to Paris, to Roan, and to Diepe, (in France,) and finally of my passage by sea and land to London (in England.)

The

The Table.

The third Booke.

- Chap. 1. *Of my iourney to Stode, through the united Provinces of Netherland, and upon the sea-coast of Germany; then to Brunswicke, and (the right way) to Nurnberg, Augsburg, and Insprucke (in Germany), and from thence to Venice in Italy, and so by the Mediteranean Seas and the Ilands thereof, to Ierusalem. In which iourney, I slightly passe over the places described in my former passage those waies.*
- Chap. 2. *The description of the Citie of Ierusalem, and the Territory thereof.*
- Chap. 3. *Of my iourney from Ierusalem by land to Ioppa, by sea to Tripoly in Syria, by land to Haleppo and Scanderona, and of our passage by sea to the Iland Candia.*
- Chap. 4. *Of my iourney from Candia (partly by land, and partly by sea) by the sea shoares and by the Ilands of the Aegean sea, Pontus and Propontis, to the Citie of Constantinople, and of my iourney thence by sea to Venice, and by land to Augsburg, Nurnberg, and Stode (in Germany,) and of my passage over sea into England.*
- Chap. 5. *Of my iourney through many severall Shires of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*
- Chap. 6. *Of the manner to exchange monies into forraigne parts, and the diuers monies of diuers parts, together with the diuers measures of miles in sundry Nations, most necessary for the understanding of the former Iournall.*
-

THE SECOND PART.

The first Booke.

- Chap. 1. *Of the Induction or Preface to my Irish Iournall; and a compendious narration how Charles Blount Lord Mountiory, (my Lord and Master of happy memory) was chosen Lord Deputy of Ireland, and of this worthy Lords quality; as also of the Counsels in generall by which he broke the Rebels hearts, and gaue peace to that troubled State, together with his particular actions in the end of the yeere 1599.*
- Chap. 2. *Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels in the yeere 1600.*

The second Booke.

- Chap. 1. *Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels, and of the Spaniards invading Ireland in the yeere 1601.*
- Chap. 2. *Of the besieging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with the deliury of the Towne to the Lord Deputy, and their returne into Spaine in the same yeere 1601.*

The third Booke.

- Chap. 1. *Of the prosecution of the warre by the Lord Mountiory Lord Deputy, against the Rebels in the yeere 1602.*
- Chap. 2. *Of Tyrones taking to mercy, whereby the warre was fully ended; and of a new mutiny of the Cities of Mounster, for establishing the publike exercise of the Roman Religion, with the appeasing thereof; together with the Lord Deputies recalling into England, and the rewards there giuen him for his seruice in the beginning of the yeere 1603: with mention of his untimely death within few yeeres after; and the state of Ireland some ten yeeres after.*

The

The Table.



THE THIRD PART.

The first Booke,

- Chap. 1. **T**hat the visiting of forraigne Countries is good and profitable, but to whom, and how farre.
- Chap. 2. Of Precepts for Travellers, which may instruct the vnexperienced.
- Chap. 3. Of the Opinions of old Writers, and some Prouerbs which I obserued in forraigne parts by reading or discourse, to be used either of Travellers themselves, or of diuers Nations and Prouinces.

The second Booke.

- Chap. 1. Of the fit meanes to trauell, and to hier Coaches or Horses in generall.
- Chap. 2. Of Sepulchers, Monuments and Buildings in generall, (for I haue formerly spoken particularly of them.)
- Chap. 3. Of Germany, Bohmerland and Sweitzerland, touching the Geographicall description, the situation, the fertility, the trafficke, and the diet.
- Chap. 4. Of the vniited Prouinces in Netherland, and of Denmark and Poland, touching the said subiects of the precedent third Chapter.
- Chap. 5. Of Italy touching all the subiects of the third Chapter going before.

The third Booke.

- Chap. 1. Of the geographicall description of Turkey, the situation, fertility, trafficke and diet.
- Chap. 2. Of France, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.
- Chap. 3. Of England, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.
- Chap. 4. Of Scotland, touching the subiects contained in the first Chapter.
- Chap. 5. Of Ireland, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

The fourth Booke.

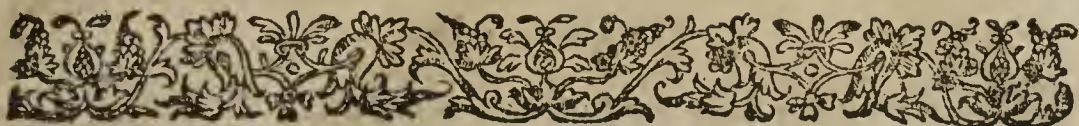
- Chap. 1. Of the Germans, Bohemians, Sweitzers, Netherlanders, Danes, Polonians and Italians apparell.
- Chap. 2. Of the Turkes, French, English, Scottish, and Irish apparell.
- Chap. 3. Of the Germans and Bohemians Commonwealth, vnder which title I containe an historicall introduction, the Princes Pedegrees and Courts, the present state of things, the Tributes and Reuenues, the military state for Horse, Foot, and Navy, the Courts of Iustice, rare Lawes, more specially the Lawes of inheritance and of womens Dowries, the Capitall Iudgements, and the diuersitie of degrees in Families, and in the Commonwealth.
- Chap. 4. Of the particular Commonwealths, as well of the Princes of Germany, as of the free Cities, such of both as haue absolute power of life and death.
- Chap. 5. Of the Commonwealth of Sweitzerland, according to the diuers subiects of the third Chapter.
- Chap. 6. Of the Netherlanders Commonwealth, according to the foresaid subiects of the third Chapter.

THE

The Table.

¶ The rest of this VVorke, not as yet fully finished,
treateth of the following Heads.

- Chap. 1. **O**F the Commonwealth of Denmarke, under which title I containe an historicall introduction, the Kings Pedegree and Court, the present state of the things, the Tributes and Reuenues, the military power for Horse, Foot, and Navy, the Courts of Iustice, rare Lawes, more specially those of Inheritance and Dowries and Contracts for marriage, the Capitoll or Criminall Iudgements, and the diuersitie of degrees in Families and the Commonwealth.
- Chap. 2. Of the Commonwealth of Poland, under which title, &c.
- Chap. 3. Of the Commonwealth of Italy, touching the historicall introduction, the Princes pedegrees, the Papall dominion, and the late power of the King of Spaine, with some other subiects of the first Chapter.
- Chap. 4. Of the particular Commonwealth of Venice, touching most of the foresaid subiects.
- Chap. 5. Of the Commonwealth of the Duke of Florence, the Cities of Lucca and Genoa, with the Dukes of Urbino and of Mantoua.
- Chap. 6. Of the Commonwealth of Italy in generall: touching the rest of the heads which belong to the generall State of Italy, rather then of any part thereof.
- Chap. 7. Of the Commonwealth of the Turkish Empire, under which title &c. as followeth in the first Chapter.
- Chap. 8. Of the Commonwealth of France, under which title, &c.
- Chap. 9. Of the Commonwealth of England, under which title, &c.
- Chap. 10. Of the Commonwealth of Scotland, under which title, &c.
- Chap. 11. Of the Commonwealth of Ireland, under which title, &c.
- Chap. 12. Of Germany touching Religion.
- Chap. 13. Of Bhemerland, Sweitzerland, the united Prouinces of Netherland, of Denmark and Poland, touching Religion.
- Chap. 14. Of Italy touching Religion.
- Chap. 15. Of the Turkish Empire touching Religion.
- Chap. 16. Of France, England, Scotland and Ireland touching Religion.
- Chap. 17. Of the Germans nature, wit, manners, bodily gifts, Vniuersities, Sciences, Arts, language, pompous Ceremonies, specially at Marriages, Christnings and Funerals: of their customes, sports, exercises, and particularly hunting.
- Chap. 18. Of the Bohemians, Sweitzers and Netherlanders of the united Prouinces, their natures, wits, manners, &c.
- Chap. 19. Of the Danes and Polonians nature, &c.
- Chap. 20. Of the Italians nature, wit, &c.
- Chap. 21. Of the Turkes nature, &c.
- Chap. 22. Of the Frenchmens nature, &c.
- Chap. 23. Of the Englishmens nature, &c.
- Chap. 24. Of the Scotchmens and Irishmens natures, wits, manners, &c.
- Chap. 25. A generall, but brieve discourse of the Iewes, the Grecians, and the Moscouites.



A briefe Table to vnderstand in the First Part the expences in small Coynes most commonly spent.

For England.

A Gold Angell of the standard of 23 Caratts 3 graines and an halfe, is three penny waight and 8 graines, and is giuen for ten siluer shillings, 12 pence making a shilling, the siluer being of the standard of 11 ounces two penny weight, and the shilling foure penny (or ninety six graines) weight.

For Scotland and Ireland.

The English Coynes are currant and spent.

For Germany.

The Reichs Doller of Germany is worth foure shillings foure pence, and the siluer Gulden is accounted three shillings foure pence English. Twenty Misen siluer Groschen, 32 Lubecke shillings, 45 Embden stiuers, foure Copstucks and a halfe, 55 groates, 36 Maria grosh, 18 spitze-grosh, 18 Batz, make a Reichs Doller. Two yestlings make a Lubecke shilling: foure Drier a siluer grosh: two dreyhellers a Drier: two schwerd-grosh a schneberger: foure creitzers a batz: foure pfennning a creitzer.

For Bohemia.

Three Pochanels make a Creitzer: 9 creitzers and one Pochanell make foure weissgrosh of Morauia: 30 grosh a Doller: two hallers a pfennning: and 5 pfennning a grosh.

For Sweitzerland.

Six Rappen make a Plappart or 3 Creitzers: and 20 Plapparts or 60 Creitzers make a siluer gulden: two finferlins make a finfer, and 5 a batz: foure angster make a creitzer, twelue a Bemish: 60 creitzers a siluer gulden.

For the Low Countries.

Foure Orkees or Doights make a stuer: two blanks a stuer and a halfe: six stiuers a shilling: 20 stiuers a gulden or three shillings foure pence, being two shillings English: 20 shillings a pound: and one hundred pound Flemish, makes sixty pound English.

For

The Table for small Coynes.

For Denmarke.

Two Danish shillings make one Lubecke; and 66 Danish shillings make one Reichs Doller.

For Poland.

Thirty Polish Grosch make a siluer Gulden; 40 a Reichs Doller; three Pechannels a Creitzer; seven a Grosch.

For Italy.

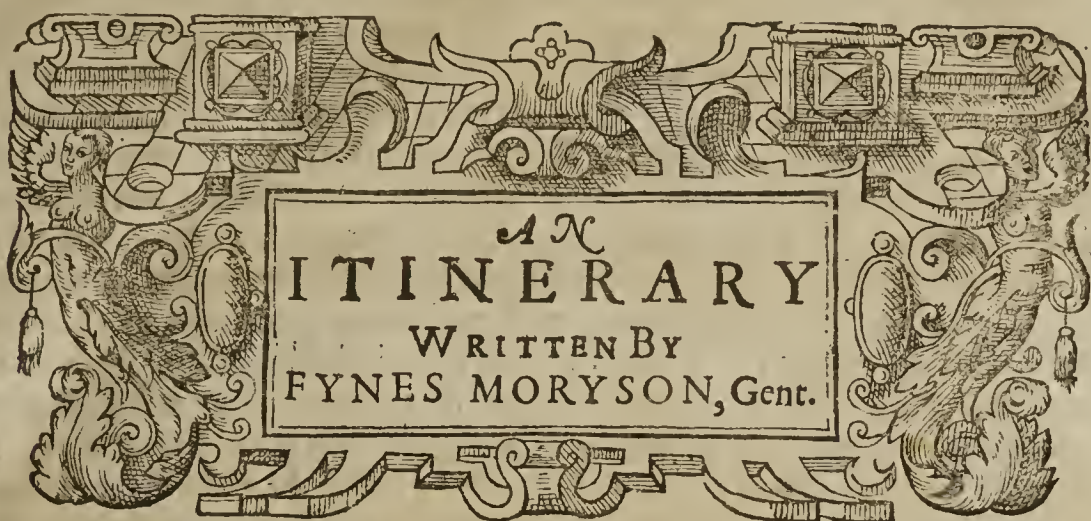
The siluer Crowne almost five shillings English, is giuen for 7 Lires of Venice; two Lires make a Iustino: 20 Soldi a Lire: one Lire and 4 Soldi a Mutsenigo: 4 Bagatines a Quatraine: two Betsi or 3 Quatrines or a Susine and a halfe, make a Soldo: two Quatrines make a Susine: three Susines a Boligneo, and 12 Bolignei a Lire. Ten Giulij, or Poali, or Carlini make a siluer Crowne; ten Baocci a Giulio or Paolo: foure Quatrines a Bascco: eight Baelli or Creitzers make a Giulio: twenty Soldi or Bolignei of Genoa make a Lire of Genoa, whereof 15 make 20 shillings English; and 3 of these Lires with 15 Soldi, make a siluer Crowne: seven Soldi and an halfe make a Reale: foure Soldi a Cauallotto: six Quatrines a Soldo; and two Deniers of Genoa a Quatraine: 114 Soldi of Milan make a siluer Crowne: 20 Soldi a Lire: and a Lire and a halfe makes one Lire of Genoa.

For Turkey.

The siluer Crowne or Piastro worth five shillings English, is giuen heere for 70, there for 80 or more Aspers: A Meidine of Tripoli, is an Asper and an halfe: a Meidine of Caiero three Aspers; and an Asper some three farthings English.

For France.

Twelue Deniers make a Soultz: fourteene Soultz and a halfe a Testloone: fifteene Soultz a Quart d'escue: twenty Soultz a Franke: sixtie Soultz a French Crowne, or six shillings English.



CONTAINING
His ten yeeres trauels thorow
TWELVE DOMINIONS.

The First Part.

The First Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of my iourney from London (in England) to Stode, Hamburg, Lubeck, Luneburg, my returne to Hamburg, and iourney to Magdeburg, Leipzig, Witteberg, and the neighbouring Cities (in Germany.)



Being a Student of *Peter-house* in Cambridge, and entred the eighteenth yeere of my age, I tooke the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and shortly after was chosen Fellow of the said Colledge by *Queene Elizabeths* Mandat. Three yeeres expired from my first degree taken in the Vniuersitie, I commenced Master of Arts, and within a yeere after, by the fauour of the Master and Fellowes, I was chosen to a vacant place of Priuiledge to studie the Ciuill Lawes. Then, as well for the ornament of this profession, as out of my innated de-

sire to gaine experience by traueilling into forraigne parts, (to which course my Parents had giuen consent some few yeeres past, vpon my first declaring of my inclination to the said profession,) vpon the priuiledge of our Statutes permitting two of the Society to trauell, I obtained licence to that purpose of the said Master and Fellowes, in the yeere 1589, being then full 23 yeeres old. And presently leauing the Vniuersity, I went to *London*, there to follow some studies fit to inable me in this course; and there better taught, and these studies, the visiting of my friends

friends in the Country, my going to *Oxford* to take the same degree I had in *Cambridge*, and some oppositions vpon new deliberation made by my father and friends against my iourney, detained me longer in those parts then I purposed.

1591.

At last, in the beginning of the yeere 1591, and vpon the first day of May, I tooke ship at *Liegh*, distant from *London* twenty eight miles by land, and thirtie six by water, where *Thames* in a large bed is carried into the Sea. Thence we set saile into the maine, and the eight day of our sailing, the Merchants Fleet of sixteene ships being dispersed by a fogge and tempest, two *Dunkerke* Pirats followed our ship, till (by Gods mercy) the fog being cleared after some few houres, and two of our ships vpon our discharging of a great Peece drawing towards vs, the Pirats despairing left to pursue vs. That they were Pirats was apparant, since as wee for triall turned our sayles, they likewise fitted themselves to our course, so as wee though flying, yet prepared our selues to fight, till God thus deliuered vs. The ninth day towards night, wee fell vpon an Iland called the Holy-land (vulgarly *Heiligland*), and not daring to enter the Riuer *Elue* before the next morning, wee stricke all sayles, and suffered our ship to bee tossed too and fro by the waues all that night, (which Marriners call lying at Hull.) This Iland hath onely one Port capeable of some sixe ships, in the forme of the Moone decreasing, and lying open to the East. On the North side is a great Rocke, and the rest of the shore is all of high Clifles. It is subiect to the Duke of *Holste*, and by that title to the King of *Denmarké*; but the inhabitants are so poore, as they yeeld no other tribute then stones for the Dukes building. It is in circuit some three miles, and hath about one hundred Families.

Stode.

The tenth day we entred the Riuer *Elue*, and landed at *Stode*. This is an ancient Citie, and one of the Empires free Cities, and one of those Sea-Townes, which from the priuiledge of traffick with their Neighbours, are called Free Cities (vulgarly *Hanfsteten*), but of late was become so poore, as they had sold the priuiledge of coyning money, and some like Rights to *Hamburg*; till the English Merchants removing their seate of trafficke from *Hamburg* to *Stode*, it began lately to grow rich, not without the enuy and impouerishment of the Hamburgers. In the Dutch Inns I paid for each meale foure Lubeck shillings and an halfe, and in the English Innes eight pence English. In the great winding and troubled Streame of *Elue*, which ebs and flowes as high as *Luneburg*, certaine Booyes are laid to shew the channels and sholes of the Riuer, and the maintaining of each of them cost 40 pounds yeerely, and of all a thousand pounds at the least, at the common charge of *Stode* and *Hamburg*: but after frosts begin, they are taken vp, and reserued to the next Spring. Of old when *Stode* flourished, this charge belonged onely to it, taking some contributions of the other Cities for the same. This free Citie had then chosen the Bishop of *Breme* for their Protector, and had but small scattered reuenues, to the value of ninety pounds sterling by the yeere; but the soile is so fertile, as they milke their Cowes thrice each day. Of late the *Hamburgers* had in vaine attempted by Naual forces to forbid the arriual of the English at *Stode*, whom as they had grieved hauing their seate with them, as well with exactions, as with forbidding them free exercise of Religion, so now sometimes by faire treatie, sometimes by force, they laboured to draw backe vnto them. Those of *Stode* haue by priuiledge the preemption and choice of Rhenish Wines passing by them. This Citie might be made strong, if the workes they haue begun were perfected. The fields of the North and East sides may bee drowned, and because the high Hilles towards the West and South (though somewhat distant) seemed to threaten danger, they had on those sides raised an high and broad wall of earth, fastned on the out-side with Willows, in which place an Armory for all munitions was built; but the gates of the Citie, for ridiculous ostentation of strength, were furnished with Artillery of stone painted ouer. The territory without the City belongs on the West side to the Bishop of *Breme*, and on the East side to the Earle of *Scheneburg* and the Duke of *Holst*. From *Stode* to *Hamburg* are five miles. In a Waggon hired for five Lubecke shillings

shillings each person, wee passed two miles, then crossing the *Elue* (not without danger in respect of the shallow places and present storme) wee hired another Waggon for foure Lubeck shillings each person, and through thicke woods passed the other three miles to *Hamburg*. The passage by water to *Hamburg* had beene much easier; especially for a stranger, and a boat daily passeth from *Stode* thither in somethree hourespace, if the winde bee not contrary, wherein each man paies three Lubecke shillings for his passage: but all Passengers without difference of condition must help to rowe; or hire one in his stead, except the winde bee good so as they need not vse their Oares; besides that the annoyancie of base companions will easily offend one that is any thing nice.

Hamburg is a Free Citie of the Empire, and one of them which (as I said) are called *Hans-steten*, and for the building and populousnesse is much to be praised. The Senate house is very beautifull, and is adorned with carued statuaes of the nine VVorthies. The Exchange where the Merchants meet is a very pleasant place. The Hauen is shut vp with an iron chaine. The Citie is compassed with a deepe ditch, and vpon the East and North sides with a double ditch and wall. Water is brought to the Citie from an Hil distant some English mile, by pipes of wood, because those of lead would be broken by the yce, and these pipes are to bee seene vnder the bridge, whence the water is conuaied by them vnto each Citizens house. The Territory of the Citie extendeth a mile or two, and on one side three miles out of the walles. It hath nine Churches and six gates called by the Cities to which they lead. It is seated in a large plaine and a sandy soyle, but hath very fatte pasture ground without. On the South side and some part of the West, it is washed with the River *Elue*, which also putteth a branch into the Towne; but on the North and somewhat on the East side, the River *Alster* runneth by towards *Stode*, and falleth into the *Elue*. The streets are narrow excepting one which is called Broad-street (vulgarly *Breitgasse*.) The building is all of bricke (as in all the other Sea-bordering Cities, lying from these parts towards *Flanders*) and all the beautie of the houses is in the first entrance, hauing broad and faire gates into a large Hal, the lower part whereof on both sides is vsed for a Ware-house, and in the vpper part lying to the view of the doore, the chiefe household-stuffe is placed, and especially their vessell of English Pewter, which being kept bright makes a glittering shew to them that passe by; so as the houses promise more beauty outwardly then they haue inwardly. Here I paid each meale foure Lubeck shillings, and one each night for my bed. The Citizens are vnmeasurably ill affected to the English, to whom (or to any stranger) it is vn safe to walke out of the gates after noone, for when the common people are once warmed with drinke, they are apt to doe them iniury. My selfe one day passing by some that were vnloading and telling of Billets, heard them say these words: *Wirft den zehenden auff des Engländers kopf*, that is, cast the tenth at the Englishmans head. But I and my companions knowing well their malice to the English for the remouing their trafficke to *Stode*, were content silently to passe by as if we vnderstood them not. Hence I went out of the way to see *Lubeck*, an Imperiall Citie, and one of the abouenamed Hans-townes, being tenne miles distant from *Hamburg*. Each of vs for our Coach paid twentie Lubeck shillings, and going forth early, wee passed through a marish and sandy plaine, and many woods of Oakes (which in these parts are frequent, as woods of Firre be in the vpper part of *Germany*) and hauing gone six miles we came to a Village called *Altflow*, for the situation in a great marish or boggy ground, where each man paid for his dinner five Lubeck shillings and a halfe, our Dutch companions contributing halfe that money for drinke after dinner. In the afternoone we passed the other foure miles to *Lubeck*, in the space of foure houres, and vntill we came within halfe a mile of the town, wee passed through somethicke woods of Oake with some faire pastures betweene them, (for the Germans vse to preferue their woods to the vttermost, either for beautie, or because they are so huge & frequent as they cannot be consumed.) When we came out of the woods wee saw two faire rising Hills, and the third vpon which *Lubeck* was seated.

Lubeck.

On the top of this third Hill stood the faire Church of Saint *Mary*, whence there was a descent to all the gates of the Citie, whose situation offered to our eyes a faire prospect, and promised great magnificence in the building. The Citie is compassed with a double wall, one of bricke and narrow, the other of earth and broad, fastned with thicke rowes of willowes. But on the North side and on the South-east side there were no walles, those parts being compassed with deepe ditches full of water. On the South-east side the water seemeth narrow, but is so deepe, as ships of a thousand tunne are brought vp to the Citie to liethere all winter, being first vnloaded at *Tremuren* the Port of the City lying vpon the *Baltick* Sea. To this Port one mile distant from *Lubeck* we came in three houres, each man paying for his Coach fīue *Lubeck* shillings, and foure for our dinner, and returned backe the same night to *Lubeck*. The building of this City is very beautifull, all of bricke, and it hath most sweete walkes without the walles. The Citizens are curious to auoid ill smels, to which end the Butchers haue a place for killing their beasts without the walles vpon a running streame. Water is brought to euery Citizens house by pipes, and all the Brewers dwelling in one street haue each of them his iron Cock, which being turned, the water fals into their vessels. Though the building of this towne be of the same matter as that of the neighbouring townes, yet it is much preferred before them, for the beautie and vniformitie of the houses; for the pleasant gardens, faire streets, sweete walkes without the walles, and for the Citizens themselues, who are much commended for ciuilty of manners, and the strict execution of Iustice. The poore dwell in the remote streets out of the common passages: There is a street called the *Furff Haußgasse*, that is, the street of fīue houses, because in the yeere 1278. it was all burnt excepting fīue houses; since which time they haue a law, that no man shall build of timber and clay, except he diuide his house from his neighbours with a bricke wall three foot broad; and that no man shall couer his house with any thing but tiles, brasse, or leade. The forme of this Citie is like a lozing, thicke in the midst and growing narrower towards the two ends, the length whereof is from the gate called *Burke* Port towards the South, to *Millen* Port towards the North. Wee entred the Towne by *Holtz* Port on the West side, to which gate *Hickster* Port is opposite on the East side. It is as long againe as broad, and two streets, *Breitgasse*, that is, Broad-street, and *Königsgasse*, that is, Kings-street, runne the whole length of the Towne, and sixe other streets make the breadth; and if you stand in the midst of any of these streets, you may there see both the ends thereof. Here I paid each meale foure *Lubeck* shillings, hauing my bed free; for a quart of *Rhenish* wine fīue *Lubeck* shillings, and as much for Sack, neither doe I remember that euer I had a more pleasant abiding in *Germany*, either for the sweetnes of the place, the curtesie of the people, or my diet. The Citizens are very courteous to all strangers, whom the Lawes extraordinarily fauour aboue the natiues, so they onely abide there for a time and be not inhabitants, neither are they lesse friendly to the English, though they complaine of iniuries (so they call them) offered them by vs at Sea. This City hath many things worth the seeing. There be tenne faire Churches, whereof one was vsed for an Armory of all munitions for warre. Saint *Maries* Cathedrall Church (vulgarly *Vnserfraw kirke*) is fairer then the rest, where there is a faire and artificiall Clocke, in the top whereof is a picture, whereof both the eares of the head are seene, which Painters esteeme a master worke. In the Porch thereof are three Marble pillars, each of them thirtie foot long of one stone, onely one of them is peece for one foot. But the Image of the Virgin *Mary* in this Church, and of Christ crucified in *Burk Kirke* are thought workes of singular art; for which they say a Spanish Merchant offered a masse of money. I will confesse truely, that my selfe beholding the Virgins statua all of stone, did thinke it had beene couered with a gowne of white buffin, and that being altogether vnskilfull in the grauing Art, yet I much admired the workmanship. Without *Millen* Port there is a Conduit of water, which serues all the Towne, the more notable because it was the first of that kinde, which since hath beene dispersed to *London* and other places. On al sides out of the towne there be sweet walks, especially towards *Hierusalem* (so they

they call the Passion of Christ grauen in diuers pillars) where also is a pleasant groue, vnder the shade whereof Rope-makers and like Artificers vse to worke. The Canons of the Cathedrall Church haue great priuiledges, and as it were an absolute power ouer themselves, and of old they had a gate of the City free to themselves to goe in or out at pleasure; till the Citizens finding how dangerous it was to the maintaining of their freedome from any subiection, vpon a good opportunitie when the Emperour came thither, did of set purpose lead him into the City by that gate, where falling on their knees they besought him that it might be bricked vp, and neuer more opened, he being the last man that euer should enter thereat.

From *Lubeck* we tooke our iourney to *Luneburg*, being tenne miles distant, and the first night we lodged in a Village called *Millen*, where a famous Iester *Oulenspiegell* (whom we call Owly-glasse) hath a Monument erected: hee died in the yeere 1350. and the stone couering him is compassed with a grate, least it should bee broken and carried away peece-meale by Passengers, which they say hath once already been done by the *Germanes*. The Towns-men yeerely keepe a feast for his memory, and yet shew the apparell he was wont to weare. This Country is barren and sandy ground; full of thicke Woods of Oakes: by the way in *Kasborough* Castle, they said that a Duke of inferior *Saxony* lay imprisoned by the Emperours command, his brother gouerning the Dukedome, charged with great debts by his prodigality; but his Villages hereabouts were possessed by the *Hamburgers* and *Lubeckers* by right of mortgage. We passed the *Elue* twice, the Coach-man paying for himselfe his Coach, and each one of vs a *Lubeck* shilling, and beyond the *Elue* the ground was somewhat more fertile. At *Millen* I paid for my supper foure *Lubeck* shillings and a halfe.

The next day we came to *Luneburg*, which by the Citizens for defence of their libertie was strongly fortified, for it is one of the free Imperiall Cities; but the Duke of *Luneburg* challengeth a superiority ouer it. The walles built of earth are high and broad and the ditches very deepe. The building is very faire, especially that of the Senate house, and almost all the houses are of bricke. They haue two large market places, and the streets are broad, but very filthy and full of ill smells. The City it selfe being almost of a round forme is seated in a Valley, but hath Mountaines neere it on the West side, and further off on the East; An high Mountaine called *Kalkberg* hangeth ouer it on the North side; in the top whereof is a strong Castle, which the Citizens had got into their hands some threescore yeres before my being there. Not far from the City is a Monestary called *Luna*, whereof some say the Towne was named, others say it had the name of the Riuer running by it now called *Eluenau*, of eleuen Riuers running into it; which Histories testifie to haue beene called *Luna* of old. But others proue both the Riuer and the Towne to haue had their names of the Idol *Isis*, bearing two hornes of the Moone, which was kept in the Castle vpon *Kalkberg*, and worshipped by the people. Among the things best deseruing to be seen is the Fountaine of Salt, and the house wherein salt is boyled, ouer the gate whereof these verses are written:

Ecce salinarum dulcissima dona coquuntur.

Gratuita summi de bonitate Dei:

Mons, Pons, Fons, tua dona Deus, da pectore crescat,

In nostro pietas, nec minuatur Amor.

Behold of finest salt this Fount doth store afford;

By the Almightyes grace and free gift from aboue:

The Mountaine, Bridge and Fountaine are thy gifts O Lord;

For which let vs increase in pietie and loue.

To all the poore round about, and to all the Citizens for their priuate vse salt water is freely giuen: and they say this Fountaine once lost his vertue when they denied to giue water to the poore. Euery one giues the Porter a small reward when he comes in, not when he goes out, as otherwhere is vsed; for this is proper to the *Germanes* that they will be paid ere they begin to worke, as if they had done. The profit

fit of this salt Fountaine is diuided into diuers parts; some to the City, some to the Duke of *Luneberg*, (who howsoever he be so called, yet hath no power ouer the City but onely ouer the Countrey;) some belongs to the Monastery, and diuers Earles haue their parts, (whereof some boyle not the salt in their owne name, but set it out to others:) There be fifty two roomes, and in each of them eight leaden pannes, in which eight tunnes of salt are daily boyled, and each tunne is worth eight Flemish shillings. In the said Monastery within the Towne, they shew a table of gold, which *Henry Leo* Duke of *Saxony* tooke from *Milan* and placed here, and it is fastned to the Altar, being more then an ell and halfe long, and about three quarters broad, and little or nothing thicker then a French crowne. They shew also foure Crosses of pure gold, which they said a certaine Queene once tooke from them, but presently fell lunatike, neither could be cured vntill she had restored them. In the open streets some Monuments are set on the walles, in honour of certaine Citizens, who died in a nights tumult, when the Duke hoped to surprize the City. I said that the Senate house is stately built, in which they shew to strangers many vessels of gold and siluer, of a great value and quantity for a City of that quality. From *Luneburg* I returned to *Hamburg*, whither I and my company might haue had a Coach for 4. Dollors. But we misliking the price hired a waggon for three *Lubeck* shillings each person to *Wentzen*, three miles distant from *Luneburg*. Here the Duke of *Luneberg's* territory ends, to whom each man paid a *Lubeck* shilling for tribute, my selfe onely excepted, who had that priuiledge because I went to study in the Vniuersities. Here each man paid two *Lubeck* shillings for a Waggon to the *Elue* side, being one mile, and the same day by water wee passed other three miles to *Hamburg*, not without great noysomnesse from some base people in the boat, for which passage we paid each man three *Lubeck* shillings. Let me admonish the Reader, that if when we tooke boat we had onely crossed the *Elue*, we might haue hired a Waggon from *Tolspecker* a Village to *Hamburg* (being three miles) for two Dollors amongst six persons. Being at *Hamburg* and purposing to goe vp into *Misen*, because I had not the language, I compounded with a Merchant to carry mee in his Coach, and beare my charges to *Leipzig* for tenné gold Guldens.

Magden-
burg.

The first day hauing broke our faste at *Hamburg*, we passed seauen miles ouer the Heath of *Luneburg*, and lodged in a Village. In our way we passed many Villages of poore base houses, and some pleasant groues; but all the Countrey was barren, yet yeelded corne in some places, though in no plenty. The second day we came to a little City *Corneiler*, through a Countrey as barren as the former, and towards our iourneis end wee passed a thicke wood of a mile long. The third day we went seuen miles to *Magdenburg*, which is counted sixe and twenty miles from *Hamburg*, and this day we passed a more fertile Countrey, and more wooddy; and they shewed me by the way an Hill called *Bockesberg*, famous with many ridiculous fables of Witches yeerely meeting in that place. This City of old called *Parthenopolis*, of *Venus Partheneia*, is now called *Magdenburg*, that is, the City of Virgins, & for an Inland City is very faire, and the Germans speake much of the fortification, because *Mauricius* Elector of *Saxony* besieged it a whole yeere with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth his Army, yet tooke it not. Howbeit I thinke that not so much to bee attributed to the strength of the City, as to the distracted mind of the besieger, who in the meane time sollicitated the French King to ioyne with the Dutch Princes to free *Germanie* from the Emperours tyranny, and the French Army being once on foot, himselfe raised forces against the Emperour. The forme of this City is like a Moone increasing, the Bishopricke thereof is rich, and the Margraue of *Brandeburg* his eldest sonne did then possesse it, together with the City and territory, by the title of Administrator, in which sort he also held the Bishopricke of *Hall*, and he lay then at *Wormsted*, a Castle not farre of. In the market place there is a Statua erected to the Emperour *Otho* the Great, founder of that City, and *Munster* writes of another statua erected to *Rowland*, which I remember not to haue seene. In the Senate-house, they shewed a singular picture, made by one *Lucas* a famous Painter, dead some thirty yeeres before; where also is the picture of

of that monstrous German, with all the dimensions of his body, who not long before was led about the world to be shewed for a wonder. This man I had not seene, but in this picture I could scarce reach the crowne of his head with the point of my rapier, and many of good credit told me, that they had seene this mans lister halfe an ell higher then he. In the Church that lies neere the market place, there is a Font of great worth, and a Lute painted with great Art: the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Maurice* was built by *Otho* the Great, very sumptuously, where his wife lies buried in the yeere 948. and the inscription is; that shee was daughter to *Edmund* King of *England*. There they shew one of the three vessels in which our Sauour Christ turned water into wine at *Cana* in *Galile*. There be in all ten Churches, but the aboue named are the fairest. Hence we went foureteene miles to *Leipzig*, being a day and a halfe journey through fruitfull corne fields, and a Countrey full of rich Villages, the Merchant with whom I went, bearing my charges: from *Hamburg* I might haue hired a Coach to *Leipzig* for fixe persons (those of *Nurnburg* bearing eight) for 24. dollers, and if a man goe thence to *Luneburg*, he may easily light on a Coach of returne at a lesse rate, so that in respect of the cheapnes of victuals in these parts, no doubt I gaue the Merchant too much for my charges in this iourney.

Leipzig is seated in a plaine of most fruitfull corne ground, and full of rich Villages, in a Countrey called *Misen*, subiect to the Elector Duke of *Saxony*: and the Countrey lying open to the eye in a most ample prospect, onely one wood can be seene in this large plaine. The streets are faire, the market place large and stately, and such are the chiefe houses, built of free stone foure roofes high: there is a conuenient conduit of water in the Suburbs, lying towards *Prage*, the ditch is dry, the wals of stone threaten ruine; neither may the Citizens fortifie the Towne, nor vse red waxe in their publicke scales, nor winde a Horne in their night watches, as other Cities doe: these and other priuiledges being taken from them in the yeere 1307. when they killed their Duke *Ditzmanus* in Saint *Thomas* Church. Out of this City they haue (as many Cities in *Germany* haue) a beautifull place to bury their dead, called Gods-aker, vulgarly *Gottf-aker*,) where the chiefe Citizens buy places of buriall, proper to their families round about the Cloisters, and the common sort are buried in the midst, not couered with any building. Here I found this Epitaph: the numerall Letters whereof shew the yeere when the party died.

FæLIX qVI In DoMINo nIXV's ab orbefvgIt.

And like Epitaphs are ordinarily found through *Germany*. This Citie hath an Vniuersity, and in the yeere 1480. the Students of *Prage* remoued hither to flie the *Hussites* warre; but at this day the Vniuersitie is much decayed, by reason that *Witteberg* lieth neere, hauing better conueniency for the Schollers liuing. From hence I tooke my iourney in the afternoone to *Witteberg*, and came that night to *Teben* a Village foure miles distant; through a Wood so large as wee could not passe it in two houres, beyond which the ground was barren till wee passed the Riuer *Elue*, which runneth by *Witteberg*, all the length of it from the East to the West, but is somewhat distant from the Towne.

The next day we passed foure miles to *Witteberg*, which hath his name of *Wittekindus*, the first Christian Duke of *Saxony*, and is seated in a plaine sandy ground, hauing on the North Hills planted with Vines yeelding a sower grape plentifully; yet they make no wine thereof. One streete lies the whole length of the Towne, being all the beautie thereof, and in the midst of this street is the Cathedrall Church and a faire market place, in which the Senate house is built, and neere the West gate is the Dukes Church; It is prouerbially said, that a man shall meet nothing at *Witteberg*, but whores, students, and swine, to which purpose they haue these two Verses:

Ni Witeberga sues, ni plurima scorta teneret,

Ni pubem Phæbi, quæso quid esset ibi?

Had *Witteberg* no swine, if no whores were,

Nor *Phæbus* traine, I pray you what is there?

Whence may be gathered that the Citizens haue small trafficke, liuing only vpon

the Schollers, and that the streets must needs be filthy. In the study of Doctor *Wisinbeckius* this inscription is in Latine;

Here stood the bed in which *Luther* gently died.

See how much they attribute to *Luther*, for this is not the place where hee died, neither was there any bed, yet suffer they not the least memory of him to be blotted out. *Luther* was borne at *Isleb* in the yere 1483, & certainly died there in the house of Count *Mansfeld*, where after supper the seuenteenth of *February* he fell into his vsuall sicknesse, namely the stopping of humors in the Orifice of his belly, and died thereupon at five of the clocke in the morning, the eighteenth of *February*, in the yeere 1546. the said Count and his Countesse and many other being present, and receiuing great comfort from his last exhortations: yet from his sudden death the malicious Iesuits tooke occasion to slander him, as if he died drunken, that by aspersions on his life and death, they might slander the reformation of Religion, which he first began. These men (after their manner) being to coniure an vncleane spirit out of a man in *Prage*, gaue out that he was free from this spirit for the time that *Luther* died, and that when hee returned, they examined him where hee had beene that time, and the spirit should answer that hee had attended *Luther*. *Phillip*, *Melancthon*, borne in the yeere 1497. died 1560. and both these famous men were buried, and haue their Monuments in the Dukes Church at *Witteberg*, which is said to be like that of *Hierusalem*, and in that both of them are round, I will not deny it, but I dare say they differ in this, that *Hierusalem* Church hath the Chauncell in the middest with Allies to goe round about it, whereas the Chancell of this Church is at the East end of it. The *Wittebergers* tell many things of *Luther* which seeme fabulous, & among other things they shew an aspersion of inke, cast by the Diuell when he tempted *Luther*, vpon the wall in *S. Augustines* Colledge. Besides, they shew a house wherein Doctor *Faustus* a famous coniurer dwelt. They say that this Doctor liued there about the yeere 1500. and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adioyning Wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that hee died, or rather was fetched by the Diuell, in a Village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adioyning, I could neuer heare any memory of his end. Not farre from the City there is a mountaine called the Mount of *Apollo*, which then, as of old, abounded with medicinable herbes. In a Village neere the Towne there be yet many tokens that the Emperour *Charles* the fifth encamped there. I liued at *Witteberg* the rest of this summer, where I paid a Gulden weekly for my diet and beere, which they account apart, and for my chamber after the rate of tenne Guildens by the yeare. I heare that since all things are dearer; the Schollers vsing to pay each weeke a Dollor for their diet, and a Dollor for chamber and washing. Hence I tooke my journey to *Friburge* that I might see the funerall of *Christianus* the Elector. Three of vs hired a Coach all this iourney for a Dollor each day, with condition that we should pay for the meat of the horses and of the coach-man, which cost as much more. And this we paid because we had freedome to leaue the coach at our pleasure, though we returned with it to *Leipzig*, to which if we would haue tied our selues, we might haue had the coach for halfe a Dollor a day. The first day wee went sixe miles to *Torge*, through sandy fields yeelding corne, and we dined at *Belgar* a Village, where each man paid five grosh for his dinner, and by the way they shewed vs a Village called *Itzan*, where *Luther* made his first Sermons of reformation.

Torg.

Torge is a faire City of *Misen*, of a round forme, falling each way from a mountaine, and seated on the West side of *Elue*. It hath a stately Castle belonging to the Elector Duke of *Saxony*, who is Lord of *Leipzig*, *Witteberg*, and all the Cities we shall passe in this iourney. This Castle is washed with the Riuer *Elue*, and was built by *John Fredricke* Elector, in the yeere 1535. It hath a winding way or plaine staire, by which a horse may easily goe to the top of the Castle, the passage being so plaine as the ascent can scarcely be discerned. The Hall, Chambers and Galleries of this Castle, are very faire and beautifull, and adorned with artificiall pictures, among which one of a boy presenting flowers, is fairer then the rest. Also there is a picture on the wall

wall, of one *Laurence Weydenberg* a *Sweitzer*, made in the twentieth yeere of his age, in the yeere 1531, shewing that he was nine foot high. In the Church there is a Monument of *Katherine* a Nunne, which died 1552. and was wife vnto *Luther*. The Village *Milburg* is within a mile of this City in the way to *Dresden*, where the Elector *Fredericke* was taken prisone by *Charles* the fifth, in the Protestants warre. The lake neere the City is a mile in circuit, for the fishing whereof, the Citizens pay 500. guldens yeerely to the Elector of *Saxony*, and they fish it once in three yeeres, and sell the fish for some 5000. guldens. The beere of *Torge* is much esteemed through all *Misen*, whereof they sell such quantity abroad, as ten water-mills besides wind-mills, scarcely serue the towne for this purpose.

From *Torge* we went six miles to *Misen* in our Coach hired as aforesaid, and we dined each man for five grosh in the village *Starres*, and wee passed through goodly corne hills, and faire woods of firre and birtch. The City *Misen* is round in forme, and almost all the houses are built on the falling sides of Mountaines, which compassing all the City, open towards the East, where *Elue* runneth by. Duke *Fredericke* surnamed The wise, and Duke *George*, surnamed papisticall, are buried in the Cathedrall Church. Here I paid six grosh euery meale. The City is subiect to the Duke of *Saxony*, hauing the same name with the whole Countrey in which it lieth. Hence wee went three miles to *Dresden* in a Coach hired as aforesaid, and passed through sandy and stony Hills, some fruitfull vallies of corne, and two Woods of firre, whereof there bee many neere *Dresden*, whither being come, I paid six grosh for my dinner.

This City of *Dresden* is very faire and strongly fortified, in which the Elector of *Saxony* keepes his Court, hauing beene forty yeeres past onely a village. When the first stone of the wals was laid, there were hidden a siluer cup gilded, a Booke of the Lawes, another of the coynes, and three glasses filled with wine, the Ceremonies being performed with all kind of Musicke and solemnity. The like Ceremony was vsed when they laid the first stone of the stable. The City is of a round forme, seated in a Plaine, running betweene two Mountaines, but somewhat distant, and the houses are faire, built of free stone, foure or five rooves high, whereof the highest roofe, after the Italian fashion, is little raised in steepnesse, so that the tops of the houses appeare not ouer the walles, excepting the Electors Castle built betwixt the North and West side, and the Church Tower built betweene the West and East side. In this Tower the watchmen dwell, who in the day time giue notice by Flags hung out, what number of foot or horse are comming towards the Towne. To which Tower they ascend by two hundred seuentie staires, and in the top two Demiculuerins are planted. Wee entred on the East side through old *Dresden*, being walled about, and so passed the *Elue*, compassing the walles of new *Dresden* on the East side by a Bridge of stone, hauing seuentene arches, vnder which halfe the ground is not couered with water, except it be with a floud. Vpon the Bridge we passed three gates, and at the end entred the City by the fourth; where the garrison Souldiers write the names of those that come in, and lead them to the Innes, where the Hostes againe take their names. The City hath but two little Suburbs. The Citizens were then as busie as Bees in fortifying the City, which the Elector then made very strong. The ground riseth on all sides towards the Towne, and the new City hath foure Gates; *welsh-thore*, *Siegeld-thore*, *New-thore*, and *Salamons-thore*: and is compassed with two walles, betweene which round about there is a garden, from which men may ascend or descend to it at each Gate. Ouere the outward wall there is a couered or close Gallery, priuate to the Elector, who therein may compasse the Towne vnseene. Hee hath vsed the best wits of *Germany* and *Italy* in this fortification, wherein he hath spared no cost. The walles are high and broad of earth, whose foundation is of stone, and they are on all sides furnished with great Artillery, yea in that time of peace the streets were shut with iron chaines, at eating times, and all night.

The Electors stable is by much the fairest that euer I saw, which I will briefly describe. In the first Court there is a Horse-bath, into which they may bring as much or
little

little water as they list, and it hath 22. pillars, in each whereof diuers Armes of the Duke are grauen, according to the diuers families whose Armes he giues. The same Court serues for a Tilting-yard, and all exercises of Horfe-manship: and there is also the Horfe-leaches shop, so well furnished as if it belonged to a rich Apothecary. The building of the stable is foure square, but the side towards the Dukes Pallace is all taken vp with two gates and a little Court yard, which takes vp halfe this side, and round about the same are little cubboords peculiar to the horsemen, in which they dispose all the furniture fit for riding. The other three sides of the quadrangle, contained some 136. choise and rare Horses, hauing onely two other gates leading into the Cities market place, opposite to those gates towards the Court. These horses are all of forraine Countries, for there is another stable for Dutch horses, and among these chiefe horses, one named Michael Schatz (that is Michaell the Treasure) was said to be of wonderfull swiftnesse: before each horses nose was a glasse window, with a curtaine of greene cloth to be drawne at pleasure; each horse was couered with a red mantle, the racke was of iron, the manger of copper: at the buttocke of each horse was a pillat of wood which had a brasen shield, where by the turning of a pipe he was watered; and in this pillar was a cubboord to lay vp the horses combe and like necessaries, and aboue the backe of each horse hung his bridle and saddle, so as the horses might as it were in a moment be furnished. Aboue this stable is a gallery on one side, adorned with the statuaes of horses & their riders, with their complete Armour s fifty in number, besides many Armour s lying by the wals. On the other side is a gallery hauing forty like statuaes, & thirty six sledges which they vse in *Misen*, not only to iourney in time of snow, but also for festiuall pompes. For in those Cities, especially at Shrouetide, and when much snow falleth, they vse to sit vpon sledges drawne with a horse furnished with many bels, at the foote of which sledge they many times place their Mistresses, and if in running or sudden turning, the rider or his Mistresse slip, or take a fall, it is held a great disgrace to the rider. Some of these sledges are very sumptuous, as of vnpurified siluer as it comes from the Mines, others are fairely couered with velvet and like stufes. Aboue the forepart of the stable towards the market place, are the chambers wherein the Elector feasts with Ambassadors. In the window of the first chamber or stoue; being a bay window towards the street, is a round table of marble, with many inscriptions perswading temperance, such as are these,

Aut nulla Ebrietas, aut tanta sit ut tibi curas;

Demat —

Be not drunken in youth or age,
Or no more then may cares allwage.

Againe, *Plures crapula quam ensis.*

Gluttony kils more then the sword.

Yet I dare say, that notwithstanding all these good precepts, few or none euer rose (or rather were not carried as vnable to goe) from that table. Twelue little marble chaires belong to this table, and the pauement of the roome is marble, and close by the table there is a Rocke curiously carued with images of fishes and creeping things. This Rocke putteth forth many sharpe pinacles of stone, vpon which the vessels of gold and siluer are set forth at the feasts, and when the drinking is at hottest, the statua of a horseman by worke of great Art, comes out of the Rocke, and presents each stranger with a huge boule of wine, which he must drinke off for his welcome, without expecting that any should pledg him. In the next chamber belonging to this stoue, is a bedstead of marble, and both haue hangings of gold lether. There is another chamber and another stoue like these, and aboue them in the vppermost loft, there be many little roomes, whereof one is furnished with speares, another with saddles (& among them I remember one which in the pummell bore a gilded head, with eyes continually moving, & in the hinder part had a clocke) the rest are furnished with swords, shields, helmets, and fethers. Among the swords, euery Prince hath his owne, which the successors vse not to weare, and there is one belonging to the Electorship, when he exerci-
seth

seth his office as Marshal of the Empire. There was another Sword, hauing in the hilt two little Pistols. Here I saw laid vp an Iron chaine, in which they said, that Duke *Henry* the Father of *Maurice* the first Elector of this Family, should haue beene hanged, in the Low Countries, who escaping, brought the same with him, and laid it vp here for memory. After the Funerall of *Christianus*, returning from *Friburg* to this Towne, I found onely fiftene of those choice Horses in the stable, all the rest hauing beene giuen to Princes comming to the Funerall.

The Dukes Pallace in *Dresden* was built by *Mauricius*, part of the City wals and the gates were built by *Augustus*, who did also lay the foundation of this Stable. But *Christianus* the Elector perfected the wals of the City, with the close gallery ouer them, and built this famous stable; setting this inscription vpon the wals in Latine: *Christianus Duke of Saxony, Heire to Augustus the Elector of happy memory, and imitator of his vertues, caused this Stable to be built, and the Yard adioyning to be fitted for Tilting and military exercises: the present age, &c.*

The Armory at *Dresden* is no lesse worth the noting, wherein were Armes and all kind of munition for seüenty thousand men, but of late it had been somewhat emptied by an expedition into *France*, vndertaken by the Duke at the solicitation of the Count of *Turin*, Ambassadour for *Henry* the fourth King of *France*.

The Duke was at great charge in keeping Garison Souldiers at *Dresden*, and Officers, as well for the stable as the Armory. In these parts and no where else in *Germany*, they vse boats of a hollow tree, driuen not by Oares, but by battledores, whereof I saw many vpon the Elue, as likewise water mills swimming vpon boates, and removed from place to place, the like whereof was since made at *London* by a Dutchman, but became vnprofitable by the ebbing and flowing of *Thames*. At *Dresden* I paid seuen grosh a meale.

Hence in our Coach hired, as aforesaid, we passed foure miles to *Friburg*, through fruitful Hills and Mountaines of corne, but few or no Woods: and here we paid each man sixe grosh a meale. This City is of a round forme, compassed of all sides with Mountaines, hauing many Vauts, or Caues vnder it; by which the Citizens enter and goe out of the City by night, to worke in the siluer Mines. Yet hath the City two walles, and two ditches, but altogether dry. It hath fise gates, and foure Churches, among which *Saint Peters* Church is the fairest. The Elector hath his Castle in the City: and in the Church (as I remember of *Saint Peter*) wherein the Dukes vse to be buried; *Mauricius* hath a very faire monument of blacke Marble, raised in three piles, whereof each is decked with diuers statuaes of white Marble and Alablaster; whereof two belong to *Mauricius*, the one in posture of praying, the other armed, and receiuing a deadly wound. Two Monuments were begun, but not then perfected, for *Augustus* and *Christianus*. The territory of *Friburg* abounds with siluer Mines; whereof some are fise hundred fadomes deepe, some seuen hundred, and some nine hundred; and after each thirty fadomes, the earth is supported with great beames of timber, lest it should fall; and from each of these buildings, winding staires of wood are made, to descend to the bottome.

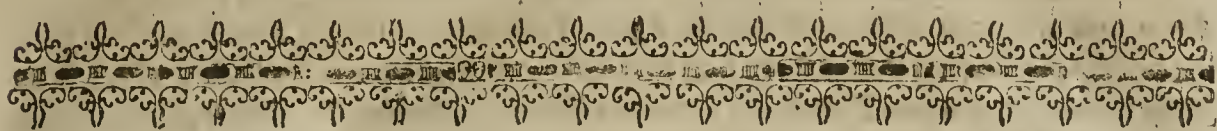
The Citizens liue of these Mines, and grow rich thereby, whereof the Elector hath his proper part, and vseth to buy the parts of the Citizens. The worke-men vse burning Lampes vnder the earth both day and night, and vse to worke as well by night as by day: and they report, that comming neere the purest veins of siluer, they are often troubled with euill spirits. These worke-men goe out to the Mines by night, through the Caues vnder the City, and being called backe from worke by the sound of a bell, they come in the same way. The water which the worke-men vse, springeth in a mountain an arrow shot from the Town, whence falling to a lower mountaine, it is conuayed by hollow trees to fall vpon the wheelles of the mills, so as a little quantity thereof driueth them. These Mills draw the water vp out of the Mines, for the depth of forty fadome, whence it runneth in pipes towards the City. Whē they try & purify the siluer, first with water they wash away the red earth, then they beat the mettall with a hand hammer, and thus broken, they cast it into the fire,

which

which they make in the open ayre, lest the workmen should be stifled with the fume of the brimstone. Then they melt the mettall six times, by a fire made of whole trees, in a little house adioyning. Then in another house they seuer the mettall from the earth with a siue. Then againe they beat the mettall with an hammer driuen by a Mill; and thus beaten, they wash it vpon three clothes hanging slopewise, and the purest siluer stickes to the vppermost cloth. This done, they melt it againe six times, and the best of the drosse is lead and siluer, the rest copper; and this siluer and lead being againe melted, the lead fallcs from the siluer like dust. The fier wherein they try this siluer is so hot, as it consumeth the bricke Furnaces in three daies. The workemen besides their hier, vse to bee rewarded for expedition of the worke. The meanes by which they find siluer, are very strange, being by a rod, which vulgarly they call *Chassel-wand*, or, the Diuine Rod, which they carry in their hands, and when they goe ouer siluer, they say the Rod bends or breakes, if it be straightly held: and there were not aboue seuen men in this Citie, which had skill of this mystery. The waies are planted with trees to direct passengers, lest as they goe to the Citie, they should fall into the Mines: for as they report, it hath often happened that the Citizens themselues haue perished in this sort; and the like mischance happened lately to siue workemen, though skilfull in the waies. These Mines of *Friburg* were first found in the yeere 1180, yeelding to this day rich veins of siluer. There bee other Mines of siluer neere these since that time discovered, namely at *Scheneberg*, found in the yeere 1470, at *Anneberg*, found 1510, in *Ioachim* valley, found 1526. For this Elector of *Saxony* hath many Mines of siluer, which lest any should thinke to belong of right to the Emperour, it must bee obserued that the Princes Electors haue Regall power vnder the Emperour, granted by priuiledge in the Lawes of the golden *Bulla*, by which they haue right to all Mines found in their owne Territories.

After I had seene the Elector *Christianus* his funerall at *Friburg*, (the ceremonies wherof shall bee described in the proper place,) I returned to *Dresden* in a Coach hyred as aboue said, & so from *Dresden* to *Misen*; but from *Misen* I returned not to *Torge*, but tooke another way to *Leipzig*, being tenne miles, which we went in one day, foure miles to *Omsen*, three to *Wortsen*, where wee dined, and thence three miles to *Leipzig*, all through plaine and fruitfull corne fields. I spent this winter at *Leipzig*, that I might there learne to speake the Dutch tounge (the Grammer wherof I had read at *Witteberg*,) because the *Misen* speech was held the purest of all other parts in *Germany*. Heere each Student vseth to bay for his diet a Gulden weekly, besides beere, for which euery man paies according to his drinking; some lesse, some more, most beyond measure. For the Citizens haue no beere in their houses but one kind, which is very small, and buy the better kindes (as that of *Torge*, which the richer sort vsually drinke) from a publike house, where it is sold by small measures, to the profit of the Senate. Besides, the Schollers pay seuerally for their bed and chamber. My selfe lodged with a rich Citizen, and for diet, bed, and chamber, paid weekly a Doller and a halfe.





CHAP. II.

Of my iourney from Leipzig to Prage (in Bohemia) to Nurnberg, Augspurg, Ulm, Lyndaw, Costnetz (in Germany) Scaphusen, Zurech, Baden, and Bazell (in Sweitzerland.)



Eing to take my iourney to *Prage*, in the end of the yeere 1591; (after the English account, who begin the yeere vpon the twenty five of *March*;) I returned againe to *Dresden*; from whence I wrote this Letter concerning my iourney, to a friend lying at *Leipzig*.

Honest M. Know that after I parted from you at *Torg*, by good hap, and beside my expectation, I light vpon a Coach going to *Dresden*, with which good hap, while I was affected, and hasted to hire a place therein, I had forgot to pay for my Coach for the day before. But when we were ready to go, remembring my errour, and intreating my consorts to stay awhile for mee, I ranne backe to the Inne, as speedily as the Parasite *Curculio* in *Plautus*; and finding not the Coachman there, I gaue the money to the seruant of the house before witnesses; and so returned to the Coach all sweating with hast. There I found that dunghill rascall the Coachman, hauing my gowne on his backe. I laid hold of the garment; as if I knew it, and hee held it as fast, as a pledge for his money. I being intraged that hee should vse me so, when I had dealt honestly with him, drew my sword, and making knowne that I had paid the money, bad him lay downe the gowne vpon his perill. I had almost drawne a rabble of Coachmen on my back, but they forbore me in this heat, for you know they are not apt to quarrell in the morning; but if I had thus prouoked them in the afternoone, being warmed with drinke, sure they would haue run vpon me, though they had been naked. Will you know the companions of my iourney? I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists; now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into al these changes, while the winde blew from one and the same quarter. Is any thing lighter then a woman? and lest the flocke of geese should want matter, sometimes they charged me to be a Caluenist, sometimes a Iew; & I answered merrily, that if any of them were but a Consuls wife, I would satisfie them for my religion. At eight a clocke in the night, the horses being spent, my selfe wearied, and only their tongues vtired, wee came to a Village called *Derwaldhan*, where wee should lodge. We entered a kind of Barne, my selfe not without sighs. *Lipsius* should here haue had no cause to complaine of stinking beere, browne bread; and often shaking hands. No man returned salutation to vs: the women my companions, drew out victuals they had brought to eat, I being fasting to that houre, with great feare and trembling of heart, expected that at least they would giue me some raw bacon, or dried puddings. But they thought nothing lesse. At last I desired an egge or two for my supper. The seruant answered that the old woman was in bed, and that he knew not the mystery, whether any eggs were in the house or no. If the Comical Poet *Saturio* had been here he would haue fallen into a sound. To be brief, the women took compassion on me, and I without blushing was content to eat of free cost, and made them know that I was no Iew, for I made no religion to eat what was before mee.

The next morning before the day-starre arose, I was walking in a meadow, what doe you blesse your selfe with a crosse? Sure I am no lesse sleepey then I was, but he is soone apparelled that hath a dogs bed in straw: yet this straw was cleane; which is no small fauour, and when I gaue the seruant a Misen groshe for his paines, he was astonished, as if he had neuer seene a whole groshe before, so as he forgot to thanke me, onely shewing it to the standers by, as if I had deserued another burthen of fresh straw. The Women, Virgins, Men and Maids, seruants, all of vs lay in one roome, and my selfe was lodged furthest from the stoue, which they did not for any fauour; though contrary to their opinion I was glad of it, delighting more in sweet aire, then the smoke of a dunghill. My companions laughed at me for babling dutch in my sleep: surely reason comanding me waking, had not power ouer me in sleep, to hinder me from reuoluing the pleasant passages of the day past. On Saterday the same day I came to *Dresden*, frō whence fise passengers were newly gon for *Prage* in a Coach, but after three daies expectation I haue found new consorts, & to morrow being *Wednesday*, and the eight of *March*, I begin my iourney to *Bohemia*. While I dispaired of consorts, I was determined to goe in a boat vpon the *Elue*, and had now bought cleane straw, in which I meant to triumph alone, when by good hap, turning from the riuer to the *Inne*, I light vpon this commodity of a Coach, which hath freed me from the annoyance of the water and Marriners. Imbrace in my name our common friend *G. B.* and of my louing hosts family, let not a whelp goe vn saluted. Farewell honest *M.* and returne me loue for loue: from *Dresden* the seuenth of *March*, 1591.

My selfe and foure consorts hired a Coach for 14. dollers from *Dresden* to *Prage*. The first day we went three miles to *Gottleben* a Village, where we paid fise Bohemian groshe, that is sixe white groshe each man for his dinner. Halfe the way was on the West side of the Riuer *Elue*, in a fertile plaine, then we passed the *Elue*, and trauelled through mountaines, yet fertile, and a boggy wood. After dinner we went two miles, to a Village, where we lodged, through stony mountaines without any wood, and in the mid way there was a wooden pillar, which diuided the territory of the Saxon Elector from the kingdome of *Bohemia*.

The second day we went two miles throggh stony Mountains, bearing not one tree, to *Ansig* a little City, where we paid for our breakefast foure Bohemian grosches. The same day we passed three miles in a straight between rocks, lying vpon the *Elue*, & two short miles throggh fruitful corn fields, to *Wedin* lying vpon the riuer *Aegra*, which runs a little below into the *Elue*, but was here at this time so deep, by a floud or melting of snow, as our Coach in comming to the bridge of *Wedin* by the bank side, tooke water. The third day we passed 2 miles to a village called *Welber* or *Welberg*, through fruitfull hils of corn without any wood, & there each man paid 5 Bohemian grosch for his dinner.

In the afternoone wee went three miles, for the most part through fruitfull hils of corne, the rest through Rockes and Mountaines planted with Vines, and so came to *Prage*, through which the Riuer *Molda* runneth, but is not nauigable. On the West side of *Molda* is the Emperours Castle, seated on a most high Mountaine, in the fall whereof is the Suburbe called *Kleinseit*, or little side. From this Suburbe to goe in to the City, a long stone bridge is to be passed ouer *Molda*, which runnes from the South to the North, and diuides the suburbe from the City, to which as you goe, on the left side is a little City of the Iewes, compassed with wals, and before your eies towards the East, is the City called new *Prage*, both which Cities are compassed about with a third, called old *Prage*. So as *Prage* consists of three Cities, all compassed with wals, yet is nothing lesse then strong, and except the stinch of the streetes driue backe the Turkes, or they meet them in open field, there is small hope in the fortifications thereof. The streets are filthy, there be diuers large market places, the building of some houses is of free stone, but the most part are of timber and clay, and are built with little beauty or Art, the walles being all of whole trees as they come out of the wood, the which with the barke are laid so rudely, as they may on both sides be seen. *Molda* in the winter vseth to be so frozen, as it beareth carts, and the ice thereof being cut in great peeces, is laid vp in cellers for the Emperour and Princes to mingle with
theis

Prage.

their wine in summer, which me thinkes can neither be sauory, nor healthfull, since neither the heat of the clime, nor the strength of the Bohemian wines (being small and sharpe) require any such cooling. One thing they boast to be proper to that kingdom, that the *Elbe*, *Aegra*, *Molda*, and all other Riuers watering *Bohemia*, haue their spring heads in the same.

In publike Innes they demand some six Bohemian grosh for a meale, yet doe they not commonly giue meales at an ordinary rate, as they doe through all *Germany*; but what meate you require, that they dresse, and the seruant buying all things out of doores (after the manner of *Poland*) maketh a reckoning of the expences. My selfe had my diet with a Citizen very conueniently for a doller and a halfe weekly. I did here eat English Oysters pickeld, and a young Bohemian comming in by chance, and tasting them, but not knowing the price, desired the Merchant to giue him a dish at his charge, which contained some twenty Oysters, and finding them very sauory, hee called for fise dishes one after another, for which the Merchant demanded and had of him, fise dollers, the dearenesse no lesse displeasing his minde, then the meate had pleased his taste.

As you passe ouer *Molda* from the Suburbe *Kleinseit*, into the City, there is a hand of stone as it were cut off, vpon the gate of the City; signifying to strangers, that whosoever drawes a sword there, or vpon the bridge; looeth his hand; and the like hand there is to the same purpose, on the Senate house in the towne. The Emperour hath two inclosures walled about, which they call Gardaines, one of which is called *Stella*, because the trees are planted in the figure of starres, and a little faire house therein is likewise built, with six corners in forme of a starre. And in this place he kept 12. Cammels, an Indian Oxe, yellow, all ouer rugged, and hairy vpon the throate, like a Lyon; and an Indian Calfe, and two Leopards, which were said to be tame, if such wild beasts may be tamed. They were of a yellow colour spotted with blacke, the head partly like a Lyon, partly like a Cat, the tayle like a Cat, the body like a Greyhound, and when the hunt-man went abroad, at call they leaped vp behind him, sitting vpon the horse like a dog on the hinder parts, being so swift in running, as they would easily kill a Hart. I remember that a gentleman of *Hungary* walking in the streetes with me, and obseruing a picture on a wall of a *German* protecting an *Hungarian* from a *Turke*, with this inscription: Not for thy sake, but my owne: tooke this occasion to complaine much of the Emperour, and relate many things wherein his prodigality and other errours had ouerthrowne *Hungary*, and had done nothing lesse then ease their afflicted fortunes. In the Church *Emaus*, this inscription is grauen;

¶ The tenour of King *Alexander* the Great, his &c.

Wee *Alexander* the Great of King *Phillip* the founder of the *Grecian* Empire, Conquerour of the *Persians*, *Meades*, &c. And of the whole World, from the East to West, from North to South, sonne of great *Iupiter*, by &c. so called. To you the noble stocke of the *Sclauonians*, and to your language, because you haue beene to me helpers, true in faith, and valiant in warre, I confirme all this tract from the North to the South parts of *Italy*, from me and my successors, to you and your posterity. If any other Nation be found there, let them be your slaues. Dated in our City of *Alexandria*, newly founded by vs vpon the great Riuer of *Nilus*: the twelfth of the Goddesse *Minerua*: witnesses are *Aethra*, and the 11. Princes, whom we appoint successors to vs dying without heire.

Also there were these verses, shewing by numerall letters the antiquity of *Prage* Vniuersity, from the yeere 767. though the Colledges there about ruined, scarce shew any shadow of this Vniuersity.

HæC Schola qVo fLV I Das anno est erecta sub anras,

Ostendit rVbra LItēra pīcta notæ.

The numerall great letters shew the yeere,

This vniuersall Schoole was founded here.

In the Church of the Emperours Castle, these things are to be seene. A faire Chap-

pell named after the Emperours sister, married to the French King, and crowned Queene of the French. Another Chappell belonging to the Barons, called *Popelij* (the greatest family of the Kingdome, next to the Baron of *Rosenberg*) which Chappell is proper to them for buriall, and is dedicated to St. *Andrew* the Apostle. In the Emperours Church is a Monument of *Rodolphus* the second, then liuing Emperour, built of white marble, and compassed with grates of iron. In the same place lie buried *Charles* the fourth in the yeere 1378. *Wenceslaus* in the yeere 1419. *Ladislaus* in the yeere 1459. *Ferdinand* the fourth, in the yeere 1564. *Maximillian* the second, in the yeere 1577. (all being Arch-dukes of *Austria*, and Emperours) and *George Pogiebrachius* a Bohemian, and King of *Bohemia*. To all these is one Monument erected, and that of small beauty: In the same Church is the Monument of a Bishop, who being the Queenes Confessor, was cast into *Molda* because he would not reueale her confession to her husband *Wenceslaus*. They doe so reuerence the Monument of this Bishop (since made a Saint by the Pope) as they thinke he shall die with shame, that passeth by it without reuerence. In Old *Prage* towards the South, and vpon the East side of *Molda*, there is an old Pallace, where they shew a trap-doore, by which the Queene was wont to slide downe into a Bath, where shee vsed to satisfie her vnlawfull lust. In the same place is grauen the leape of a horse, no lesse wonderfull then *Byards* fabulous leape. The House of *Kelley* a famous English Alcumist, was of old a Sanctuary, and built for an order of Friers, vpon the gate whereof these verses are written,

*Has ades veterum fauor & clementia Regum,
Omnibus exemptas Legibus esse dedit:
Audeat ergo iugum nemo his seruire minari,
Quos hic cum Vrabsky curat alitq; Deus.
This house through old Kings Clemency
Free from all Lawes no threats respects;
Dare not frigh them with slavery,
Whom vnder God Vrabsky protects.*

In the Senate house the City Armes are painted, being a Castle with three Towers ore; and two Lions argent Langed gules, are the supporters, and these Verses are written vpon the Armes;

*Qui dedit hæc veteri turrita insignia Pragæ,
Omina venturæ sortis amica dedit.
Mole sua vt celsæ transcendunt mænia Turres,
Sic famam superas inclita Praga tuam.
Who so these towred Armes to old Prage gaue,
Gaue lucky signes of future happinesse;
For as the Towers ore top the walles most braue,
So Prage thou doest surpasse thy fame no lesse.*

Not farre from *Prage* they say, that the Crowne of the Kingdome is laid vp, in *Karlsteine* Castle. At *Prage* in *Bethlem* Church, they shew a Pulpit in which *Iohn Hus* vsed to preach at the first reformation of Religion. I liued at *Prage* some two moneths, and being to depart from thence, I would haue gone to *Vienna* (the famous Fort against the Turkes) but my desire to see *Nurnberg* and *Augspurg* so preuailed, as I left that iourney, which by chance happened better then I imagined, for being called backe into the Low Countries (as heereafter I shall relate), I passed thence through *Poland* into *Italy*, because *France* was shut vp by the ciuill warres, and I euer shunned to goe twice oñe way, and so had the opportunitie (more fit then the former) to see *Vienna*. Now for there sakes who may passe from *Prage* to *Vienna*, giue mee leaue to remember, that in this way their is a Village called *Chassel*, some nine miles from *Prage*, where the famous Captaine of the *Bohemians*, called *Ziska*, lies buried

ried, who did lead the *Hussites* valiantly, and being ready to die, wished them to make a Drumme of his skinne, ominating that the sound thereof would bee so terrible to the enemies, as they would runne away, (such confidence had he in Armes, as being dead he thought to terrifie his enemies.)

In the beginning of the yere, 1592. I tooke my iourney from *Prage* to *Nurnberg*, being sixe daies iourney. The first day after dinner, we went foure miles, partly through rocky Mountaines, partly through a fruitfull corne plaine, and lodged at *Berawn*, where a loafe of bread, worth two third parts of a *Creitzer*, was as big as a threepenny loafe in *England*; by reason of the abundance of corne in that Country. And heere each man paid for his supper fourteene *Creitzers*. This Citie belongs to the family of the Poples. The second day wee went foure miles to *Zudermont*, all through Moantaines and Groues, and two great Woods, yet reasonably fruitfull in Corne, and by the way we saw the City *Bodly*, and the City *Spil*, the fairest of that Kingdome next to *Prage*, both belonging to the Emperour; and two Castles, belonging to the Barons Popeles and heere each man dined for sixteene *Creitzers*. After dinner we went two miles to *Pilsen*, halfe the way through Woods, where is a little City *Ruchtan*, and halfe through Hills and Plaines fruitfull in Corne, (almost the whole Countrey of *Bohemia* being hilly, and rich ground for Pasture and Corne) and here we supped each man for twenty three *Creitzers*. The third day wee went three miles to *Kladen*, through pleasant Hills of Groues, pasture and corne, where each man dined for eighteene *Creitzers*. After dinner we went three miles to *Frauenberg*, through high Mountaines and great Woods, hauing no great store of corne; in all which territory, the Cities and Villages acknowledge the Emperour for their supreme Lord, as he is King of *Bohemia*. For this Kingdome is not diuided (as others be) into Prouinces and Countries, but into Noble-mens Territories. Here we paid each man eight *Creitzers* for our supper, and twelue for wine.

The fourth day wee went a mile and a halfe to a little riuer, diuiding *Bohemia*, or *Boemerland* from *Germany*, through rocky Mountaines, and many Woods of tall Fir trees, fit to make Masts for Ships. Then wee entred a Countrey belonging to the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, which Elector is called vulgarly the *Phaltz-graue*, and we came within halfe a mile to *Weithausen*, where each man dined for eighteene *Creitzers*. After dinner we went two miles in the *Phaltzgraues* Countrey, through woody Mountaines, and one mile in the *Ländgraue* of *Leytenberg* his Countrey, through fruitfull corne fields, and lodged at *Shanbhton*, where each man paid six *Creitzers* for his supper, and thirteene for wine. For in these parts they drinke no beere (as before) but wine, and that at a lower price, then other where, whether it bee natieue or forraine: yet no man must wonder that wee spent more in wine then meat, all my conforsts being Dutch-men. The fifth day wee went in the *Phaltzgraues* Countrey, foure miles to *Amberg*: through fruitfull Hills of corne, and some few Woods; and this City belongs to the *Phaltz-graue*, being seated in the vpper *Palatinate*. After dinner we went in the Marquesse of *Anspach* his Country, (who is also called the *Burgraue* of *Nurnberg*) two miles to *Hous-coate*, a Village, where each man paid six *Batzen* for his supper. The sixt day we went three miles, passing by *Erspruck*, a Citie subiect to the *Nurnbergers*, and many villages belonging to diuers Lords, and a fort in the mid way called *Schwang*, belonging to seuentie two Lords, and being then by course in the *Phaltzgraues* keeping; for all these Lords keepe the same by course for three yeeres. The first and greater part of the way, was through fruitfull Hills of corne, the rest through sandy pastures, and a Wood of a miles length. Wee dined at a poore Village, each man for six *Batzen*. After dinner we went two miles to *Nurnberg*, through sandy corne fields, and passed by many houses and gardens of the Citizens, whether they vse to come out of the City, sometimes to recreate themselves. The Wood which we passed in the morning, lay on our left hand towards the South; as wee entred the Citie on the east side, and not farre from the City, turneth it selfe and runneth farther towards the South.

The City of *Nurnberg*, seated in a barren sandy ground, yet is very rich by the

Citizens industry. For as commonly few be rich in a fertile Countrey, (either because hauing enough for food, they are giuen to idlenesse, or because abundance makes them prodigall;) so the *Nurnbergers* planted in a barren soyle, by their subtile inuentions of Manuall workes, and cunning Art, draw the riches of all Countries to them. The Riuer *Bengetts* runnes by the Citie, but is not Nauigable, nor beareth any the least boats. This Riuer runnes from the East (where wee entred the Towne) towards the gate *Lauff-thore*, and so compasseth the suburbs towards the South, where diuiding into two beds, it entreth the City, and comming out againe at the West, washeth the Citie walles. On the East side, the *Margraues* of *Brandeburg*, besieged the City, at the command of *Charles* the fifth; therefore on this, and the South side, besides a dry ditch, and two stone walles compassing the whole City, diuers Bulwarkes are built vpon the wall. On all sides as you come vp to the City, the earth riseth, and almost at euery gate there is a long suburbe. Vpon the walles there be many Towers, distant one from the other some 1000 ordinary walking paces, and the vvhole circuit of the City is lesse then a German mile. Among the said Towers, three are stronger then the rest, and furnished with Artillery. The first is on the East side neere the gate *Lauff-thore*. The second is on the South side, vnder the gate *Fraw-thore*, (and on the same side is the gate *Spittle-thore*.) The third is on the North side vnder the gate *New-thore*, (and on the same side is another gate called *Burk-thore*.) There is a Castle called *Burk*, which by *Nero* the Emperour, was of his name called *Noricum Castrum*. It is certaine, that this Castle stood in the time of *Charles* the Great; and the City being of it selfe not ancient, is thought to haue had his name of this Castles old Latine name. On the VVest side is the gate *Haller-thore*; so called of him that caused it to be built; where is a pleasant walke, thicke shadowed with trees, where the Citizens vse to walke for pleasure.

The City is absolute of it selfe, being one of the free Cities of the Empire, and mee thinks the chief, or at least second to *Augsburg*; surely it may perhaps yield to *Augsburg* in treasure and riches of the City, but it must be preferred for the building, which is all of free stone fixe or seuen rooves high: I speake of the whole City of *Augsburg*, for one street thereof is most beautifull, and some Pallaces there are fit for Princes, of which kind *Nurnberg* hath none. The Tower which I said was of old called *Noricum Castrum*, hangs ouer the City, which being seated in a plaine, hath no mounts neere it, and is of a round forme. The said Tower is compassed with a drie ditch very deepe, vpon the wall whereof they shew a Spaniards blood there sprinkled, who vndertooke to betray the Castle to *Charles* the fifth: as also the print of a Horses feete in memory of a wonderfull leape from the Castle side to the other side of the bridge. The Senate House lies vnder the side of this Castle or Tower; as it were vnder the shield of *Aiax*, and vnder the same house and vnder the earth be the publike prisons. The Armory is built on the South side of the Towne, and is opened to no man without consent of the Senate, (which in all other Cities of *Germany* is readily shewed to strangers.) And in that Armory by the Citizens report they haue 400. great peeces of Artillery, with great store of all Munitions. The City hath also a Granary, which is so large, as diuers yeeres prouision for corne may be laid vp therein. It hath ten Churches, whereof onely foure are vsed for prayers and preaching; and in one of them lies buried *Zebalemus* King of *Denmarke*, who first conuerted the City to Christian Religion. Neere the Church of Saint *Laurence* is the golden fountaine, so called of the beauty and magnificence, and it distils water out of twenty leaden pipes. Neere the Church called *Frawenkirk*, is another faire Fountaine gilded ouer, and compassed with an iron grate. It is vnlawful to walke in the night without a torch, or a candle and lanthorne. In the Innes they giue no beere at the table, but diuers kinds of wine, and a large diet, if not delicate: for which euery man paieth fixe batzen a meale, and besides for his chamber or lodging (which he may haue priuate to himselfe) three creitzers by the day. In the Almes-houses, out of gifts by the last testament of those that die, they maintaine great numbers of poore people, and in one of them twelue old men apart, and in another twelue old men, and as many old weomen.

VVhilest

Whilst I liued at *Prage*, and one night had set vp very late drinking at a feast, early in the morning the Sunne beames glancing on my face, as I lay in bed, I dreamed that a shadow passing by, told me that my father was dead, at which awaking all in a sweat, and affected with this dreame, I rose and wrote the day and houre, and all circumstances thereof in a paper booke, which Booke with many other things I put into a barrel, and sent it from *Prage* to *Stode*, thence to be conuaid into *England*. And now being at *Nurnberg*, a Merchant of a noble family, well acquainted with me and my friends, arriued there, who told me that my Father died some two moneths past, I list not write any lies, but that which I write is as true as strange. When I returned into *England* some foure yeeres after, I would not open the barrell I sent from *Prage*, nor looke on the paper Booke in which I had written this dreame, till I had called my sisters and some friends to be witnesses, where my selfe and they were astonished to see my written dreame answere the very day of my Fathers death.

I may lawfully sweare, that which my kinsmen haue heard witnessed by my brother *Henry* whilst he liued, that in my youth at *Cambridge* I had the like dreame of my Mothers death, where my brother *Henry* lying with me, early in the morning I dreamed that my mother passed by with a sad countenance, and told me that shee could not come to my commencement; I being within fise moneths to proceed Master of Arts, and shee hauing promised at that time to come to *Cambridge*: And when I related this dreame to my brother, both of vs awaking together in a sweat, he protested to me that he had dreamed the very same, and when wee had not the least knowledge of our Mothers sicknesse, neither in our youthfull affections were any whit affected with the strangenesse of this dreame, yet the next Carrier brought vs word of our mothers death.

Being (as I haue said) certified of my Fathers death at *Nurnberg*, and thinking not fit to goe on my iourney into *Italy*, and yet being loath to returne into *England*, before I had finished my purposed voyage, I tooke the middle counsell, to returne into the Low Countries, that in those neere places I might dispose of my small pattimony (for in *England* gentlemen giue their younger sonnes lesse, then in forraine parts they giue to their bastards) and so might leaue the same in the hands of some trusty friend. Yet lest I should loose the opportunity of seeing *Augsburg*, meaning to returne some other way into *Italy*, I resolved to goe from hence to *Augsburg*, and then to crosse ouer the West parts of *Germany*, and so to passe along the Riuer *Rhein* into the Low Countries.

To *Augsburg* (being two dayes iourney and a halfe) I hired of the City Carrier (in whose company I went) an Horse for two Dollors, as I remember. The Merchants of *Nurnberg* and *Augsburg*, giue pensions to eight of these Carriers, daily passing betweene those Cities, besides the profit they make of letters, and other things they carry by horse. The first day after breake-fast, we rode one mile in a thicke wood, and another mile through sandy corne fields, somewhat wooddy, both in the territory of the *Nurnbergers*, and foure miles more in the territory of the *Margraue of Anspach*, to *Blinfield*, where each man paid for his supper and horse meat sixe batzen. The second day we rode foure miles to *Monheime* through a wood of Iuniper, full of blacke berries and barberries, at the end whereof was a free City called *Wassenberge*, and after through fruitfull hils and valleies of corne, all the territory, excepting the free City, belonging to the Marshall of the Emperour (not of the Empire): when we came almost to our iourneies end, the Carrier had a guide giuen him, according to custome, for theeues vsing to lie by that way. *Monheime* belongs to the Phaltz-graue of *Newburg*, being of the family of the Phaltz-graues of *Rhein*, and there we paid each man for his dinner and horse-meat thirty foure creitzers, which make eight batzen and a halfe, and there we tasted Iuniper wine, which I neuer remember to haue tasted else where. After dinner we rode two miles and a halfe through fruitfull hils of corne, and a small wood of Okes (though all the woods of vpper *Germany* be commonly of firre, bearing greene leaues all winter, as those of inferiour *Germany* towards *Denmarke*, be all of Okes.) By the way we passed a Monastery granted to the Phaltzgraue of *Rhein* by the

Emperour, and a free City of the Empire, called *Donaward*, of the two Rivers *Danow* & *werd*, meeting there; and there we passed by bridge the *Danow*, running by the City. Then we rode to *weschendorff* two miles and a halfe more, through fruitfull fields of corne & pastures, the Country belonging to the Fugares (Citizens of *Augsburg*) & to diuers other Lords. The Castle of this place belongs to the said *Fugares*, who are rich & famous for their treasure; & though they haue princely reuenues, & the title of barons, yet stil are merchants: here each man paid for his supper & horf-meat 8. batzen & a half.

Augsburg.

The third day in the morning we rode three miles to *Augsburg*, through a fruitfull plaine of corne; without the wals whereof on the East and North, and some part of the South sides, the fields are drowned with waters, and men passe to the Citie by caufies, for on these sides the ground lieth low: but on the West side is all the beauty of the City, where the houses are seated vpon a hill, and ther is a place for the Merchants to meet, called the *Berle*, and likewise the Senate house in the street *Weingasse*, so called of the Wine cellars. There also be many Pallaces stately built, of the Fugares and other Citizens: all the building is of free stone fixe or seuen roofes high; but in other parts it is more poorely built of timber and clay. On this West part of the City is the Gate called *Kuknerthore*, and the ditches are dry, as they be round about the City; the wals are of stone, which being on all other sides narrow, are on this side broad: for vpon the wals of this side there be little houses built for fife hundred Garrison Souldiers to dwell in, with their wiues and families: which place is vulgarly called *Die schwang*. Here the Souldiers keep watch each three daies by turne, & each of them haue for pay six guldens by the moneth, and there is a market place, whether the Souldiers vpon any difference vse to challenge each other. On this West side is another gate vulgarly called *Der Einlasse*, by which passengers are receiued into the City by night, when the gates are shut; and this their entrance is so curiously admitted, as many strangers desirous to see the fashon, suffer themselues of purpose to be locked out at night, and willingly giue a reward to the souldiers letting them in: when they receiue in those that are shut out, diuers gates are opened; and no man being seene to open them, are presently shut on the back of them that come in: then they being thus shut as it were in a prison, a box is put downe to them in which they cast a reward; which done, the Watch-men out of win dows behold each man that is to enter, and so being safe from all treason, let them passe by the last gate into the City. On the South side there be two gates, *Roatthore* and *Smithogenthore*; on the East side the gate *Iacobertthore*, and a little gate called *Holeblatten-thorelin*. On the East side the River *werda* & the Brooke *Lecca* running towards the North in three armes, diuide the City, and the Suburbs on that side are more strongly fortified then other where. The City ioyned with the Suburbs is of a round forme; and in the Suburbs on this side, the Fugares haue built many houses to be let for a gulden yeerely to the poore that are Papists. On the North side the wals are higher built, and the ditches are deepe filled with water, and there be foure other gates: this side of the City lying lowest, the fields without are (as I said) all drowned with water. Here each man paid for each meale six or seuen Batzen: I paid for two meales and my horf meat twenty three Batzen. This City hath a very faire conduit called the Stately Workmanship, vulgarly *Statlich Kunst*, and the fountaine of the water is ten miles from the City. There be ten very faire Churches. In the Cathedrall Church it is written in golden letters, *that the bowels of Otho the Emperour are buried there*. Also there is a curious picture of Christ praying in the garden, whilst his Disciples slept; and vpon a very faire Clocke are three statuaes of the three Kings of *Colen*, (so they call the Wise Men of the East) and these carried about by a circle of iron, worship Christ when the Clocke strikes. In the Senate House (where the imperiall Parliaments vulgarly called *Reichs-tagen* haue often beene held) I found nothing to answer the magnificence of this City; onely on the gates this is written: *Wise men build vpon the Rocke, Fooles vpon the Sand*: (for I said this part of the City on the West side was built vpon a stony hill.) In the Iesuites Church the Altar is of siluer gilded ouer, and another Altar of Christs Natiuity is curiously painted like the barks of trees. *Augsburg* (called of the Vandals, for distinction from *Augsburg Rauracorum* in *Sweitzerland*,) is diuided from the Vandals by the Brooke *Lycus*, and being of old a City of *Rhetia*, now is reckoned the metropolitane City of *Suenia*, vulgarly *Schwaben*, & is said

said to haue beene built by the sonne of *Iaphet*, sixe hundred yeeres before *Rome* was builded. Of old they had a yeerely feast to *Ceres*, and now vpon the same day they haue a Faire: and for the fruitfulness of the soyle, the City giues a sheaue of corne for their Armes. This City was vtterly destroyed by *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, and when he was dead, was rebuilt againe. It is a free Citie of the Empire, (which are vulgarly called *Reichs-statt*,) and as other free Cities, it is gouerned by Senators. There bee many Almes houses for the poore, and one, wherein foure hundreth are nourished, by rents of land and houses, giuen to that house of old by good men. The Citie is seated vpon the Northern mouth of the *Alpes*, in a fruitfull plaine of corne and pastures, and Hills full of game for hunting, and it may bee gathered how populous it is, by that a *German* Author writes, that in a yeere when no plague raigned, 1705 were baptized, and 1227 buried.

Being constant in my purpose taken at *Nurnberg*, to goe from *Auspurge*, to the West parts of *Germany*, and so into the Low-countries; yet I wil remember the Reader, that he shall finde the iourney from *Augspurg* to *Venice*, described in my voyage from *Stode* to *Venice*, and thence to *Hierusalem*. From *Augspurg* I rode to *Vlmē*, and thence to *Lindawe*, and all the way hired my horse for sixe or seuen *Batzen* a day, paying for the daies in which my horse returned, and hyring footmen to bring them backe, and bearing their charges. The first day I rode foure miles thorow the territory of the *Fugars*, and the Bishop of *Tilleng*, and one mile in the territory of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, of the house of *Inspriuch*, in a mountainous Countrey full of Woods, of Iuniper, Alhes, Oakes, and Beaches, to *Burg*; where each man paid for his dinner and horsemeat, eight *Batzen*.

In the afternoone I rode foure miles to *Vlmē*, through a fruitfull plaine of corne. Entering the City, we passed by a Bridge, the Riuer *Danow*, which (though running in a plaine) yet hath a most violent course, so as boats carried downe the streame, vse to be sold at the place where they land, it being very difficult to bring them backe again; yet some Barks of burthen are sometimes drawne backe, by the force of horses. My selfe haue seene tenne horses drawing one Barke, but they vse a greater number, according to occasion, some thirty or more, as they report; and he that rides on the horse neerest the Barke, is called *Wage-halse*, that is, Necke venturer, because hee and the horse are often drawn vnder the water, till the other horses draw them out again. This Riuer hath foure great water fals, vwhereof the greatest is at *Strudale*, eightene miles from *Vienna*, vvhich is hardly to be passed, except it be in a floud. And the multitude of Bridges are very dangerous for boats, by reason of the violent streame, and especially because the Marriners are many times drunken, or negligent. They vse for a charme, to sprinkle their drawing horses with water, and vse with continuall loud cries to make them draw. This Nauigation is very necessary that the lower *Oestreich*, being fertill, may supply the vpper being barren, with wine and corne. *Munster* writeth of two fals of this Riuer, one below *Lintz*, where the waters make a terrible noyse, beating vpon the rocky bed, the other at *Gryn*, vwhere the water makes a dangerous whirle-pool of vnsearchable depth. *Vlmē* is seated in *Schwaben* or *Sueuia*, as *Augspurge* is; and hath his name of Elmetrees. *Charles* the Great built a Monastery in this Village, which in time grew to a City, and vnder the Emperour *Fredrick* the third, bought their freedome of the Monkes. The building thereof is of wood and clay. The order of Knights called in Latine, *Teutonicus*, was in old time of great power, and hath yet a house in this Citie. It hath one stately Church, in the Yard whereof, the Mount *Oliuet* is curiously ingrauen. It hath a faire Senate house, and the Armory hath such store of Ordinance and all Munitions, as it yeeldeth not therein to the proudest City in *Germany*. The writing Tables, made in this City, are famous for their goodnesse, and are thence carried into forraine parts. The diet of the Innes of this City (seated in a most fertill soyle) is very plentifull, both in meats and banquets, where each man paid for his dinner, seuen *Batzen*. In this Countrey they drinke nothing but wine, (as they doe in all vpper *Germany*,) but it is sharpe, and the Masse or measure is sold for three *Batzen*. When wee were at dinner, a Tumbler came

came in, and being admitted to shew his cunning, hee stood vpon his head and dranke a measure of wine, which seemed strange to the beholders.

After dinner, we rode a mile in a pleasant valley vpon the *Danow*, which wee passed, and rode two miles further in the like fertill plaine, which is very large, and by all men much commended for the fruitfull pastures thereof. And so wee came to *Baltring*, subiect to a little free Citie called *Bubery*, and here each man paid five *Batzen* for dinner, and three for horse-meat. Next morning, after a miles riding, we came to the City *Bubery* and rode two miles further to *Walschut*, through woody Mountaines, and corne vallies, which were so boggey, as many times wee had almost stuck fast: The Countrey belongs to the Arch-Duke, of the family of *Inspruck*; and heere wee paid each man nine *Batzen* for dinner and horsemeat. After dinner wee rode two miles through a woody Country, to *Rauenspurgh*, a free Citie, seated betweene Mountaines, whereof one hangeth ouer it, and the Riuer *Ach* runneth by it, in a narrow bed; so as the warters falling from the Mountaines very swiftly, doe many times ouerflow, to the great damage of the Countrey; and from the Mountaines many wooden pipes conuey water to the City. In these parts bee many Almes houses, for those that are infected with Leprosie, who may not come neere the Passengers, but doe beg of them a farre off, with the sound of a wooden clapper. Heere each man paid for his supper and horse-meat, twelue *Batzen* and a halfe. The first day of *May*, we rode three miles, one through a Wood, the rest through a plaine of corne and inclosed pastures, and Hills planted with Vines, to the City *Lindaw*. By the way vve saw the house of Count *Montfort*, and passed the Riuer *Arba* by a Bridge, which doth often ouerflow the plaine, doing great hurt; and there wee paid halfe a *Creitzer* tribute to the said Count, for each man. We were now come out of *Suenia*, and had rode two miles in *Algoia*, and on the left hand towards the South, we discovered the mouth of the *Alpes*, which in this place is called *Spiego*.

Lindaw.

Lindaw is a free City of the Empire, which freedome it bought in the yeere 1166, and it is almost an Iland, seated in the lake called *Aconius* (vulgarly *Bodensea*) being ioyned to the continent by a Bridge of stone on the North-east side, where it hath onely one gate, called *Burg-thore*, by which we entered. On this side, the fields are very pleasant, and planted with Vines, and neere the Bridge there is a Rampier, so old, as they say, it was erected by the Heathen, before any Christians were. Hence the City lies in length towards the South West: partly on the West, and altogether on the South side lies the lake *Bodensea*, that is, vpper sea, close by the houses of the Citizens, where they descend by staires to take water. Beyond the lake are most high Mountaines, which were then couered with snow, and at the foot of the highest Mountaines, there is a Tower, which they report to be builit by *Hannibal*, neere which is the place, famous by the defeat of *Hasdrubal*. On this side the City, they shew a stone, whence they say, the Saint called *Aurelia*, passed the lake (woe to them that beleue) at one step. The Riuer *Bregets* falleth most violently from the said Mountaines, whence also the *Rheine* descendeth in a narrow bed, and may bee passed with horse and foot when it ouerfloweth not. Both these runne into the Lake, and the *Rheine*, till it come out of the Lake againe, loseth the name. There is but one Church in the City, besides a ruined Monastery. The Citizens draw their water to see the their meat, and mingle it with wine; not out of the Lake, but from Wels. Three Consuls chosen for life, and twenty Senators gouerne the City. Beyond the Lake in the Territorie of the Arch Dukes of *Austria*, is a bath of great vertue, and a Monastery built by *Otho* the second, with great priuiledges, vpon a vow hee made, being in great danger, when he passed the Lake, and there murtherers haue a sanctuary. There is much salt made in the City, and carried thence to other parts. Heere I paid each meale six *Batzen*. They drinke altogether wine, whereof the measure of the old is given for eleuen *Creitzers*, the new for nine, (of which measures twentie make some twenty two English beere quarts. By ill fortune I was here forced to exhibite a Petition to the Consuls, both in the Dutch and Latine tongues, the euent whereof I will set downe after the Petition. The forme whereof in English was this,

this, after the Dutch fashion, euer tedious in their stiles or titles.

Honourable, provident, good, wise, Lords and Consuls; I humbly desire you to respect my cause, as of a stranger far from his friends, and bereaved of his money by deceit. Thus my case standeth. Being at Nurnberg, and purposing thence to goe to Bazell, there to study, I dealt with a Merchant, that hee would exchange my money thither, retaining onely so much as would plentifully serve mee for my expences thither. There I met with M. B. a Citizen of Lindaw, who told me that the gold Guldens of Rheine were not to be spent in these parts without losse. So as I finding him acknowledged by the Carriers of this City (then being there) and by many Nurnbergers, for the sonne of a Senator in this Towne, was induced to deliver him some gold Guldens, to be paid mee heere in French Crownes, and wee comming in company together to this Towne, when I saw many principall Citizens gratulate his returne, I was induced to deliver him the rest of my gold Guldens, which I had kept for the expence of my journey, upon his promise to exchange them into French Crownes. So as in all hee is to pay mee thirtie two French Crownes wanting six Creitzers, (for twenty seven of which French Crownes, and thirty six Creitzers, I tooke his bill at Nurnberg, but the rest I delivered him here upon his bare word.) Heere I expected his payment eight dayes, and when I was instant with him to put off the payment no longer, he is stoln out of the Towne, and his brothers give me no hope of payment: being not so noble, as to ponder the case rightly, or to have any due feeling of my state. Being in this case, not able without money to goe on my journey, or indure the delays of a sute in Law against him heere; all my hope is in your iust helpe, which failing me, I know not what course to take. Therefore I desire earnestly of your worthinesse, to assist mee, and give expedition to my cause; that I may be delivered by your goodnesse.

My debtor, while he lived in the publike Inne with mee, vsed mee with all curtesie; but finding himselfe disinherited by his father lately dead, and so despairing of means to pay me; he was now fled to the Monastery beyond the Lake, being a sanctuary for wicked persons and bankrupts. He that knowes the honesty of the Dutch, will not much marvell that I was thus deceived by a Dutch-man, whom I knew not to be tainted with forraine vices, but it grieved me to be thus scorned by fortune, & it afflicted me beyond measure, that I should bee forced to spend the time (dearer to mee then gold) in following the Law at Lindaw, which I hoped to imploy in my studies at Bazell. Therefore not to bee wanting to my selfe, I hyred a horse, and made this cozenage knowne to the Arch-Dukes officer, desiring him to exclude my debtor from the priuiledge of the Monastery. But this Dutch Gentleman; finding mee to speake Latine readily, tooke mee for some Schoole-master, and despised both mee and my cause: so as I returned to the Citie weary and sad, hauing obtained no fauor. But a better starre shined there on mee, for the Consuls that day had determined in Court, that my debtors horses should bee sought out, and delivered to mee; and the Lawyers and Clearkes were so courteous to me, as neither they nor any other would take the least reward of mee, though I pressed them to receiue it. Then my debtors brother being loth the horses should be carried away, paid me my mony, and I gladly tooke my journey thence towards Bazel. This integrity of the Dutch Magistrates, (which especially in the Cities of the reformed Religion, hauing found by many testimonies, I cannot sufficiently commend) and curtesie of the Dutch towards strangers, I haue thought good in this place thankfully to acknowledge.

Vpon the Lake *Acronius*, vulgarly *Boden-sea*, that is vpper sea, I passed by boate foure miles to *Costnetz*, and paid for my passage three Batzen. Betweene this vpper sea and the lower sea; vulgarly *Vnden-sea*: this Citie *Costnetz* lyeth on the banke Costnetz lengthwise, and is subiect to *Ferdinand* of *Inspruch*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whose base sonne hath also the Bishopricke of that City; which is famous by a Councell held there, whither *John Hus* was called; with the Emperours safe conduct, in the yeere 1414, yet was there condemned of Heresie, and burned. On the West side of the Citie, within the walles, in the Monastery called *Barfussen* Cloyster, is the Tower

Tower wherein he was imprifoned ; and without the walles on the left hand, as you goe out, is a faire meadow, and therein a ftone vpon the high-way, to which he was bound, being burnt the fame yeere 1414, in the Month of *Iuly*. Where alfo his fellow *Ierom* of *Prage* was burnt in *September*, the yeere following, both their afhes being caft into the Lake, left the Bohemians fhould carry them away. The Senate-houle in which this Councell was held, is of no beauty. When the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, befieged this Citie, it was yeelded to the hands of *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, and brother to *Charles*, who made the Citizens peace for them. Heere each man paid eight Batzen a meale, and for wine betweene meales, eight creitzers the meafure.

Hence I went by boat, two miles to *Styga*, and paied for my paffage two Batzen. We tooke boat at the end of the Lake clofe by the City ; where the *Rheine* comming againe out of the Lake, and taking his name therein loft, doth runne in an narrow bed ; and when wee had gone by water fome houre and a halfe, wee entred the lower Lake, called *Vnden-fea*. Neere *Coftnetz* is an Iland called little *Meinow*, and in this lower lake is another Iland called *Reichnow*, of the riches, the Monaftery therof hauing of old fo much lands, as the Monkes being fent to *Rome*, vfed to lodge euery night in their owne poffeffions. This Iland is faid to beare nothing that hath poyfon, fo as any fuch beaft dieth prefently in it: and in the Monaftery are fome reliques of Saint *Marke*, for which (as they fay) the Venerians haue offered much money. VVriters report that of old, a Monke thereof climbing vp a ladder, to looke into a huge vefsell of wine, and being ouercome with the vapour, fell into the fame, with a great bunch of keyes in his hand, and that fhortly after this wine was fo famous, as Princes and Nobles, and many fickly perfons vfuallly fent for the fame ; the caufe of the goodnes being not knowne to proceed of the putrified flefh, till the vefsell being empty, the keyes and the Friers bones were found therein ; the Monkes till then thinking that their fellow had fecretly gone to fome other Monaftery of that Order: yet the Dutch in my company reported, that this happened in a Monaftery not farre off, called *Salmanfchwell*. By the way was a ftately Pallace belonging to the *Eugares* of *Augfburg*. On the Eaft fide, out of the walles of *Styga*, lye woody fields, on the Weft fide the Iland *Horne* ; and pleafant Hills full of vines and corne. In this City, the Bifhop of *Coftnetz* hath his Pallace, who is Lord of the two Ilands, *Meinow*, and *Reichnow*, and hath very large poffeffions in thefe parts, mingled with the territories of other Lords. And this City is vpon the confines of *Germany* and *Sweitzerland*.

*Schaffhau-
fen.*

Hence I paffed by boat two miles to *Schaffhauſen*, and paied for my paffage two Batzen. The fwiftnes of the *Rheine* made the miles feeme fhort, and this riuer againe lofeth his name in the faid lower Lake, and when it comes (or rather violently breakes) out of it, then refumes it againe. This City is one of the confederate Cantons of *Sweitzerland*. Not farre from this City, on the South fide in the riuer *Rheine*, is a great fall of the waters ouer a rocke fome fifty cubits downeward, paffing with huge noyfe and ending all in fome. And for this caufe the Barkes are forced to vn-lade here, and to carry their goods by carts to the City, and from the City to imbarke them againe, which yeeldeth great profit to the City, by taxation impoſed on the goods, which muſt neceſſarily be landed there. On both fides the riuer, as we came to this City, are pleafant hills planted with vines, & faire paſtures with ſweet groues. The City is round in forme, and is waſhed with the *Rheine* on the South fide; and vpon the banke of the riuer within the Towne, is a pleafant greene, where the Citizens meete to exerciſe the ſhooting of the Harquebuze and croſſe-Bow, where alſo is a *Lynden* or *Teyle* tree, giuing ſo large a ſhade, as vpon the top it hath a kinde of chamber, boarded on the floore, with windowes on the ſides, and a cocke, which being turned, water falls into a veſſel through diuers pipes, by which it is conueyed thither for waſhing of glaſſes and other uſes : and heere the Citizens uſe to drinke and feaſt together, there being fixe tables for that purpoſe. On the ſame South fide is a Monaftery, with walles and gates like a little City. It hath the name of *Schaffe*, that is a ſheepe, or *Schiff*, that is a ſhip, and *Hauſſe*, that is a houſe, as of a fold for ſheepe, or
roade

roade for shippes. Here I paid for each meale six batzen. For the better vnderstanding of my iourney from *Schafhusen* to *Zurech*, I will prefix a letter which I wrote to that purpose from *Bazell*.

To the Right Worshippfull Master Doctor Iohn Vlmer.

IN those few houres I staid at *Schafhusen*, you haue made me your Seruant for euer. I remember the houres of our conuersation, which for the sweetnes thereof seemed minutes to me : I remember the good offices you did towards me a stranger, with gentlenes, if not proper to your selfe, yet proper to your Dutch Nation. Now as soone as I had pitched my tents at *Bazell*, (for me thinkes I am one of the *Nomades*, euery day changing my dwelling,) I thought fit to giue you account of my iourney, whereof I am sure you desire to know the successe. I will euer be ruled in doubtfull cases by the counsell of so wise and so good a friend as your selfe : but you shall neuer more perswade me to take a iourney on foot, which I find vnprofitable for my health & purse. The other day after dinner by your aduice, I took my iourney on foot, & with more sighes then paces, came in foure houres with much paine to the little City *Eglisaw*, and comming to the linn, they offered me meat, but I did nothing but so crie out for my bed, as you would haue said I was the eldest sonne of sloth. To be brieft, they being slow to satisfie my desire, I flung my selfe on the fether bed without sheetes, and so at ease supped on the old fashion with the cloth spread on the bed : you gaue me a pleasant companion to guide me the way, who made it seeme shorter with his good discourse, and was very diligent to serue my occasions : next morning early by twilight, we began our iourney, hauing the gates opened for a little reward. You may thinke that I was fresh after my nights rest for a new iourney, but I rose early onely to be out of my paine. By nine of the clocke in the morning we came to the faire City *Zurech*, which seemed fairer to me at the end of my tedious walke : presently I ran into my chamber, and with like importunity as before, obtained my bed to be made, the Mercury you gaue to guide me, brought me meat plentifully, and there we dined together, then because he was to returne to *Schafhusen* that night, I gaue him a Gulden for his paines, besides paying his charges, and fiftene Creitzers of free gift. Each of vs went to our taske, he (as I thought) to goe, I to sleepe. Since I haue begun, I will tell you Historically all circumstances, so you promise me not to reprove him, but rather to salute and thanke him in my name, which if you refuse, I coniure you on all loue to read no further. After foure houres behold this honest man, with a garland of roses on his head, a glasse and pot in his hands, and well armed with drinke, entered my chamber; I being halfe asleepe wiped my eies, as if I had seene a vision, till he drinke to me, and importuning me to pledge him, made mee know it was no apparition : we drinke a whole houre together, then in good earnest he went away, and did nothing. (to my knowledge) more wisely, then that being drunken, he left his reckoning of forty eight Creitzers to be paid by me, who was sober. Neither *Ceres* nor *Bacchus* could for twenty houres draw me from bed, but the next morning I deliuered your Letters to Master Doctor S. who vsed me very curteously, and presented mee with a Booke he had lately printed. So this Comedy is ended, onely I will adde the Epilogue. Here at *Bazell* I can get for no money the Booke of *Semlerus de Repub. Helvetica*, which you commended vnto me: at last I found it in a friends study, who esteemed it as the apple of his eye, yet I so preuailed with him, as he let me haue it, vpon my faithfull promise; that because I meant to blot the same with notes, I should procure him a new Booke; wherein if you doe not disingage mee by sending the same vnto me, I shall forget the small credit of a stranger. Farewell good Sir, and I pray you let vs not suffer this sparke of our loue to goe out, but rather with often writing, let vs set all the coale on fire. Againe farewell : from *Bazell* the 24. day of *May* 1592.

From *Schafhusen* I tooke my iourney on foot (as is aboue written) and went halfe a mile in the territory of that City, and a mile and a halfe in the territory of the Count of *Zults* a Sweitzer, the lands of *Zurech* lying on the South side from vs; and so wee

passed through Mountaines yeelding corne, and planted with vines, and through woods, pastures, and a large valley of corne, and in foure houres space (for the miles of *Sweitzerland* are so long, as they reckon the iourneies of horse or foot by the houres, and not by the miles) came to *Eglisaw*, and entering the same, passed the Riuer *Rheine* by a Bridge, where I paide two creitzers for tribute, and there I supped for five Batzen.

Zurech.

The next morning I went two miles on foot in six houres space to *Zurech*, through a long wood, and hils of corne (which they say are often blasted with haile) and through wooddy Mountaines, and hils of inclosed pastures, with store of Vines planted neere the City, which is one of the Cantons of *Sweitzerland*, hauing on the West side the Lake called *Zurechsea*, and the Brooke *Limachus*, hauing his head eight miles further on the same side, runneth into this lake, and after comming out, diuideth the City into two parts, called the greater and the lesse City, hauing three bridges for passage, the greater whereof the Merchants vse for their meetings. The foresaid Lake is three miles long, and hath on each side pleasant hils planted with Vines. The foresaid Brooke neere the City beareth onely small boates, and is all taken vp with water mills, but about towards the Alpes is deeper, and below neere *Baden* runneth into the *Rheine*. The streetes of *Zurech* are narrow, and the Houses builded of timber and clay, and the City it selfe is seated vpon and betweene hils, which on the East side of the Brooke grow higher from it. On the North-west side is a pleasant Mountaine, and a faire meadow for shooting with gunnes, and other exerciles, wherein is a faire Lynden or teyle tree, yeelding large and sweet shadow, where the Citizens meete to recreate themselves, and to feast together. The Armes of the City are a Man and Woman, called *Felix & Regula*: without the City on the South, is the foresaid Lake, and beyond it the Alpes couered with snow. On the West side is a plaine, and the Mountaines farre off, but on the North and East sides the Mountaines lie neere. The Citizens haue a custome that when they goe forth against the enemy, they place the Ministers or Pastors in the front, or where they may partake the danger, and there is a place two miles from the City towards *Lucerna*, where *Zwinglius* a famous Preacher and reformer of Religion was killed in the field. Here I paid each meale six batzen.

Baden.

I rode three miles to *Baden* in three houres, and so hired my Horse as besides the price of six or seuen batzen the day, I paid as much for the daies in which he returned, and also paid the hire and charges of one to bring him backe. Most part of our way was in the territory of *Zurech*, through hils of corne and vines, and a plaine of inclosed pastures. Entering the City we passed the brooke *Limachus* by a bridge: the Suburbs are built vpon the ascent of a Mountaine, and the City on the top of it, where there is a Castle vpon a Rocke, of old very strong, but now ruinated: on the North side descending into a valley by the brooke on the right hand, or vpon the East side, within a musket shot lie the Baths, which are famous for medicine, and are in number thirty, seated on each side the Brooke, which diuideth them into *Bethora* the great and the little. In the great, diuers Bathes are contained vnder one roofe of a faire house, and without the gate are two common to the poore. These waters are so strong of brimstone, as the very smoake warmeth them that come neere, and the waters burne those that touch them. Of these one is called the Marques Bath, and is so hot, as it will scald off the haire of a Hogge: many hauing no dileafe but that of loue, howsoeuer they faine sicknesse of body, come hither for remedy, and many times find it. Weomen come hither as richly attired as if they came to a marriage: for Men, Weomen, Monkes, and Nunnes, sit all together in the same water, parted with boords, but so as they may mutually speake and touch, and it is a rule here to shun all sadnes, neither is any icalousie admitted for a naked touch. The waters are so cleere as a penny may be seene in the bottome, and because melancholy must be auoided, they recreate themselves with many sports, while they sit in the water; namely at cards, and with casting vp and catching little stones, to which purpose they haue a little table swimming vpon the water, vpon which sometimes they doe likewise eate. These Bathes are very good for Weomen that are barren. They are also good for a cold braine, and a stomacke

macke charged with rhume; but are hurtfull for hot and dry complexions, and in that respect they are held better for Weomen then Men. The Innes were wont to pay tribute to the three Cantons, of *Baden, Brucke*, and *Bazell*; but now *Baden* alone makes great profit of them, by the great concourse of sickely persons, and the Parliaments of the Cantons commonly held there. I paid for my diet six Batzen a meale.

From hence I hired a Horse at the same rate as before; and passing through woody Mountaines, came in three houres riding to the City *Brucke*. By the way I passed the Brooke *Russe*, which runneth from *Lucerna* into these parts, and the boate was drawne by a cable running vpon a wheele, by reason of the waters swift course: where I paid for my passage sixe creitzers: and when I came neere *Bruck*, I passed the Brooke *Ara* by a bridge, paying one creitzer for tribute; and here I paid five batzen a meale. From hence hiring a horse as before, I rode in two houres space to *Hornsea*, through steepe Mountaines, and a wood of Oake: by the way lies *Kingsfeld*, that is *Kinglyfield*, a Monastery so called; because Widowe Queenes, and Kings; forsaking their Scepters, and inferiour Princes were wont of old to enter into this place for the solitary profession of Religion. In the same Cloyster of old, liued the Friars of Saint *Francis* order, in the building on the right hand as you come in; and the Nunnes of Saint *Clara* on the left hand, and both came to the same Chappell, the Friars to the body of the Church, and the Nunnes to close galleries aboue, looking out and hearing through grates. The Emperour *Albertus* being killed by his Nephew in the yeere 1380. at *Santbacke* three miles distant, this Monastery was built for his memory; though his bones were buried at *spire*. The reuenues of this monastery grew in time to be yeerly forty thousand Guldens, which are now appropriated to the common treasure of the *Sweitzer Cantons*. *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* lies here buried. *Ferdinand* of *Insprucke*, one of the Arch-dukes of *Austria*, is Lord of *Hornsea*; all the rest of the territories from *Schafhusen* to this place, belonging to the Cantons of *Sweitzerland*: and here I paid sixe batzen a meale. Hence I hired a horse as before, and rode in five houres to *Rheinfeld* through fruitfull hills of corne, hauing on all sides woody Mountaines in sight. Here againe I passed the *Rheine*, and paid two raps for my horse and my selfe; foot-men paying but one. The *Rheine* passeth by with a violent course, and washeth the Towne on the East side. Here I paid sixe Batzen a meale.

Hence hiring a Horse as before, I rode in two houres space to *Bazell*, through a faire plaine of corne and pasture, lying vpon the *Rheine*, hauing on all sides woody Mountaines in sight, and neere the City were most pleasant fields planted with vines, to the which fields the territory of the said Arch-duke extendeth on the East side of the *Rheine*. I entered by little *Bazell* seated in a plaine on the East side of *Rheine*, and so passed by a bridge of wood into the greater *Bazell*, seated vpon pleasant hills on the West side of *Rheine*. This City of old was one of the imperiall free Cities, but now is ioined to the Cantons of *Sweitzerland*, and was built in the yeere 382. hauing the name of a *Basiliske*, flaine by a Knight couered with cristall, or of the word *Pasell*, which in Dutch signifies a beaten path, or of the greeke word *Basilius*, as a kingly City. The lesse *Bazell* was of old built by an Arch-duke of *Austria*, in preiudice of the greater, and after being sold to it for thirty thousand guldens, was incorporated therevnto: The grearer hath many caues vnder the hills, and suffered a great earth-quake in the yeere 1346, at which time the Pallace neere the Cathedrall Church fell into the *Rheine*, and another Earth-quake in the yeere 1356. wherein 180. persons were killed, all the people flying out of the Towne. *Eugenius* the Pope held a Councell in this City, the yeere 1431. The Bridge of wood ioyning the little and great City, diuided by the *Rheine*, is broad enough for two carts to passe at once; and towards little *Bazell* six Arches are of stone: but towards great *Bazell* where the *Rheine* runneth most swiftly, eight Arches are built of wood, that they may be more easily repaired, and vpon any warre from *Germany* more readily broken downe. This City is of the forme of an half Moone, (I meane the great City, reckoning the lesse for a Suburbe) and being seated vpon diuers hills on the West side of the *Rheine*, imbraceth betweene the two hornes the lesser City, seated in a plaine on the East side of *Rheine*. On the West side of the

greater, the Emperor *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg* besieged the City, and on this side something towards the North, within the walles, is a most pleasant Greene for walking, called *Peter platz*. In this place is the Armory of the City, and the tribunal of Iustice, and some faire houses of priuate men, and a most pleasant shade of trees, among which is an Oake, whose boughes are in circuit one hundred forty walking paces, and from the root are more then twenty such paces in length forward. And they report that the Emperor *Maximilian* the second, supped vnder this Oake, and gaue 2000. Guldens to keepe and trim it. On the East side of great *Bazel*, the *Rheine* runneth by it, from the South to the North, and the yard of the Cathedrall Church lieth quer the riuer, and hath a *Lynden tree*, which giueth very pleasant shade, hauing seats vnder it, and along the riuer. The course of the *Rheine* is very swift, but not so violent as that of the *Danow*; yet the water-men of *Bazel* (as those that dwel vpon the *Danow*) sell their boats at *Strasburg*, which they weekly carrie thither, and cannot bring backe against the streame of the *Rheine*, and so they returne home on foot, (alwaies remembred that this riuer is at the broadest betweene *Bazel* and *Strasburg*.) Pope *Pius* the second, founded an Vniuersitie at *Bazel*, in the yeere 1459, and gaue it all the priuiledges of *Bologna* in *Italy*. In the publike Innes, men pay six Batzen a meale; but the Students haue their diet with Doctors and Citizens for some eight Dollers a month. My selfe dieted with the Ouerseer of the Coledge, and paid two Guldens a weeke; for strangers may hire chambers in the Coledge, and the Ouerseer willingly admits them to diet with him. In the Cathedrall Church, this is written vpon the Sepulcher of *Hotoman*, a famous Ciuill Lawyer:

<i>Francisco Hotomani</i>	Of Francis Hotoman
<i>I. C.</i>	Counf. at Law.
<i>Mortales exuias</i>	The mortall parts
<i>Tantisper asseruandas</i>	So long to be kept
<i>Dum</i>	Fill
<i>Christo iubente,</i>	Christ bidding
<i>Immortales exurgant</i>	They rise immortall
<i>Amici:</i>	His friends
<i>Sub hoc Saxo</i>	Vnder this stone
<i>Deposuer.</i>	haue laid.
<i>Loco Honoris ergo</i>	The place for honours sake,
<i>Ab Aedis Curatoribus</i>	By the gouernours of the house
<i>Liberal: concess.</i>	Being freely granted.
<i>Vixit An: 63. M. 5.</i>	He liued 63. yeeres five M.
<i>D. 20. Ob: Prid:</i>	20, daies: he died the day before
<i>Id: Febru. An.</i>	The Ides of Febr. in the yeere
<i>CIOILOXC.</i>	<i>CIOILOXC.</i>
<i>Gallia progenit, seruat Basilea sepultum,</i>	
<i>Interitus expers nomen, ubiq; viget.</i>	
He borne in <i>France</i> , lies buried here,	
His lasting Name liues euery where.	

In the same place lies *Oecolampadius* buried, (to whom *Luther* opposed himselfe, when in the first reformation of Religion he violently brake downe the Images,) and he hath this inscription in Latine:

M. Iohn Oecolampadius by profession a Diuine, most skilfull in three languages: first Author of the reformed Religion in this City, and the true Bishop of this Church: excellent in sanctity of Doctrine and life, is laid vnder this short stone. In the yeere of our Lord, M. D. XLII.

In the same place lies buried *Erasmus Roterodamus*: with this inscription in Latine:

To Desiderius Erasmus, Roterodamus, a most great man euery way, whose incomparable learning in all kindes of Arts, ioyned with like wisdom, ages to come shall admire and celebrate, Boniface Amenbachius, Ierome, Frobenius, Nichol: Bishop, heire and Executors of his last Will and Testament: to their

their Patron of happy memory, which by his writings he hath got, and so long as the world stands (shall retaine: for the reposing of his mortall body, haue layed this stone. He died the fourth of the Ides of Iuly, being now seuenthy yeeres old, in the yeere of our Lord, MDXXXVI.

These two Verses are written vpon the Tombe of *Lodonicus Pontanus*:

*Hic iacet arte Plato, Cato, vita, Tullius ore,
Vermes corpus alit, spiritus astra petit.
Here lies Plato, Cato, Tully,
For his Art, life, and eloquence,
Wormes doe feede vpon his body,
His soule to heauen is mounted hence.*

There be also the Monuments of *Henricus Glarianus*, and of Bishop *Hatto*, whom the Emperour *Charles* the Great, sent Ambassadour to *Irene* Empresse of the East. In this City a stone is shewed, called the hot stone, vulgarly *Heisteine*, vpon which the Consuls, and diuers others were beheaded, who had conspired to betray the Citie, if the clocke striking false had not preuented, and deceiued both them and the enemies, lying in ambush without the City, & expecting a signe to be giuen them at the houre appointed. And for this cause (or as others say, to hasten the Councell held in the Senate house) the clocke to this day strikes one, when it should strike twelue. Neere the staires of the Senate house is an old Statua on foot, armed, but without a sword, bearing a Scepter, clad with a loose gowne, with a birde sitting on the Helmet, and hath this inscription;

*Hono: & virtuti
L. Munatij L. F. L. N. L. Pron:
Planci
Cos: Imper: & Ter V 11 viri
Epulonum
Qui triumph: ex Rætis
Edem Saturni F. ex
Manub:
Agros diuisti in Italia
Beneuenti.
In Galliam Colonias Ded:
Lugdunum atq;
Rauracum.*

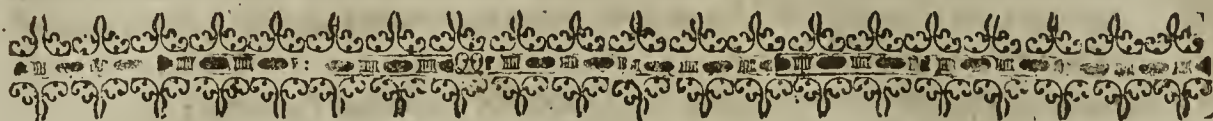
*Ciuitas Basiliensis
Ex bellicosiss: gente
Alemannorum
In Rauracorum fines
Transducta
Simulacrum hoc ex
Senatus Auct:
Dicandum statuendumq;
Curauit.
Anno salutis Christiane
CICIDXXXC.*

Of *Lucius Munatius* the sonne of *Lucius*, grand-child of *Lucius*, great Grand-child of *Lucius* surnamed *Plancus*;
Being Consul, General, and thrice One of the seuen Presidents of the holy Banquets
Who triumphed of the *Rætians*,
Built *Saturnus* Temple with the spoyles,
Diuided the Land in *Italy*
at *Beneuento*,
Deduced Colonies into *Gaul*,
To *Lyons*, and about *Bazel*.

The City of *Bazel* deduced
Of the most warlike Nation
Of the *Alemans*;
Into the Territories of the
Rauraci (or *Basilians*.)
By authority of the Senate,
Procured
This Statua to be consecrated
and heere set.
In the yeere of Christ,
CICIDLXXX

In the house where the Doctors, and other Graduates take their degrees, are the bones of an Anatomy, (for the Magistrates vse to grant the bodies of some men executed to serue this vse,) and it hath this inscription:

*Nostro perempti scelere, aliena viuimus manu,
Et facti vasa honoris, qui fuimus ignominia.
Kild for our wickednesse, we liue by others heere,
And vessels are of honour, as of shame we were.*



CHAP. III.

Of my iourney from Bazel to Strasburg, to Heidelberg, to Frankfort, to Cassiles, to Brunswicke, to Luneburg, to Hamburg, to Stode, to Breme, to Oldenburg, and to Emden, (the last City vpon the confines of the Empire.)



Went by boat to *Strasburg*, fourteene miles, and in sixe hours, vpon the swift *Rheine* we passed six miles to *Brisake*, a City subiect to *Ferdinand* of *Inspruch*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*: but of the villages oft intermixed, some are subiect to the Margraue of *Baden*, and some to diuers Bishops. All the Territory on the VVest side of *Rheine*, almost to *Strasburg* gates, is subiect to the said Arch-Duke, or the Bishop of *Bazel*, or the Duke of *Wirttemberg*. The boates comming downe to *Brisake* and *Neoberg*, pay tribute, and send forth two Marriners, taking from thence two other in their stead. At *Brisake*, each man payes two Rapps for passing the bridge, which is shut vp with an iron chaine, and kept by watch-men, lest any boats should passe without touching there. I said before, that the boats and barkes comming downe, are sold at the end of the way, because they cannot be brought vp against the streame. *Brisake* is seated vpon a round and high Mountaine, and though it bee improbable that there should be any want of waters so neere the foot of the *Alpes*, yet this City hath a fountaine, where water is sold, and a certaine price is giuen for the watering of euery beast.

Strasburg.

VVe passed the other eight miles to *Strasburg*, the same day in eight houres, being helped with the same swiftnesse of the *Rheine*, which being oft diuided by the way, makes many little Ilands. The bridge of *Strasburg* ouer the *Rheine*, is more then a Musket shot from the City, on the East side therof. The bridge is of wood, and hath threescore fise Arches each distant from the other twenty walking paces, and it is so narrow that an horse-man can hardly passe by a cart, it lying open on both sides, and it is built of small pieces of timber laid a crosse, which lye loose; so as one end being pressed with any weight, the other is lifted vp, with danger to fall into the water. It is like they build no stronger bridge, either because they haue tryed that the swift course of the *Rheine* will easily breake it downe, or because in the time of warre it may be good for them to breake it: in which case it were farre greater charge to rebuild it with stone, then with wood. The *Rheine* lying thus farre off from the City, the boats are brought vp to the same by a little channell. The brookes of *Bress* and *Elb*, passe through many streets of the City, and fill all the large ditches thereof with water. The City is very well fortified, hauing high walles of earth, the bottomes whereof are fastned with stone, and the sides with trees planted on the same. On the VVest side towards *France*, are the gates *Weissen-thore*, and *Rheine-thore*. On the East side toward the *Rheine*, is the gate *Croneberg-thore*, at which, though it be out of the way, for the ielousie of neighbour-hood, the French must enter, and at no other. On the East side is the Butchers gate, called, *Metziger-thore*. On the same side is the Cathedrall Church. The circuit of the Cty is three houres walking. The buildings and Churches are faire and high, of free stone; most of the streets are narrow, but those diuided by water are broader. I paid six Batzen a meale, and for wine extraordinary three Batzen the measure. Many things in this City are remarkable. The Steeple of the Cathedrall Church is most beautifull, and numbred among the seuen mira-

miracles of the world, being begun in the yeere 1277; and scarce finished in twentie eight yeeres. In the building of one gate thereof, they say, three Kings treasure was spent; in whose memory three statuaes are there ingrauen. The Church is couered with lead, which is rare in *Germany*, where the chiefe Churches are couered with brasfe, growing in the Countrey. The brazen gates of this church are curiously carued.

The Clocke thereof is of all other most famous, being intuented by *Conradus Dasipodius*, in the yeere 1571. Before the Clocke stands a globe on the ground; shewing the motion of the heauens, starres and planets; namely, of the heauen carried about by the first mouer, in twenty foure houres, of *Saturne* by his proper motion carried about in thirty yeeres, of *Iupiter* in twelue, of *Mars* in two, of the *Sunne*, *Mercury* and *Venus* in one yeere, of the *Moone* in one month. In the Clocke it selfe there be two tables on the right and left hand, shewing the eclipses of the *Sunne* and *Moone*, from the yeere 1577, to the yeere 1605. The third table in the midst, is diuided into three parts. In the first part the statuaes of *Apollo* and *Diana*, shew the course of the yeere, and the day thereof, being carried about in one yeere. The second part shewes the yeere of our Lord, and of the world, the Equinoctiall dayes, the houres of each day, the minutes of each houre; Easter day, and all other feasts, and the Dominicall Letter. The third part hath the Geographicall discription of all *Germany*, and particularly of *Strasburg*, and the names of the Inuentor, and of all the worke-men. In the middle frame of the Clocke is an Astrolabe, shewing the signe in which each Planet is euery day; and there be the statuaes of the seuen Planets, vpon a round piece of iron lying flat, so as euery day the statua of the Planet comes forth that rules the day, the rest being hid within the frame, till they come out by course at their day; as the Sun vpon Sunday, and so for all the weeke. And there is a terrestriall globe, and the quarter, and halfe houre, and the minuts are shewed. There is also the skull of a dead man, and two statuaes of two boyes, whereof one turnes the houre glasse when the Clocke hath stricken; the other puts forward the rod in his hand at each stroke of the clocke. Moreouer there be statuaes of the spring, summer, Autumne, and winter, and many obseruations of the Moone. In the vpper part of the clocke are foure old mens statuaes, which strike the quarters of the houre, the statua of death coming out each quarter to strike; but being driuen backe by the statua of Christ with a speare in his hand, for three quarters, but in the fourth quarter that of Christ goeth backe, and that of death strikes the houre, with a bone in the hand, and then the chimes sound. On the top of the clocke is an Image of a Cock which twice in the day croweth alowd, and beateth his wings. Besides, this clocke is decked with many rare pictures, and being on the inside of the Church, carrieth another frame to the outside of the wall, wherein the houres of the *Sunne*, the courses of the *Moone*, the length of the day, and such like things are set out with great Art.

Besides in the City there is a faire house, in which citizens and strangers at publike meetings or otherwise, vse to feast their inuited friends. Neere the gate *Rheinethore*, is the Armory, vulgarly *Zeighauß*, which aboundeth with Ordinance and all Munitions. They haue a Theater for Comedies, and a Tower to lay vp their treasure, called penny Tower, vulgarly *Phennigthurne*. They say this City is called *Argentina* in latine, of the word *Argentum*, because the Romanis of old laid vp their treasure here, and *Strassburg* in Dutch, of the word *strass* (that is way) and *Burg* (that is a City) as being built where many waies lead to many Prouinces. I had almost omitted one remarkable thing, namely the faire House of the *Cannons*, called *Brudethoff*, that is the Court of the Brethren.

I hired a coach for a Dollor my person, from *Strassburg* to *Heidelberg*, being sixteene miles. The first day after dinner I went foure miles to *Leichtenau*, through a plaine all compassed with Gardens and Orchards, and paid six batzen for my supper. The next morning we went foure miles to *Milberk*, through a sandy and barren plaine; the *Margraue* of *Turloch*, vnkle to the *Margraue* of *Baden* is Lord of this Village. By the

way thither, we passed a Fort of the *Margraues* of *Baden*, where tribute is paid for all Merchandises brought out of *Sweitzerland* and *France*, and these frequent tributes are gathered by the Dutch Princes, vpon pretext that they free the way from theeuers: to which purpose when the Fayres of *Franckfort* draw neere, they send out certaine Reyters that is Horsemen, vulgarly called *Geleyte*, which conduct the Merchants and their goods out of the Frontiers. The said Fort included the high way with Rampiers, lest any should passe without paying tribute: besides, by the way we might see the City of *Baden*, towards the South, seated vpon a Mountaine. After dinner we went three miles to the Village *Graben*, through a sandy ground, but somewhat lesse barren. The Margraue of *Turloch* is Lord of this Village.

Heidelberg. The third day in the morning wee went five miles to *Heidelberg*; through sandy fields, but fruitfull in corne, all lying in a plaine, as the rest of the way from *Strassburg* hither, and neere *Heidelberg* we passed a great wood of Oakes, full of great heads of red Deare, which lay still by the way, and would not stirre for our cries, or feare of our Coach wheelles, but seemed to know their priuiledge, all hunting being forbidden vpon high penalties. *Heidelberg* is compassed with high Mountaines, on the South, East, and North sides; but towards the West, beyond the City and a long Suburbe, (being the sole Suburb in the Towne) the Mountaines lie open. This Suburbe is longer then the City, and they both lie in great length from the East to the West, and they both consist almost of one streete, and are built in the plaine, though compassed with Mountains. On the South-east side there is a faire and pleasant market place, and not farre thence a very high Mountaine called *Königsstuhl*, that is, Kingly seat, vpon the middle ascent whereof, is the Castle, in which the Phaltz-graue of the *Rheine* holds his Court, and vpon the top of this Mountaine are the ruines of an old Tower, blown vp with gun-powder. From this Mountaine on the South side runne caues vnder the Earth, to the Westerne part of the Mountaine of Goates, vpon which Mountaine is a Tower called *Trotz-keyser*, as if it were built in despight of *Cesar*, and it is worth the seeing, for the antiquity and building, hauing no gate, but being entered by the caue vnder the earth; and being built with lime tempered, not with water, but wine, incredibly durable, at the time when the Emperour making warre against the Phaltz-graue, besieged this City. In the valley vnder this Mountaine of Goates, towards the City, is a pleasant walk, of the sweetnes called the Phylosophicall way. In the ditch parting the City and Suburbe, is a place for the exercise of shooting with the Musket and Crosse-bow: On the North side of the City the shallow and vnnauigable Riuer *Neccar*, runneth in a plaine by the City betweene it and the Mountaine from the East to the West, and in the same course hauing run more then a mile, fals into the *Rheine*, and though it be shallow; yet sometimes it ouerflowes the Bridge of the City, as it did in the yeere 1565. passing into the Towne. On the North side you passe a bridge built of wood vpon arches of stone, to a pleasant walke vpon the banke of the Riuer, betweene the Mountaine and the water: and from thence you goe vp to the holy Mountaine, vulgarly *Heiligberg*: and some say this City had his name of that Mountaine; but others say it hath the name of the Dutch word *Edelberg*, that is Noble Mountaine, others of a Colony of Romans, being Heathen, will haue it at first called *Heidenberg*, that is, the Mountaine of the Heathen. Vpon this Mountaine be the ruines of a Church of great antiquity, first dedicated to *Mercury*, and since made a Monastery, and neere the same is a ruined Cloyster of Nunnes (as commonly their nests were not farre distant) and there is a passage vnder the Earth from one Cloyster to another. This is a most high Mountaine, and hath a thicke wood. The City of *Heidelberg*, by reason it is compassed with Mountaines, hath a very vnhealthfull aire, which maketh Funerals very frequent therein; but the water is held very healthfull. In the Innes they aske seuen batzen the meale, but the Students haue their diet in Citizens or Professors houses for two guldens, or one doller weekly: and the fame of the Professors drew many Students at this time to this Vniuersity. There is (to my remembrance) but one Church vsed for prayer and preaching, and there is a monument with this inscription in Latine;

Viglinus

Viglius Suicherius laid this to the memory of Rodulphus Agricola, borne in Friesland: he died in the yeere 1485, the 28 of October; he lived 42 yeeres and two moneths.

There is another Epitaph to this Rodulphus Agricola, made in verse by Hermolaus Barbarus Patriarke of Aquilegia.

Inuida clausurunt hoc marmore fata Rodulphum,

Agricolam; Frisij spemq; decusque soli;

Scilicet hoc uno meruit Germania laudes,

Quicquid habet Latium, Græcia quicquid habet.

Envious Fates vnder this stone haue closde

The Frisconsioy Rodulph Agricola,

By whom all praise on Germans is imposde.

That Italy or Greece had to this day.

While I liued here the rest of this summer, I made a iourney of pleasure to see the Cities lying vpon the West side of the *Rheine*; and hiring a Horse after the wonted price at *Heydelberg*, I rode two miles and a halfe to the *Rheines* side, and then halfe a mile further to the City of *Spire*, where the imperiall chamber is held, in which Court the chiefe differences of the Empire are iudged, and the Electors themselves, or any absolute Princes vnder the Empire, may bee called thither to triall of law. The City is built in a plaine, on the West side of *Rheine*, and hath more antiquity then beauty, or magnificence. Here I paid eight batzen each meale.

From hence I rode one mile to the City of *Wormz*, famous for many imperiall Parliaments held there of old: and by the way we passed *Frankendale*, a little City newly and very fairely built; which place *Casimire* the Elector gaue vnto the Flemmings of late, who then had built many faire bricke houses there, and then compassed it with a wall; and *Casimire* taking vpon him the tutorship of his Nephew, against the will of the Lutherans, who reiected him as a Caluinist, tooke some of these Flemmings to guard the Castle of *Heydelberg*. The building of *Wormz* shewes great antiquity, and wanteth not magnificence, where I paid seuen Batzen a meale. This territory on the West side of the *Rheine* is very fruitfull, and yeeldeth the best Rhenish Wines, so called of the *Rheine* by which they grow. From hence againe I passed the *Rheine*, and returned to *Heydelberg*.

Then I tooke my iourney to *Franckfort* Faire. The first day I passed foure miles to *Bentzon*, hauing hills on my right hand toward the East, planted with Vines, and fields set with roots; and vpon my left hand towards the West, a faire and fruitfull plaine: and here I paid seuen Batzen for my supper. The second day in the morning I passed foure miles in the territory of *George Landgrau* of *Hessen*, to *Arbeligen*, through wooddy mountaines, planted with some Vines, and a plaine for one mile sandy, but the rest good pasture. We passed by *Dornslat*, where the said *Landgrau* holds his Court, and there each man paid sixe Penning tribute. At *Arbeligen* I paid sixe Batzen for my dinner. In the afternoone I passed some three miles to *Franckfort*, through a sandy plaine, and a wood of Oakes and Beeches, and by the way they shewed vs a strange leape of a Stagge, which being chased, did leape ouer a cart (if you may beleue them) loaded with hey.

Franckfort is a free City of the Empire, famous for the Electors meeting there, to choose the Emperour, and for two yeerely Faires, as also for many Parliaments of the Empire held there, and it is called *Franckfort* vpon the *Meine*, to distinguish it from another City of the same name, built vpon the Brooke *Odera*, and named thereof. For the Riuer *Meine* running from the East to the West, diuideth the great City from the lesse called the Saxons House, vulgarly *Sachsen-hausse*, and betweene them is a bridge of stone vpon foure narrow Arches. Both the Cities are gouerned by the same Senate and Law, and haue the same name, either of *Francus* rebuilding it, or of a Foord for passage of the Franckes or French. The City is compassed strongly with a double wall, and vpon the East side is the gate *Heilegthore*, where is the Iewes street, who are permitted to dwell in this famous Mart-towne, and sucke the blood of Christians by extor-

extortion. There is another gate called *Freydighore*: On the North side of the City is the gate *Brickenport*, and a large place for an Horse Faire. On the West side is the gate of strangers, vulgarly *welsh-thore*, so called because the French enter that way: it is very strong; and without the gate there is a very pleasant walke vpon the banke of *Mane*, among Vineyards and Meadows, with sweet Groues. On the South side, the *Mane* runneth by, diuiding (as I said) the new City from the old. In the new or lesse City called the *Saxons-house*, is a house of old belonging to the Teutonike order of Knights, which by old priuiledge is to this day a Sanctuary for bankrupts and manslaughterers, so they be not wilful and malicious murtherers; but they enioy this priuiledge onely for foureteene daies, so as when the time is neere out, or vpon any opportunity during the time, they vse to steale out, and returning after an houre, begin a new to reckon againe the foureteene daies. A little before my comming thither, a certaine bankrupt of *Colen* entered the same for a debt of twenty thousand Guldens. On this side some ground without the wals belongs to the City, but on other sides it hath almost no Land without the wals. The City is of a round forme, seated in a large plaine, the streetes are narrow, and the houses built of timber and clay, the foundations of some being of stone. In the Innes they aske seuen or eight batzen a meale, but Merchants and many strangers vse to hire a chamber, and buy their meat of the Cookes.

From hence to *Hamburge* I and foure others hired a Coach for fifty Dollers, and besides were to pay for the coach-mans diet, for here first the coach-man conditioned to be free from paying his diet, vulgarly *Maulsfrey*; that is free for the mouth, whereas in other parts our coach-men paid for themselves. Alwaies vnderstand that at the times of the faires, Coaches are set dearer then any time els. The first day after breakfast, wee went three miles to *Freideburge*, through corne fields set with cabages and rootes; and by the way we passed a Village belonging to the Count of *Hanaw*. *Freideburge* is a free City of the Empire, and the buildings are of timber and clay: here each man paid seuen batzen for his supper, and for his part of the coach-mans supper. The second day in the morning, we went three miles to *Geyssen*, through fruitfull hills of corne. *Phillip* Landgraue of *Hessen* left three sonnes, *William* of *Cassiles*, whom *Maurice* his sonne succeeded, and was now liuing, and *Lodwicke* of *Marpurg*, and *George* of *Dormstat*. This territory belonged to the Landgraue *Lodwicke*, (for all the brothers in *Germany* haue the same stile of honour) and he was also at that time Lord of this City *Geyssell*, which is fortified with wals of earth, and deepe ditches, but the building is base of timber and clay, and for the most of meere dirt. These verses were written vpon the gate of the City:

*Captus erat Princeps non Marte sed Arte Philippus,
Cum bene munitum destrueretur opus.
Nominis hoc patrij Lodouicus amore refecit;
Anno bis septem lustra sequente nono;
Principe dignus honos, patrias succire ruinas,
A quibus Hassiacos Christe tuere polos.
Prince Phillip captiu' de not by warre, but Art,
This worke of strength was then demolished;
In Countries loue Prince Lodwicke for his part
Rebuilt it, seuentie nine yeeres finished,
Ruines repaire is for a Princes hand,
From which disasters Christ shield Hessen land.*

Here I paid fixe Batzen for my dinner, and my part for the Coach-man:

In the afternoone we went three miles through high stony mountaines and woods of oakes, to *Kirnham*, belonging to the Landgraue *Lodwick*; whose Court at *Marpurg* lies a mile from thence. All of vs at supper drunke fixe measures of wine, besides beere, and from henceforth wee paid seuerally for meat and drinke, and at this time each of vs paid ten *Weissenfenning* for both together. The third day we passed three miles to *Drest*, through high mountaines with woods of Oake, and many fruitfull valleys of corne, and each man paid with his portion for the Coach-man foure *Weissenfenning* for meat, and as much for wine. This territory belongs to Landgraue *Maurice* of

of *Cassiles*. After dinner we passed three miles to *Fessler*, through high mountaines full of oake woods, and entered the City, seated vpon a mountaine by a bridge of stone, vpon which side great store of water falls from the mountaines, the houses were of timber and clay, each one for the most part hauing a dunghill at the doore, more like a poore Village, then a City: but such are the buildings of the Cities in *Hessen*, the houses of Villages being of meere dirt, and thatched. Here each man paid for his meat and old wine; and his part for the Coach-man an Orts Doller, or fourth part of a Doller.

The fourth day we passed three miles to *Cassiles*, a City where the Landgraue *Maurice* holds his Court, all our way lying through fruitfull hills of corne. The City is strongly fortified with wals of earth and deepe ditches, but the houses are basely built like the rest in *Hessen*. *Phillip* his grandfather built the castle, and *William* his father the wals. For my dinner and my part for the coach-man I paid the fourth part of a Doller.

In the afternoone we passed two miles through woody mountaines, to *Myndaw*, in the territory of the Duke of *Brunswike*, who is also Lord of the City. The Riuer *Visurgis* runnes by it, ouer which there is a bridge of stone vpon five Arches. Here each man paid for himselfe and his part for the coach-man, seuen maria-groschen for meat, and as much for wine. The beere of this territory is very bitter, and like a potion makes one laxatiue. The fifth day we passed three miles and a halfe, through Mountaines for halfe the way, and the rest through corne fields most fruitfull, and dined at *Norton*, each man paying five batzen and a halfe. After dinner we passed two miles and a halfe to a poore Village, through a like fruitfull plaine of corne, and by the way we passed *Namerton*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Brunswicke*. In this Village each man paid five Maria-groschen. The sixth day we passed two miles to the City *Zeason*, through hills and fields of corne, the building of the City is of meere clay, couered with thatch, but our diet was plentifull, and each man paid fixe Maria-groschen for himselfe, and his part for the Coach-man. After dinner we passed three miles to a poore village, through woody mountaines, yet fruitfull of corne and pasture, and through a great Fen and here each man paid seuen Maria-groschen.

The seuenth day we passed three miles to *Brunswike*, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, end a large Fen set with willow trees neere the City. Many fields as we came besides the corne, were set with cabage and rootes, and within a mile of *Brunswike* we left on the right hand toward the South, the City *Wolfenbieten*, where the Duke of *Brunswike* keepes his Court, and though he be so called of an old title, yet he is not Lord of *Brunswike*, which is a free City of the Empire seated in a plaine, all the territory round about it being most fruitfull in corne. The City is of a quadrangle forme, and in circuit containest two miles, being held greater then *Nurnberg*, and lesse then *Erford*. It hath high wals of earth fastened with willowes, and is very strong, hauing the wals on some sides double, and otherwhere treble, besides that it hath a woody valley between deepe ditches filled with water, and is compassed with the Riuer *Ancur*. Within this wall and riuer are five Cities, distinguished by priuiledges, but vnited by lawes. The first seated towards the west, is called *Altstat*, that is Old city, hauing almost at the entrance a faire market place, and neere it the cathedrall Church, called *Martinstift*. The second lying towards the North, is called *Newstat*, that is New city. The third lying towards the East is called *Imfacke*. The fourth lying towards the South is called *Imhagen*. And the fifth which was built first of all, and lieth also towards the South, is called *Altweg*, that is, The old way. This city of old was the metropolitan city of *Saxony*, and had the name of *Brüno*, and the Dutch word *Vuick*, signifying a Village. It hath twelue Churches, whereof two haue the steeples couered with lead, which being very rare in *Germany*, is held to be magnificent; the rest are couered with tiles, one excepted, which (to my remembrance) is couered with brasse, which being lesse rare with them, is lesse esteemed, and the houses are built of timber and clay. In the yard of the Cathedrall Church there is the statua of a very great Lion, which the Emperour *Henry* the first, surnamed *Lyon*, erected there.

From

From *Brunswike* I went to *Luneburge*, and the first day in the morning passed foure miles to a certaine Village, through a sandy plaine, and fenny wild ground, and by the way we passed *Getherne* a village, where the Duke of *Luneburge* (Lord of this territory) hath a Castle, and he holds his court some five miles off, at *Sell*. Here each man paid for his dinner five Lubecke shillings. In the afternoone we passed five miles to a countrey house, through like Fenny and woody wild grounds, seeing but one Village in the way; and here each man paid for supper three Lubecke shillings. Next morning we passed foure miles to a Village *Empsdorff*, through like grounds: and here each man paid for dinner five Lubecke shillings, the coach-mans part being reckoned: for I formerly said that hiring a Coach from *Franckfort* to *Hamburg*, we were tied to pay for the coach-mans diet, himselfe paying for his horse-meat, as commonly they doe. After dinner we passed three miles to *Luneburge*, through a soyle as barren as the former, where each man paid for himselfe and his part of the coach-mans supper, eight Lubecke shillings. I speake nothing of the City which I haue described before, but goe on with my iourney.

The next morning we passed three miles to *Wintzon*, through a Fenny ground, and woods of Oake; yeelding some corne, but sparingly, and here our coach-man paid a Lubecke shilling for his Coach to the Duke of *Luneburge*, whose territory endeth here. Then we passed a mile further to *Bergendorff*, and by the way our coach-man, passing ouer the Elue, paid a Lubecke shilling to the Officers of the Cities of *Lubecke* and *Hamburg*, to which Cities this territory is subiect, and gouerned by them in course, the soyle whereof after the passage of the Elue, is more fruitfull, the fields being full of corne, and ditches of water planted with willowes: here each man paid six Lubecke shillings for our dinners. In the afternoone we passed three miles to *Hamburg*, hauing on the left side towards the West, faire pastures, and on the right hand towards the East, woods of oake, and fruitfull hills of corne. From hence I passed by boat with a faire wind in three houres to *Stode*, and paid for my passage three Lubeck shillings. These things I briefly set downe, hauing described these Cities before.

From Stode I wrote this Letter to Francis Markham, an English gentleman, whom I left at Heidelberg.

Noble Sir, I gladly take this occasion of witnessing my loue to you, which in a word I haue done, omitting all ceremonies as your selfe haue giuen me example: Onely for my promise sake, I will trouble you with the short relation of my iourney. When we parted at *Franckfort*, you know I had for companions of my iourney two Flemmings, poore Merchants of Linnen cloth, and a Dutch Rider, and a Booke-binder of *Denmarke*. I comming first to the Coach, tooke the most commodious seat, which these my worthy companions (forsooth) tooke in ill part, yet neither their murmuring nor rude speeches could make me yeeld the place to them. Wee passed through *Hessen* to *Brunswike*, which iourney since you purpose to take, I aduise you to passe as soone as you can, that you may be out of your paine, and come to more pleasant Countries: for there you shall haue grosse meat, sower wine, stinking drinke, and filthy beds, and were not the way free from robberies, and the people curteous, I know not what other inconuenience might happen to a stranger in any passage. Your diet shall be for most part of cole-worts, which was so strange to me, and so hard of digestion, as it greatly troubled me, and wrought vpon my body like physicke. At *Brunswike* I saw a lamentable sight; which I dare scarce relate to you, knowing your tendernes in those cases, yet for promise sake I must tell you, that I saw a very faire maide of fifteene yeeres, married to mine Host an old churle of seuentie yeeres. Be not discouraged, I will tell you a merry accident. Who would haue thought that my companions had dissembled so long their malice to mee, that now it might breake forth with more bitternes? You know *Brunswike* is a free city of the Empire, and one of those, which for priuiledge of trafficke vpon these coasts, are called *Hans-steten*. Here out of custome passengers comming at first to enter trafficke, vse to giue the wine to the old Merchants, to which custome gentlemen for sociablenes haue submitted

ted themselves, so as the custome is almost growne into a Law. Now, for this purpose, salt being put about the table, for all to sweare whether they were free or no, I confessed that I had not yet paid for my freedom, yeelding my self to their censure. To be briefe; after they had fined me some cannes of wine, and with many ceremonies, had made me free, it remained that he whom they had chosen to be my God-father, making a graue Oration, with some rude ieafts after their fashion, should instruct me with some precepts how to recouer this expence. One of my companions easily tooke this charge vpon him; and after many circumstances, he concluded in this manner: You are an Englishman, and because your countrey men loue to sit easily, and to fare delicately, I aduise you, that both at table and in coach, you be carefull to take the best place, which if you be diligent to performe, you shall bee soone satisfied for this expence. By chance my place then at table was betweene the coach-man and his seruant, for you know the Dutch are not curious of place, and little regard strangers in that kinde; but I knew where my Gentlemans shooc wrung him, natly in that I had chosen my place in the coach. And thus I answered him; Sir I take thankfully your graue counsell, and will make vse of it; but me thinks it is too generall, making no distinction of degrees; for if I haue Gentlemen to my companions, who are not willingly ouercome in courtesie, I should rather yeeld them place: but if I fall into base and clownish company, I will not faile to make vse of your counsell. The Gentlemen at Table smiled, and so we ended this ceremony with a health. Hence I passed to *Luneburg*, and so to *Hamburg*; where the people after dinner, warmed with drinke, are apt to wrong any stranger, and hardly indure an English-man in the morning when they are sober. Therefore without any stay, I passed hence to *Stode*. It is strange how the people raile on English-men in these parts. For that which we call warre at sea, and the royall Nauy, that they terme robbery and Pirats ships: neither haue they the patience to heare any iustification or excuse. You see what toyes I write, rather then I will leaue you vn saluted, and if you vse not like freedom to me, farewell friendship. So I take my leaue, from *Stode* the first of *October*, 1592.

From *Stode* I passed to *Emden*, and for the better explaining of that iourney, giue mee leaue to prefix the following Letter; out of the due place, being written from *Emden*, and directed

To *Aegidius Hoffman*, a Gentleman of Flaunders, my deare friend,
Student at Heidelberg.

Noble *Aegidius*, the Letters you gaue me to deliuer at *Breme*, haue produced a comical euent, (such may all the passages be of our loue,) which you shall vnderstand in a word. When in my purposed iourney I came to *Stode*, more tired with the base companions I had, then the way; it happened, whilest I spent some dayes there with my friends, euery man spake of Spanish theeuers, vulgarly called Freebooters, who stealing out of their Garrisons vpon the Low-countries, lay in the villages, and vpon the high-ways, by which I was to passe in my iourney to *Emden*, from which Citie a Merchant was newly arriued, who terrified me more then all the rest, affirming that in one day he had fallen thrice into these cut-throtes hands, and though he were of a neutrall City, yet had paid many Dollers for his ransome, adding, that they inquired curiously after English-men, promising rewards in the villages, to any man should giue them notice when any such passed. I knew not what counsell to take. There was no lesse danger from the Pirats of *Dunkirke*, if I passed by sea, especially in a ship of *Hamburg*, no other being in the harbour, & they being like to betray me, out of malice to our nation. Besides, the weather was very tempestious, & not like to change. Therefore my obstinate purpose to see the Cities vpon this coast, made me resolute to goe by land. So I bought an old *Brunswicke* thrummed hat, and made mee a poore Dutch suite, rubbing it in the dust to make it seeme old, so as my Taylor said, he took more paines to spoyle it, then to make it. I bought me linnen stockings, and discoloured my face and hands, and so without cloake, or sword, with my hands in my hose, tooke my place in a poore waggon. I practised as much as I could, Pythagori-

call silence; but if any asked me who I was, I told him that I was a poore Bohemian, and had long serued a Merchant at *Leipzig*, who left mee to dispatch some businesse at *Stode*, and then commanded me to follow him to *Emden*. If you had seene my seruile countenance, mine eyes cast on the ground, my hands in my hose, and my modest silence, you would haue taken me for a harmelesse yong man. Many pleasant euents happened to me thus disguised; wherewith I will not trouble you, onely one I am tied to impart to you. When I came to *Breme*, I was doubtfull what to doe with your Letters. I thought not to deliuer them, but keepe them till a fitter time, or at least to send them by a messenger. But in so doing I should haue broken my promise to you, haue lost the fruit of your recommendation, and the opportunity to see your mother and sisters, without hope hereafter to see them. Then I thought to deliuer them, and because I was disguised in base apparell, to confesse who I was, and wherefore so disguised. But when I looked my face in a glasse, I could not for shame take this course. At last I resolved to deliuer them, and to say, I was seruant to my selfe, (wherein I lyed not, for I haue euer too much obeyed my owne affections,) and that my master meaning to passe from *Stode* by sea, for feare of the abouesaid dangers, had sent me by land, with command to stay for him at *Leyden*. To bee brieue, I went to your mothers house, where a seruant opened mee the doore, to whom I gaue your Letters; but when he scarce looking at me, would haue locked the doore, I took my Letters againe, saying I had promised to deliuer them with my owne hand; and so I entred with him, and gaue them into the hands of your mother and sister, who inquired much after you, and so much after my master, as I might perceiue you had made friendly mention of me in your Letters. They entertained me with much curtesie, being thus disguised for my owne seruant; and when I went away your mother would needs giue mee six batzen to spend, neither would any refusall preuaile, but I must needs take them. So I set a marke vpon these peeces, lest I should spend them; and am not out of hope, ere I die, to shew them to you. To the purpose; at the dore I met your brother, whom I had seene at *Frankfort*, and was not a little afraide, lest for all my disguising, he would haue knowne me. Let it not trouble you, that I tell you another merry accident I had in the same City of *Breme*. Disguised as I was, I went to the house of Doctor *Peuzelius*, desiring to haue the name of so famous a Dittine, written in my stemme-booke, with his Mott, after the Dutch fashion. Hee seeing my poore habite, and a booke vnder my arme, tooke me for some begging Scholler, and spake sharpely vnto me. But when in my masters name I had respectiue saluted him, and told him my request, he excused his mistaking, and with all curtesie performed my desire. I will trouble you no longer, but hope by some good occasion to imbrace you, & tell you all the other passages of my iourney. In the meane time I go forward to *Leyden* in *Holland*, you (as you do) euer loue me, and as my soule, liue and firewell. From *Emden* the twenty one of *October*, 1592.

I paid twenty foure Stiuers for my passage eleuen miles in a waggon from *Stode* to *Breme*. And the first day after breakefast, wee passed three miles to *Ford*, a poore Citie, subiect to the Bishop of *Breme*: through wilde, fenny, and woody grounds. The Towne is seated in a Fennie, hauing a long paued Causey to passe vnto it; and the gate being opened to vs by night, each man gaue the Porter two *Lubeck* shillings, and by the way in a village each man paid, six Fenning for his person. At *Ford* the Bishop of *Breme* hath a Castle, strongly fortified with Rampiers of earth, and deepe ditches full of water; and here each man paid for his supper three *Lubeck* shillings and a halfe. The waggoner taking me thus disguised (as formerly I haue said) for a poore Bawre; said these words to me in Dutch: *Duknecht hilff zu tragen die packe hye*: that is Ho good fellow, helpe here to carry this pack; I answered, *ya gar gern*, yea most willingly; and smiling laied my shoulder to the burthen, and groned deeply, but helped him very little. Next morning early, by Moone light, we passed on three miles, through large and wilde woods, to a Countrey house; and by the way my companions fell in talke of English affaires, so foolishly, as my laughter, though restrained, had often betraied me; if twi-light had not kept mee from being seene. Their ignorance greatly

greatly shortned my way, with the pleasure I took in their answeres to some such questions propounded by me, whereof my selfe had many times beene forced to giue an account to others. By the way they shewed mee a Hill called *Meinerdig*, of certaine false witnesses, of old sinking there into the ground. At this Countrey house, each man paid for his breakfast three *Lubeck* shillings and a halfe. Then from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till nine, we passed five miles to *Breme*; through an Heath, and many huge Woods of Oake; hauing towards the South a Fenne of tenne miles length, which of the vastnesse and wildenesse, is called the Diuels Fenne. By the way within a mile of *Breme*, each man paid halfe a Seling tribute, to the officers of the City; and from thence wee passed a winding paved Causey, to the very City. Men may also passe from *Hamburg* to *Breme* by water.

This Citie is one of the Imperiall free Cities, and of them which vpon this Sea-coast, are called *Hans-steten*, for freedome of trafficke, and it is very strongly fortified with high walles of earth, and deepe ditches filled with water: besides that the Citizens may drowne the Fenny fields almost round about at pleasure. The building of this, as also of the neighbour Cities; is partly of bricke, partly of stone, and very faire, but the streets heere are filthy. The Citie is five miles distant from the sea; And the riuer *Visurgis* running from the South-east to the North West, by the South west side of the City runneth al the length of the same. On the North east side, the walles of earth are broad, and there bee three faire gates, with strong Rampiers. Vpon the South West side, being compassed all with Fennes, there bee no walles. In the furthest angle or corner towards the North west, where the City growes narrow; there is a strong Fort built, & the gate is within an Island, beyond which lies a plaine of faire pastures. *Osen-bridge* lies not farre hence, from which towne great quantity of narrow linnen cloth is brought into *England*. At *Breme* I paid halfe a Doller for dinner, supper and breakfast; and a siebkin or measure of wine extraordinary.

They had heere also the custome of making strangers free, and the same ceremony of giuing salt to sweare by; and I confessing that I was not free, committed my fine to their censure, hoping they would deale better with mee, for my poore disguised habit, but it saued me nothing; the chiefe man saying to mee in Dutch: *Gutt gesell du must gedult haben, es gelt gleich bistu knecht oder here, deise gewonheit, betrefft beyde zu gleich*. That is, good fellow thou must haue patience, it is all one whether thou beest a seruant or a master, this custome toucheth both alike.

After dinner, taking my iourney from *Breme*, wee passed a mile vpon a stony Causey, called *Steinweck*, that is, stony way; and there each man paid to the officers of *Breme*, a quarter of a Stuer. Then entering the Territory of the *Graue* (that is Count) of *Oldenburg*, we passed a mile through faire pastures, compassed with ditches of water, to a village; where each man paid a Seling to the Count, and to this place each man paid for his Waggon five groates. Here when my companions had drunke their fill, and had slept a while in the straw, as my selfe did vpon a bench, to shun the stinking heat of the stoue; we hyred another waggon for three miles, paying fifteene groates: and that we might more securely passe, wee tooke our iourney at midnight, through a heath of huge woods of Oake; and came to *Oldenburg*, early in the morning before the gates were open.

The Citie is built of meere clay, but the Counts Castle is built in a round forme of stone, with deepe ditches of water, ouer which they passe by a drawing bridge, and both the Castle and the City are strongly fortified. Heere we had English beere, the goodnesse whereof made my companions speake much in honour of *England*, and of the Queene; with much wonder that shee being a Virgine, was so victorious against the Spaniards, till in this discourse they all fell fast asleepe.

After breakfast the next morning; wee hauing hired a waggon for eightene groates, passed foure miles in the territory of the said Count; and one mile to *Stickhausen*, in the territory of the Count of *Emden*, who had a Castle there. Then because we could get no waggon in this place, wee went one mile further on foot, which being very long; and my selfe hauing some gold Guldens in my shoocs, which I could

not remoue without suspicion ; the way was very irkesome to mee, and we came to a countrey house ; but wee found good cheere, each man paying for his supper seven groates. My selfe sitting last at the table, by reason of my poore habit, paid as much as the best, and fedde on the worst, but I had more minde of my bed, then of my meat. And one of my companions after supper, hauing streight boots, when I had taught him to pull off one by the helpe of a staffe, for recompence of my counsell, desired mee to pull off the other, which being disguised as I was, I could not well refuse. The next morning we hired a waggon for eleuen stiuers, and passed along mile to *Leere*, a towne subiect to the Count of *Emden*, who dwelt not far off, at *Dunort* a strong Castle. Our way through a Fen, was so deepe, as the waggon wheelles being pulled off, we went good part of the way on foot.

Here we vnderstood that the Spanish Free-booters (called by the English, Malecontents) lay at *Aurick*, another castle of the said Count, and being loded with booty, had taken a barke by force, to passe ouer the *Emsz*. These cut-throates vsed at this time to raunge out of the Spanish Garrisons vpon the Low-countries, & to spoile all passengers in these parts, which they did with more confidence, because the Count of *Oldenburg*, being offended with the Citizens of *Breme*, permitted these theeues to rob them, who were also very malicious against those of *Breme*, because they had lately taken thirty foure Free-booters ; and beheading them altogether, had set vp their heads vpon stakes. Besides the Count of *Emden* hauing beene lately driuen out of *Emden*, by the Citizens in a tumult about religion, did permit these Free-booters to lie in his Country, and spoyle the Merchants of that City. The chiefe Captaine of the Free-boaters then lying at *Aurick*: was *Hans Iacob*, a notable roge, and very malicious to the English, whom he vsed to spoyle of their very apparell, & to handle them cruelly; mocking them with these English words ; *I cannot tell*, and swearing that he would make them tell, both of themselues, and of their countrey men passing that way. Some few dayes before hee had taken foure English wollen clothes, and many Flemmish linnen clothes; which they diuided by the length of a ditch, in stead of a better measure, and we were glad to heare that in this diuision they fell at variance, for when this *Hans Iacob* would haue stopt a parr, for the chiefe Captaine of the Garrison, the rest cryed out in Dutch : *wir wollen dein mannger kopff lieber in zwey kleiben : Stelen wir fur andern vnd hangen fur vns selbs ?* That is, wee will rather cleaue thy leane pate in two. Shall we steale for others and hang for our selues? And they vsed many reproches against him and their chiefe Captaine, saying in Dutch : *Finstu was, bringt mirs, hangstu aber, habt durs : Die Iudem, psaffen, hauptleute, vnd ein hund, verdienen ihr kost mit ihr mund :* That is, findest thou ought, bring it me, hangest thou, take that to thee? The Iewes, Priests, Capitaines and dogs, carue their liuing with their mouth ; but these cut-throates, howsoeuer they had passed the *Emsz*, yet meant presently to returne, and had their spies in euery towne and village.

I returne to my iourney. While we lay at *Leere* for a night, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law seeing mee walke in the garden, and thinking my seruile habit not fit for contemplation, commanded mee to draw water for his horse, giuing mee no reward presently but onely a nod ; yet after when he had drunke with his friends, going out, he said to me, *Knecht dore hastu zu drincken*, That is, Sirra drinke you what is left. After supper; hauing expected a bed almost till midnight, the maide at last told mee I must lie vpon the bench ; but after, while I was washing my feet, which the gold in my shooes had gauled, she espying my filke stockings, which I wore vnder my linnen, ran to her mistresse, and procured me a very good bed. This effect pleased me well, but I was afraide of the cause, by which lest I should bee discovered, I hasted away early next morning. I paid heere for my supper and breakfast, fiftene Stiuers, and giuing the seruant one for his paines, hee would haue restored it to mee, seeming by my habit to haue more need thereof then himselfe.

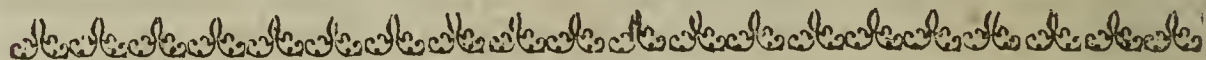
All this night and the next day, great store of raine fell, and the winde was so tempestuous, as we could not passe by water, neither would my companions hire a waggon, besides that, the way was at this time so dirty ; as no waggon could passe it.

Not:

Notwithstanding since now onely two miles remained of my dangerous iourney, and I thought no thiefe would come out in such raine, I resolved to goe on foot with my companions to *Emden*, being two miles, but of vnspeakeable length, and difficulty to passe. In the high way wee had three passages; one vpon the top of the Banke, lying vpon an arme of the Sea, or rather vpon the Riuer *Emsz* running into the Sea, and in this passage the tempestious winde was like to beare vs ouer, and blinded vs with driuing salt water into our eyes, besides that wee went ouer the shooes in dirt. The second passage was on the side of the banke, from the water, somewhat fairer then the other, but in that most troublesome, that wee were forced continually to leane vpon a staffe, which euery one had in his hand, lest being not staied with the staffe, we should fall into the lower way, which was intolerably dirty. The lower way, or third passage, in the bottome of the banke furthest from the water, was for the passage of waggons, but the fields round about being ouerflowed in winter, this passage was now intolerably dirty. In this way we passed a very long mile, from the little City *Leere*, to the Village *Aldernsea*, from seuen of the clocke in the morning to twelue. We came out at first tenne companions in this iourney, but at the very coming out of *Leere*, six of them left vs, despairing to passe against a contrary winde, in a foule rainy day, and their feet sticking fast in the dirt, and they mocked at our obstinacy in going. Within a while, my selfe was wet to the skinne, and my shooes at euery step, were almost torne off, so as I was forced to binde them on with foure points, neither did any of vs looke backe at his fellow, to helpe him if hee could not follow, and if I should haue fallen into the Sea, I am confident none of them would haue come back to succour me. After we had gone halfe a mile, one of our foure companions, being a yong man with a blacke beard, & able body, would not goe one foot further, though he had but one Stüter in his purse, and was forced to borrow money of vs, that he might stay in a poore Ale-house. When we came to *Aldernsea*, the Freebooters spies, came to the Inne & gaped vpon vs, so as though I were wet to the skin, yet I durst not pull off any thing to dry, lest my inward garments better then my vpper, should betray my disguise: neither durst I call for wine and spend freely, lest they should thinke I had store of money. Each of vs paid seuen Stiuers for his dinner. Here another of our companions left vs, being so tired, as hee went to bed without eating one bit. So as now I had onely one companion left, called *Anthony*, a man of little stature, and a Citizen of *Emden*. We to be free of this dangerous iourney, went forward, and as we came out of the Village, the Freebooters spies came close to vs, and beheld vs narrowly; but seeing vs all couered with dirt, they tooke vs for poore men, and a prey vnfit to be followed. Wee gathering vp strength went on, till at last wee were so weary, as hauing no strength to chuse our way, wee cast away our staues, and went almost vp to the knees in dirt, in the lower way.

At last, hauing gone one mile (as me thought wondrous long) from one of the clocke in the afternoone to fiue, wee came to *Emden*, where my selfe entring the gate, could not stand till the Souldiers writ our names, but had lyen downe on the ground if they had not giuen mee a seat. Now being out of all danger of the Freebooters, in giuing my name, I wrote my selfe an English-man; the standers by not a little wondring, that I had put my self to this dangerous passage. And truly this iourney, if it were free from all danger, yet the ill diet and lodging would yeeld trouble enough, for which I appeale to *Lipsius*, who hath pleasantly written of the entertainment in *West-Phalen*, and *Oldenburg*. The Citie of *Emden* lies in the vtmost border of the Empire, and is onely diuided by the Riuer *Emsz*, from the vnited Prouince of *Netherland*, and by an Inland Sea from *West-Friez-land*, being one of them. The Countrey about *Emden* aboundeth with villages, and from a Tower at *Goricome*, a man may see at once vpon a faire day, twenty two walled Townes. Not farre from this City, neere *Immengen*, is the place where the Duke of *Alua* defeated the forces of *Lodwick* of *Nassaw*, his Dutch-men refusing to fight, except they were first paid. All the fields about *Emden* are drowned in winter, and the City lying vpon the Sea; for want of fresh waters they dresse most of their meat with raine water. The aire

is very vnhealthfull, but the City is fairely built of bricke, and the Citizens are very curteous. On the South side the Riuer *Emsz* washeth the City with his salt streames, on which side is the Hauen, and the Citizens are said to haue some three score ships of a hundred tunnes a peece, and some six hundred barkes of their owne. In the Church-yard on this side, many peeces of Ordinance are laid, towards *Leere* and *Dunort* the Counts Fort, and the like are laid vpon the Hauen, and some places of aduantage: for the City hath no walles on this side. On the West side, beyond the water lyeth Marish ground to the mouth of the Sea, and vpon this side is a strong old Castie. On the North side the City is compassed with a wall of earth, and deepe ditches full of water, and there be two strong gates, *Belgar-port*, and *New-port*, without which the fields are Fenny. On this side there is a passage by boat, to the suburbs on the East side, where the fields without the towne are faire pastures in summer, but all ouerflowed in winter; and vpon the Rampier of the wall, are many Winde-mills. The City is of a round forme, if it were not somewhat longer from the East to the West. At *Emden* they pay ordinarily six Stiuers a meale, three stiuers for a quart of English beere, eleuen Stiuers for a quart of Spanish wine, thirteene Stiuers a quart of Rhenish wine, and seuen Stiuers for French wine: my selfe paid for supper and breakfast twenty three Stiuers.



C H A P. IIII.

Of my iourney from Emden in Germany, to Leyden in Holland, and through the vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries.

Ann. 1592



ON Thursday the twenty seuen of *October*, in the yeere 1592, I tooke ship after dinner at *Emden*; being to saile into *West Freeland*, one of the vnited Prouinces, and paid for my passage tenne Stiuers. The same night wee cast anchor neere *Vrspenhurn*, a Fort seated beyond the *Emsz*, and belonging to the States of the vnited Prouinces; and beyond this Port towards *Flaunders*, on the same side of the *Emsz*, lieth the Territory of the City *Groning*, seated in an Iland, rich in pastures, and at this time gouerned by a Spanish Garrison, which the Citizens had willingly receiued, though the States after besieged this City, and droue out the Spaniards, and vnited the City to the rest. As we lay at Anchor, two little Ilands lay on the North side, one subiect to *Emden*, the other to *Groning*, and beyond them lay the *German Sea*. On Friday wee set saile with a scant winde, and towards night were left vpon a Flat, vulgarly called *Gat*: where the water forsaking vs, we walked out of the ship vpon the sand, compassed round about with the Sea, till the same flowing backe againe, our ship floated. On Saterday we set saile againe, and towards night rested vpon a like Flat, expecting the flood. Three of these Flats are in this Inland sea, and there be two like Flats in the Inland sea, betwene *Freeland* and *Holland*. At last wee landed on Sunday in *Freeland*, at the Village *Aniou*, lying neere the Sea shore, whether wee hired a sledge for eight stiuers, and were drawne thither ouer the yce and snow.

Dockam.

After we had dined for twelue stiuers each man (whereof more then halfe was reckoned for drinke) we went in a skeut by water, in foure houres space, one mile to *Dockam*: and each man paid for his passage foure stiuers and a halfe, we could not passe by waggon, the high way being then drowned. Nothing were more pleasant, nothing more quicke, then Sea-voyages, if a man might promise himselfe a good wind, and a reasonable gale: but through contrariety of winds and tempests, they commonly proue tedious. This small voyage which afflicted vs foure daies, might haue beene passed in fixe houres, if the winds had fauoured vs. And this hope of a short

short passage, caused vs to make no prouision of victuals, so as the Barke being governed by one Mariner and a boy, who had nothing but cheefe and musty bread to liue vpon, and so could not much releue vs; each houre of these foure daies seemed a yeere vnto vs. *Dockam* a City of West *Friesland*, little in circuit, is in two places diuided with water, which at this time ouerflowed into the very houses. The wall is strong with rampiers of earth, and the houses here, as in all these parts of *Netherland* are built of bricke. Here I paid for my supper twenty stiuers, eating at an Ordinary, but the company sitting at the fire, and drinking after supper, all vseth to be diuided equally, whether a man drinke or no.

The first of *November* we went by water in sixe houres space two miles to *Lewerden*, *Lewerden.* hauing on each side the water, fertile pastures, and passing by two Forts, and each man paid for his passage three stiuers. The City is faire and well fortified; and *William* Count of *Nassau*, cousin to Count *Maurice*, and Gouvernour of *Friesland*, had his residence in the same. The streetes are large, and diuided with water, and the houses are fairely builded of bricke. The City hath no Suburbs, and is of a round forme, but the waters diuiding the streetes, slowly or not at all moued, are in this City (as almost in all other of these Prouinces) subiect to stinking. In the midst of the City there is a dam to let in water at pleasure, which in this place and two miles further is salt in tast. Passengers entering the City leaue their swords with the guard of souldiers, and receiue them backe when they goe out of the Towne. The Villages hereabouts paid yeerely contribution to the Spanish garison of *Groning*, lest they should breake in, and spoile them. Here (they say) the first sermon of reformed religion was made, in the Monastery of the *Iacobines*: and here I paid for my supper foureteene stiuers.

From *Lewerden* we went by water from eight a clocke in the morning, to five in the afternoone, two miles to *Froniker*, an Vniuersity of *Friesland*, lately renewed, and one mile to the City *Harlingen*, and we paid six stiuers for our passage. Entering this City, *Froniker.* *Harlingen.* we left our swords with the guard of souldiers, who restored them to vs when wee went away. It is a little City, and lieth in length from the East to the West, but is somewhat more narrow towards the North, where the houses are thinly built. On the west and North sides, lies an arme of the Sea, comming out of the German Sea, and here inclosed with the continent and Ilands. On the South and East sides without the gates, are faire pastures in a large plaine. I lodged in an Englishmans house, the chiefe Host of the City, who either dispising *England* and Englishmen, or too much respecting his masters of *Friesland*, gaue me such entertainment, as I tooke him for one of the old Picts: for hauing placed his Gentlemen of *Friesland* at one table, he called me to the second, and seeing that I tooke it in ill part, lest I should no lesse dislike my lodging, he intreated a gentleman of *Friesland* to admit me partner of his bed, but I hearing the gentleman condition with him about the cleanness of my body and linnen, for very scorne would not trouble his worship, but chose rather to lie vpon a bench. And it was most ridiculous, that this Host excused himselfe to me, as hauing for countries sake made bold with me, whom he had neuer seene before. I paid for my supper and breakefast with wine, thirty stiuers, and one of my consoorts drinking no wine, paid sixeteene, whereof nine was for beere.

From *Harlingen* I went by the said Inland Sea, vulgarly called *Zwidersea*, foureteene miles to *Amsterdam*, and paid eight stiuers for my passage. Some of our passengers going onely to *Enchusen*, paid five stiuers, for by couenant betweene the Cities, *Enchusen.* the ships must land their passengers at *Enchusen*, and there receiue such new passengers as they find, and one ship at least is bound daily to make this passage. From the said *Harlingen* a City of *Friesland*, wee passed in foure houres saile to *Enchusen* a City of *Holland*, which is fortified with a wall of earth, and strong rampiers, and lieth in length from the North to the South. The Hauen lies on the East side; and the new City was then building towards the West side. This City lying betweene the mouth of the *German* sea, and *Amsterdam*, another City of *Holland*, and in the beginning of the warre taking part with the Prince of *Orange*, forced *Amsterdam* by stopping all supply of victuals, to yeeld to the said Prince. Hauing made short stay here, we tooke ship againe,

and sayling from five a clocke in the euening, to twelue in the night, in the same Inland sea, we entered the Riuer *Tay*, where we cast anchor till foure in the morning, and then setting sayle, passed one mile in that Riuer before sixe of the clocke, and landed at *Amsterdam*.

Amsterdam

Five streetes of this City are diuided with water: the Riuer *Tay* flowes like a large and calme sea on the North side, where is a safe port, the trafficke being great in this City, and at *Midleburg* since the passage to *Antwerpe* was stopped. Vpon the Hauen lies a field or market place, called *Campplatz*, where the Citizens vse to behold their friends going to sea, and returning home. From this place towards the South lies *Warmerstrat*, a long and large street, betweene two Riuers, which part of the City is called, the new Ditch. The Merchants in summer meet vpon the Bridge, and in winter they meet in the New Church, in very great number; where they walke in two rankes by couples, one ranke going vp, and another going downe, and there is no way to get out of the Church, except they slip out of the doores, when in one of those rankes they passe by them. On the East side of the City there is a wall of stone, higher then the City, hauing a pleasant walke vpon it. In the same place are houses for exercise of shooting in gunnes and crosse-bowes: beyond this wall there is another of earth, and betweene these wals the new City was plotted out, whereof few houses were then built, but since I heare it is fully finished. Likewise on the South and West sides there be two like wals, and between them the plot of the said new City, in which many faire houses were then built. The fields on all sides without the gates being fen-ny and drowned with water, doe make the City more strong, but for this cause (they say) the foundations of the houses being laid in water, cost as much or more as the houses themselues. The Riuer *Amster* (of which, and the word *dam*, the City is named) running from the South through three lakes, entereth this city, and passing through it, fals into the Riuer *Tay* on the North side. The City hath five gates, which are shut at dinners and suppers, though the danger of the warre be farre from them. There be two Churches in which they haue two sermons each second day, and foure on Sunday. The City lay in length from the North to the South, but adding the plot of the new City, it is of a round forme. The streetes are narrow, and the building of bricke, with a low rooffe, shewed antiquity. They haue two Almes-houses (called *Gasthausen*, that is, Houses for strangers) which were of old Monasteries. One of these houses built round, was a Cloyster for Nunnes, wherein sixty beds at this time were made for poore weomen diseased, and in another chamber thereof were fifty two beds made for the auxiliary Soulders of *England*, being hurt or sicke, and in the third roome were eighty one beds made for the hurt and sicke Souldiers of other Nations: to which souldiers and sicke weomen they giue cleane sheetes, a good diet, and necessary clothes, with great cleanness, and allow them Physitians & Sur-gions to cure them: and most of the Cities in these Prouinces haue like houses. Here I lodged with an English-man, and paid for dinner and supper twenty stiuers, and for a guest inuited to supper, ten stiuers, and for three pints or chopines of Spanish wine, twenty one stiuers.

From *Amsterdam* I went in a boat three miles to *Harlam*, and paid for my passage foure stiuers: we had not passed farre from *Amsterdam*, when we came to a damme, shutting out the flowing of the sea, for the waters are salt thus farre, though the ebbing and the flowing of the sea can hardly be discerned at *Amsterdam*, for the depth of the Riuer *Tay*; and because Inland-seas shew little ebbing or flowing. Our boat was lifted ouer this damme by ropes, and so let fall into the water on the other side, for which the Mariners paid tribute. There is another damme for greater Barkes, and as by these dammes they let in waters to the Land at pleasure, so they haue other dams at *Torgay* to let them out againe into the Sea, when the Land hath too much water. From hence we had the Sea-shore all the way on the North side, not farre distant, and on both sides of the water in which we passed, were faire pastures, parted with ditches of water.

The Riuer running from *Amsterdam*, from the East to the North, doth turne
neere

neere *Harlam* towards the South, and diuideth the City, which on all sides is compassed with Nauigable waters. On the North side neere the gate *Ianf-port*, *Don Frederick*, sonne to the Duke of *Alia*, pitched his tent in a meadow, when he besieged the City with the Spanish forces, and much spoiled those parts, beating downe Gentlemens faire houses (dwelling frequently in that part) with his Artillery, playing into this street, hauing the name of the Knights of Saint *Iohn*. On the same side are two other gates, *Sayle-port*, and *Cruyse-port*, and without them toward the sea, being halfe a mile distant, are very faire pastures, but there is no riuer nor ditch that leads from the City to the sea. For these Prouinces haue onely three passages to goe to sea: one betweene *Rotherodam* and *Bril*, a Fort of *Zealand*, the second at *Vlissing* another Port of *Zealand*, and the third from *Amsterdam* betweene two Ilands, called the *Fly* and *Shelling*. Wee comming from *Amsterdam* to *Harlam*, entred the Citie by the gate *Kleine-holt* Port, on the East side, where the very *Almes*-houses were beaten downe, in the aforesaid siege of the Spaniards, and the walles then beaten downe, were not yet rebuilt. On the South side is the fifth gate, *Grote-holt* Port, the street whereof is the fairest, next that of the Knights of Saint *Iohn*. On this side was a wall of stone, but at this time they were building another very strong wall beyond it of earth. In the New-street is the house for exercise of shooting, and another old house for the same vse, and one market-place sweetly shaded with trees, and a second market-place of good length for the selling of Cattle. Likewise on this side another part of the Spanish Army lay, and destroyed a most pleasant Wood, of which the gate and street haue the name. And they report that the Spaniards taking the City, vsed great cruelty to all; but especially to the Garrison of the English Souldiers. The Histories witnesse, that three hundred were beheaded, and more then two hundred drowned in the Lake, called *Harlam-mere*. On the West side the Citie is compassed with a wall of earth, and there bee faire pastures betweene the City and the Sea. Among the Churches, that which is called the Great, is the fairest, and our Ladies Church, vulgarly called *Vnser-fraw kirke*, is the next in beautie. All the sea coast of *Holland*, is a sandy downe, in which are great store of conies. This Citie makes great store of linnen clothes, and hath some five hundred spinsters in it. The water heere (as most of these Cities) standing, and little or nothing mouing, is subiect to stinking, so as they are forced to fetch water for brewing by boats. Here I paid for supper, and my part of wine twenty stiuers, and for my dinner without wine, thirteene stiuers. About a mile from the City is a very sweet Hil, called *Weligheberg*, whether the brides vse to walke, and there take their leaues of the Virgins. And in the mid way towards *Almer*, is another Hil, where the Counts of *Holland* vvere vront to bee consecrated. In the market-place, ouer against the Pallace, they shew the house for one *Laurance Iohn*, vvhom they brag to bee the first inuentor of the Presse for Printing; and they shew two bels of the brasse of *Corinth*, which they say were brought from *Pelusum*, a City in *Affrick* vpon the *Nyle*.

From *Harlam* wee hired a waggon for eight stiuers, and came five miles in five houres space, to *Leyden*, our waggoner baiting his horses in the mid way, but staying very little. In the way we had on all sides faire pastures, and passed by the Lake, or Mere of *Harlam*, lying towards the South, and the sea bankes vvithin sight towards the North. The high wayes in these Prouinces seeme to be forced, and made by Art; being sandy and very dry, though all the pastures on both sides bee compassed with frequent ditches of water. At the gates of *Leyden*, the men goe out of the vvaggon, and onely vvomen may be carried into the City, lest (as I thinke) the vvheelles of the loaded vvaggons, should breake the bricke pauements of the streets.

Hence I returned presently to *Amsterdam*, that I might receiue money sent me by exchange. So I hired a vvaggon for eight stiuers my part, from hence to *Harlam*, and by the way I obserued, that the vvaggons hauing past more then halfe the way, must haue the way giuen them by all the waggons they meet, because their horses should in reason be most weary. At *Harlam* I paid for supper, bed, and breakfast, twenty five stiuers. Hence I vvent by vvaggon, and paid for my part of it sixteene stiuers,

stivers, for three miles to *Amsterdam*, and there receiving my money, returned to *Harlam*, drawne over the snow and ice (which had plentifully fallen) on a sledge: for which I paid foure stivers; and I observed many markes set vp in the fields, to direct the way to passengers.

Leyden.

From *Harlam* I returned to *Leyden*, where I lodged in a French-mans house, for intending to bestow all my time in the French tongue, till by Letters I should dispose of my estate in *England*, and there being a famous Vniuersity in this City, I found no abiding fitter for me then this. I paid for my diet and chamber in this French-mans house three guldens, and fifteene stivers weekly, but in the common Innes they pay ten or fifteene stivers a meale, according to the quantity of beere they drinke, and ordinarily twenty stivers or more, if they drinke wine. *Leyden* is so called of the words *Legt bey de dunen*, that is, lieth by the Downes (so they call the sandy bankes of the Sea, as the English doe likewise in *Kent*.) *Leyden* is of a round forme, or perhaps somewhat longer from the East to the West, where the *Rheine* passeth by it. It is a City of much beauty, the houses are very fairely built of bricke, and be vniforme. The Churches are couered with long slates (as they be almost through all *Holland*) and among the streetes one is much fairer then the rest, in the middest whereof is a peece of ground railed in, where the Merchants meet. Many streetes are divided with waters, which are passed by wooden bridges, and in deede if a man dig two foote in any part of *Holland*, he shall find water. I said that the *Rheine* passeth by this City, yet doth it not fall into the Sea, but leeleth it selfe in many standing ditches of water, in this low part of the continent. Toward the North-west about a mile from the City, there is the end of a ditch digged of old from the very City, & vulgarly called *Malgatt*, because the Citizens spent much treasure, in a vaine hope to make a Hauen for ships, and a nauigable water to come vp to the Towne; for the heapes of sand daily cast vp by the Sea, filled the place vp, where they thought to haue made the Hauen, as fast as they could dig it, yet was it long before they would cease from this ill aduised worke. Notwithstanding salt water comes vnder the earth from the Sea into this ditch, and they carry the same vnto the City to make salt thereof. Vpon the same Sea-shore, towards the North, and like distance from the City, is a Village called *Catwicke*, seated vpon Mountaines of sands, on the maine sea. Vpon the same shore further towards the North, is a place where they say the Romans of old had an Armory, the ruines whereof (some musket shot from the shore) more or lesse appeare, as the wind couers them with sand, or blowing from another quarter, drives away the sand, and so laies them open. Hereabouts they say that many coines of the Romans are oftentimes digged vp, and neere the Hoch-landish Church is a Monument built by *Caligula* the Emperour, which now belongs to a Gentleman of that Countrey. Vpon the North side of this city the Villages *Warmond* and *Nortwicke*, lie vpon the aforesaid Downes, but the City hath no gate that directly leades to them. *Leyden* hath five gates, *Regenspurgport*, on the West side, which leadeth to *Harlam*, and to *Catwicke*; and white port which leadeth to *Hage*, betweene which gates there is a low water-gate of iron grates, for boates to passe in and out. Neere *White Port* lies a house, where they exercise shooting with the Peece and Crosse-bow. On the South side is the gate *Kow-port*, leading into the pastures. Vpon the East side is the gate *Hochwertz-port*, more fortified then any of the rest, and it leadeth to *Vberden*, *Gonda*, and to *Alphen*. There is another gate *Zillport*, which leadeth to *Vtrecht*, whither you passe by water or land. The foresaid street, which I said was the beauty of the Towne, lieth from the West to *Hochwertzport*, on the East side, and is called *Breitstrat*, that is *Broadstreete*.

An. 1593.

In the spring time of the yeere 1593. purposing to see the Cities of the vnited Provinces, I hired a Waggon for sixe stivers, and went from *Leyden* to *Delph*, three miles in three houres space, through corne fields and rich pastures, and hauing gone two third parts of the way, we passed over the water that runnes from *Leyden* to *Delph*. In all these parts the high way hath ditches on both sides, and is very plaine, sandy, and very dry, being daily repaired by the countrey people. By the way is a mill, in which they make oyle of rape and line seedes mingled with wallnut shels, and they haue

haue many such miles in those parts. Not farre of, at *Voberg*, the Histories write of a holy *Groue*, famous for a conspiracy against the Romans.

The City of *Delph*, lyeth in length from the North to the South, and the fairest street called *Corne-mart*, lies the same way. Here (as in all the Cities of these parts) *Delph.* the buildings are of bricke, but the houses of *Delph* are more stately built, and seeme to haue more antiquity then other where. In the New Church is a Monument of the Prince of *Orange*, the poorest that euer I saw for such a person, being onely of rough stones and mortar, with posts of wood, coloured ouer with black, and very little erected from the ground. Neere the Church is a large market-place, and within a little Iland the Senate house is built. The Hauen is on the South side. The Prince of *Orange* dwelt heere in a Monastery, and vsed to eat in a low parlor, whence as he ascended the staires into the chamber, a wicked murtherer gaue him his deaths wound, who flying by a backe doore, was after taken in the Citie, and put to a most cruell, but most deserued death. The Countesse of *Buren*, daughter to this said Prince, now liued in this Monastery with her family. Here I paid for one meale, for my selfe and a guest inuited by me, and two pots of Rhenish wine, three guldens, and fve stivers. When the Spanish Army most pressed the vnited Prouinces, the Prince of *Orange* then lying here, to shunne a greater mischiefe from the Spaniards, brake downe the bankes of the sea, and let in the waters, which did much hurt to the Countrey, but saued them from the Spaniards, who with great feare hastened away, giuing great rewards to those that guided them to the firme continent. At *Delph* are about three hundred Brewers, and their beere, for the goodnesse, is called *Delphs-English*; but howsoeuer they had Brewers, and the very water out of *England*, they could neuer make their beere so much esteemed as the English, which indeed is much bettered by the carriage ouer sea to these parts.

Hence I went to *sluse*, so called of the damme to let waters in and out, and came thither in two houres, paying for my waggon thirteene stivers, which I hired alone, for if I had light vpon company, we should haue paid no more betweene vs. Hence I passed the Riuer *Mase*, where it falleth into the sea, and came to *Brill*, my selfe and two others, paying twelue stivers for our passage: but the barke being presently to returne, and therefore not entring the Port, set vs on land neere the Towne, whether we walked on foot.

Brill is a fortified Towne, laid in pledge to Queene *Elizabeth*, for money she lent the States, and it was then kept by foure English Companies paid by the Queene, vnder the gouernment of the Lord *Burrowes*. The Towne is seated in an Iland, which was said to bee absolute of it selfe, neither belonging to *Zealand*, nor *Holland*. On the North side, the Riuer *Mase* runneth by. On the East side are corne fieldes, and the Riuer somewhat more distant. On the South side are corne fields. On the West side are corne fields, and the maine Sea little distant. Here I paid for my supper and dinner twenty stivers, and for a pot of wine eightene stivers. *Brill.*

From hence I returned by water to *Roterodam* in *Holland*, and paid for my passage three stivers. In the mouth of the Riuer of *Roterodam*, lies the City *Arseldipig*, and another called *Delphs-Ile*, being the Hauen of *Delph*, which was then a pleasant Village; but growing to a City, and hauing beene lately burnt by fire was fairely rebuilded.

Roterodam lies in length from the East to the West. The Hauen is on the South side, being then full of great ships; vpon which side it lay open without walles, hauing many faire houses, and a sweet walke vpon the banke of the water. Neither is it fortified on the sides towards the land, nor seemed to mee able to beare a siege; hauing low walles on the North and East sides, yet compassed with broad ditches. The street *Hoch-street* is faire and large, extending it selfe all the length of the Citie; and lying so, as from the gate at the one end, you may see the gate at the other end, and in this street is the Senate house. In the market place toward the West, is the statua of *Erasmus*, being made of wood, for the Spaniards brake downe that which was made of stone; and the inscription thereof witnesseth, that hee was borne at *Roterodame*, the *Roterodam.*
twenty

twenty eight of *October*, in the yeere 1467, and died at *Bazel* the twelfth of *July*, in the yeere 1531. In New-Kirk-street, there is the house in vvhich *Erasmus* was borne, vvherein a Taylor dwelled at this time, and vpon the vvall thereof, these Verses are written :

*Ædibus his natus, mundum decorauit Erasmus,
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, fide.*

The world, *Erasmus* in this poore house borne,
With Arts, Religion, Faith, did much adorne.

The same Verses also vvere vvritten in the Flemmish tongue, and vpon the vvall vvas the picture of *Erasmus*. Vpon the same West side is the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow. The vvaters of *Roterodam* and *Delph*, being neere the sea are more vvholesome then the standing waters within land. Heere I lodged at an English-mans house; and paid for my supper tenne stivers, for my breakfast two stivers, and for beere betweene meales fve stivers: by which expence, compared vvith that of the Flemmish Innes, it is apparant that strangers in their reckonings, pay for the intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions.

Dort.

From hence I went by sea three miles to *Dort*, in two houres space; to which City we might haue gone great part of the way by vvaggon, as farre as *Helmund*, but then we must needs haue crossed an Inland sea, for the City is seated in an Iland; hauing beene of old diuided from the continent of *Holland*, in a great flood. The forme of the City resembles a Galley, the length whereof lies from the East to the West. Wee landed vpon the North side lying vpon the sea, where there be two gates, but of no strength. On the East side is the New gate, *Reydike*, and beyond a narrow water, lye fenny grounds. On the South side, the ditch is more narrow, yet the sea ebbs and flowes into it, and vpon old walles of stone is a conuenient walking place. On this side is the gate *Spey-port*, and beyond the ditch lye fenny grounds. On the West side is the gate *Feld-port*, and a like walke vpon walles of stone, and there is a greater ebbing and flowing of the sea. There is a great Church built of bricke, and covered with slate; being stately built vvith Arched cloysters, and there of old the Counts of *Holland* were consecrated. From this part the two fairest streets *Reydike-strat*, and *Wein-strat*, lie windingly towards the North. Turning a little out of the faire street *Reydike-strat*, towards the South, lies the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece & Crosse-bow, and there by is a very pleasant groue; vpon the trees vvhereof certaine birds frequent, which we call *Hearnes*, vulgarly called *Adhearne* or *Regle*, and their feathers being of great price, there is a great penalty set on them, that shall hurt or annoy those birds. There is a house vvhich retaines the name of the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and another house for coyning of money; for the Counts of *Holland* vvere vvont to coyne money at *Dort*, as the Counts of *Zealand* did at *Midleburg*. Betweene the faire streets, *Reydike-strat* and *Wein-strat*, is the Hauen for ships, to be passed ouer by bridges, and there is a market place, and the Senate house; vvhich hath a prospect into both these streets. The houses are higher built then other where in *Holland*, and seeme to be of greater Antiquity. This Citie by priuiledge is the staple of Rhenish vvines, vvhich are from hence carried to other Cities, so as no imposition being here paid for the same, the pot of Rhenish wine is sold for twelue stivers, for which in other places they pay eightene, or twenty stivers. For three meales I paid heere thirty stivers.

Getrudenberg.

From hence I vvent by water to the States Campe, besieging *Getrudenberg*, and came thither in two houres space, but the vvindes being very tempestuous, wee saw a boat drowned before vs, out of which one man onely escaped by swimming, who seemed to me most wretched, in that hee ouer-liued his wife and all his children then drowned. The besieged City lies in the Prouince of *Brabant*; and the County of *Buren*, being the inheritance of the Prince of *Orange*, by right of his wife; and in this Month of *June*, it was yeelded to Count *Maurice*, the Spanish Army lying neere, but not being able to succour it.

The Sea lying vpon this part of *Brabant*, was of old firme land, ioined to the continent,

nent, till many villages by diuers floods (and seueriteene Parishes at once by a famous flood) were within lesse then 200. yeeres agoe swallowed vp of the Sea, and for witnes of this calamity, diuers Towers farre distant the one from the other, appeare in this Sea, and according to the ebbing and flowing, more or lesse scene, doe alwaies by their sad spectacle put the passengers in mind of that wofull euent. And the Hollanders say, that these floods caused the R heine to change his bed, as hereafter I shall shew in the due place.

From Count *Maurice* his Campe at *Getrudenberg*, I sailed in six houres space to the Iland *Plate*, and at midnight putting forth againe, sailed in ten houres space to the Iland *Tarlot*, and from thence in three houres space to the City *Bergenapzome*, where ^{*Bergenapzome.*} we landed. By the way we saw one of the aforesaid Towers high aboue the water, being a steeple of some parish Church swallowed vp in the said deluge, of which there be many like sad remembrances in this Inland sea. The channell leading to the City is called *Forcemer*, and hath vpon the banke many strong forts, and in this channell lay a man of warre to defend passengers from the bordering enemy. This City is strongly fortified, and is seated in *Brabant*, and had many castles of the enemy lying neere it, and it was gouerned by a garison of English, not in the Queenes, but in the States pay, as *Ostend* at that time was (whereas *Vlissing* and *Brill* pledged to the Queen for money, were kept by English Garisons in the Queenes pay) and Sir *Thomas Morgan* was at this time Gouvernour of this City. At our entrance euery man gaue his name to the Guard. Without the City on the West side, many akers of land were drowned, when the Prince of *Orange* (as I said) let in the waters to driue the Spaniards out of those parts, which from that day to this, could neuer be dried and gained againe. On this side I entered the City, where be many poore houses built in forme of a Lutes necke, which being added to the City almost of a round forme, make the whole City much like vnto a Lute. On this side were three strong raelings, and vpon the necke of the said Lute is the Hauen, in the channell *Forcemer*, which going no further into the land, endeth in a mill made of purpose to keepe the ebbing water, so as the ditches may alwaies be full. On the North side is the prison, not vnpleasant for situation, and the English House, and the House of the Gouvernour; which of old belonged to the Count of *Brabant*. Betweene the Gates *Woudeport* and *Stephenbergport*, which are both strongly fortified, the Riuer *Zome* falls into the Towne, whereof it hath the name, yet the channell being stopped, it seemes here a standing water, rather then a Riuer. Towards the East, the City is very strongly fortified, and there is the Gate *Boskport*, so called (as I thinke) of the word *Bosco*, which in the Italian tongue, signifies a wood: for on this side without the gates, were many woods and orchards, till they were destroied in the warre. On this side is another Raeling of great length, and beyond the fortifications lie faire pastures, but somewhat couered with waters. And from hence wee might see *Woudcastle*, scarce three English miles distant, which was then possessed by the Spaniards. On the South side is a new fort, beyond a strong bulwarke, and a very strong counterscarp compassing the City. And from hence was of old a most pleasant walke, vnder the shade of trees, to the old castle, some mile distant. On this side in a pleasant groue were many such birds, as I said to be at *Dort*, vulgarly called *Adherne*, much esteemed for the fethers they beare in their fore head, and there is a penalty set on those that hurt or driue them away. On this side also is the English Church, and vpon this and the East sides the Prince of *Parma* incamped, when hee besieged this City. There is in the midst of the City a triangular market place, and from the sharpe end thereof towards the West, five raelings run beyond the wals. The houses are built of bricke, and seeme to be built of old. The Church hath a very high steeple, whence the watchmen shew the coming and number of horse-men by hanging out white flagges, and of foot by redde. All the Villages hereabouts, though liuing vnder the Spaniard, yet pay contribution to this Garrison, lest the souldiers should vpon aduantage breake out, and spoile them. The Citizens liue of manuall arts, and the expences of the Garison.

From hence I sayled to *Midleburge*, and at one ebbe of the Sea, passed in seuen

E

houres

houres space to *Der-goesse*, and at another ebbe in foure houres space to *Armuren*, a City of the Iland *Walkern*, belonging to *Zealand*, and I paid for my passage six stivers. *Midleburg.* From hence in halfe an houre I walked on foot to *Midleburge*, the houses whereof are stately built, and very high, especially the new City, and are all of bricke, as be the Cities of *Holland*, and as be the houses of *Vlissing*, but some of these are stately built of free stone, yet the streetes are somewhat narrow. Here I paid for my supper five stivers in the English House; where the Host is onely bound to provide for the Merchants and such guests as they inuite, yet many times he admits English Gentlemen both to lodge and eat there. The House lies in the street *Longdelf*, and howsoever the Merchants eat there, yet they hier their lodgings scatteringly in the City, and refused an Abbey which the Senators offered them to lodge therein, perhaps out of feare, lest in any ciuill tumult they might more easily be wronged, if they should all lie together. This City is the Staple of all Merchandise, excepting Rhenish wine, for which by old priuiledge *Dorte* is the Staple. Therefore French and Spanish Wines are here sold much more cheape then other where, because they are free of impost in this place, and haue great impositions laid on them, being carried out to other Cities. The forme of the City is round, saue that on the East side, the buildings of the new City being vnperfected, made it to haue the forme of a halfe Moone, though the plot thereof were round. Comming from *Armuren*, I entered on this East side, by a very faire gate, called the New Gate, where the water falling into the Towne, passeth to the *Burse*, where the Merchants meet. There is a publike House for shooting, the wall on this side (as round about the City) is of stone, and is rather adorned then fortified with some Towers. And this wall is double, vpon the Inner whereof compassed with deepe ditches, many Houses are built. On the West side without the gates, almost halfe way to *Vlissing*, is *Rammakins Castle*, kept by English Souldiers, sent from *Vlissing* to that purpose, being a place of great importance, because the channell going to *Midleburge*, runnes within the command of their Artillery. On this South side is the Hauen, and without the wals very faire pastures, to the vttermost part of the Iland. Also on this side is a new Hauen made for ships in the winter time, and the gate is called, *Rammakins Port*, of the said Castle. On the West side you may see *Vlissing* a mile off, and in a cleere day, the Downes of *Kent* in *England*. On this side within the wals is a round market place, and the Senate-house of anticke building, and two Gates called of the Cities to which they leade, *Vlissing port*, and *Longe-ville port*. On the North side is an Abbey, and pleasant walking, and another publike House for exercise of shooting. This populous City hath onely two Churches, either because the people being of many sects in Religion, and much occupied in trafficke, scarce the third part comes to Church, or else because the people being much increased by strangers, comming to dwell in these parts, vpon the stopping of the passage to *Antwerp* in the ciuill warres, it is no wonder that the old Churches will not receiue them. The Citizens may at pleasure drowne all the fields about them. And this, one, and the chiefe Iland of *Zealand*, called *Walkerne*, containeth five walled Cities, besides Villages; but the aire is reputed vnwholsome. *Midleburge* is the chiefe place of trafficke in *Zealand*, as *Amsterdam* in *Holland*.

Vlissing. From hence I went in a long Waggon couered with hoopes and cloth to *Vlissing*, a long mile; and paid for my passage two blankes. Ten English foot companies, one hundred and fifty in each company, vnder the gouernment of Sir *Robert Sidney*, kept this strong Towne for the Queene of *England*, and vnder her pay; being ingaged to her for money lent the States, and the ten Captaines in course watched each third night. The City is little and of a round forme, but very strong. It hath a narrow Sea on the West side, where, vpon the last confines of *Zealand* and the vnited Prouinces, is one of the three passages (whereof I formerly spake) to the Maine Sea. On this side is the Mountaine of the Mill, where the Souldiers watch nightly, and beyond the Mountaine is a damme to let in the Sea at pleasure. On the South side is the Gate *Waterport*, strongly fortified, lying vpon the Inland Sea. On this side towards the North, the Sea flowing into the Towne, maketh one Hauen, and towards the East

another, and diuideth the City into three parts, the Old, the New, and the Middle, whereof any one being taken by the enemy, yet the other are fortified for defence. Beyond these Hauens or channels, is a Mountaine lying ouer the City, vpon which the Souldiers kept guards day and night; as they did likewise vpon the Bridge diuiding the Cities, and vpon other lower hils, at all the gates of the City, and in prayer time, at the doore of the English Church. This Church is on the East side, and is common to the English and Dutch at diuers houres. Betweene the high mountaine & this Church, was the Gouvernours House, belonging of old to the Counts of *Zealand*, and the public house for exercise of shooting, but lesse pleasant then the like houses are in other Cities. On the same East side lie two waies, one to *Rammakins* Castle, the other to *Middleburge*. On the North side the Downes of *Kent* in *England* may easily be scene, and there is the Hospitall or Gast-house for sicke people, and for sicke and maimed souldiers, of which a Mountaine thereby hath the name. On this and the East sides, are two Mills to retaine the water when the Sea ebs, that the ditches round about may alwaies be filled, and if need be to ouerflow the fields. These ditches are commonly a pikes depth, and can by no art or enemy be dried. The Citizens want good water, hauing no wels, nor any fresh water, but raine water kept in Cesternes. The foresaid number of Souldiers in the Garrison, was not sufficient to master the Citizens, onely their courageous minds dispising death, kept the Citizens in such awe, as they durst not attempt to recouer their liberty by force, which they hoped to obtaine by peaceable meanes, and the vnited Prouinces depended vpon the opinion of the Queenes aid, perhaps more then vpon the aid it selfe, so as either failing, they were like to be a prey to the Spaniards. Since that time I heard the Garison was diminished, so as it seemes the English had lesse strength to keepe it, if the States changing their minds, should attempt to surprize it. Being inuited by my English friends, I spent nothing in this City.

Hence I returned to *Middleburge* on foot, vpon a paved causey, hauing on each side rich corne fields, and faire pastures, with many orchards, and in the mid-way a Gentleman called *Aldegondy*, famous for his wildome, hath his Castle, wherein he dwelt. At *Middleburge* I paid six stiuers for my supper, and two for my bed, and providing victuals to carry by Sea, I paid for a loyne of mutton twenty foure stiuers, as also for my washing seuen stiuers, and staying in the Towne two daies, I spent in all foure guldens and foure stiuers.

I tooke ship at ten in the morning, and betweene the Iland *Der-gocse*, and the Inland Sea, called *Zurechsea*, I saw two Towers of Villages swallowed in the foresaid deluge, and sayling by the Iland *Plate*, and the Iland of *Brill*, we passed certaine booyes directing to find the channell. The next day in the afternoone, I landed at *Roterodam* in *Holland*, and paid ten stiuers for my passage. Thence I passed in two houres space by boat to *Delph*, and paid two stiuers for my passage. Thence in two houres space I passed to the Hage by Waggon, and paid for my passage two stiuers, for which iourney one man alone may hire a Waggon for seuen stiuers.

At the Hage Count *Maurice* with his mother in law the Countesse of *Orange* (born of the Noble Family of the *Chastillons* in *France*) and the Generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and Princes Ambassadors, haue their residence, which made me desirous to stay here a while, to which purpose I hired a chamber, for which, for my bed, sheets, tableclothes, towels, and dressing of my meat, I paid twenty five stiuers weekly. I bought my owne meat, and liuing priuatly with as much frugality as conueniently I might, I spent by the weeke no more then five guldens and a halfe, though all things were in this place extraordinarily deere. My beere in one weeke came to foureteene stiuers, and among other things bought, I paid for a quarter of lambe thirty stiuers, for a Hen seuen stiuers, for a Pigeon foure stiuers, for a Rabet three stiuers. I remember not to haue scene a more pleasant village then this: great part of the houses are fairely built of bricke, though many of them in by-streets be covered with thatch, and some few are stately built of free-stone. The village hath the forme of a Crosse, and vpon the East side comming in from *Leyden*, there is a most pleasant GROUE, with many wild walkes like a maze, and neerer the houses is another very pleasant walke, set

round about with willowes. Here is the publike house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Grosse-bow, which hath a sweet prospect into a large Greene plaine, where they vse to spread linnen clothes in the sunne; and here certaine rowes of trees being planted; yeeld a pleasant shade to them that walke therein. One of the said rowes of trees called *Vinareberg*, leades to an old Castle of the Counts of *Holland*, compassed with a drie ditch, in which Count *Maurice* dwelt, but in the great Hall thereof were many shops of Merchants for small wares. Vpon the wals of the said Castle, and vpon the windowes of the Church, these words were written in latine.

To Charles the fifth, &c. To the most inuincible Caesar Charles the fifth Roman Emperour, the victorious defender of the Catholike Religion, and Augustus. The Prouisors of this House haue placed this in the yeere 1547.

Thereby was the Statua of Charles the fifth, kneeling on his knees. In the window were painted the Armes of all the Knights of the golden Fleece. The Histories of the Countrey report the building of this Pallace to be wonderfull, in that the top of the Hall is not ioined with beames, but with arches: but for my part I obserued no great magnificence in the worke. The second of the foresaid rowes of trees, called *Furholt*, leads to a gentlemans house, the fairest & most stately built in this Village. In the midst of the Hage lies the market place, and the Church. On the South side is the water that leades to *Delph*: and round about on all sides without the Village, are faire pastures, excepting the North-side, where the sandy downes of the Sea lie neere to the Village. In the Church is a Monument of Count *Albertus*, Duke of *Banaria*, and another of a Count of *Hanaw*, with diuers others, which I omit, as hauing no antiquity or magnificence.

Lausdune.

While I staid at the Hage, I walked out in halfe an houres space to the village *Lausdune*, where I saw a wonderfull monument, the History whereof printed in a paper, the Earle of *Leicester* (as they said) had carried with him into *England*, leauing onely the same in written hand; the copy whereof I will set downe, first remembring that two basens of brasse hanged on the wall, in which the children (whereof I shall speak) were baptized. The manuscript was in latine as followeth;

*En tibi monstratum nimis & memorabile factum,
Quale nec a Mundi conditione datum.*

Hac lege, mox animo stupefactus lector abibis.

So strange and monstrous thing I tell,

As from the worlds frame nere befell,

He parts amasse that markes it well.

The rest in latine is thus englisht;

Margaret wife to *Hermanus* Count of *Henneberge*, daughter to *Florence* Count of *Holland* and *Zealand*, sister to *William* King of the Romans, and *Cesar*, or *Gouernour* of the Empire. This most noble Countesse being about forty two yeeres old, the very day of preparation called *Parascene*, about nine of the clocke, in the yeere 1276. brought forth at one birth three hundred sixty five children, which being baptized in two basens of brasse, by *Guido Suffragan* of *Vtrecht*, all the males were called *Iohn*, and all the females *Elizabeth*; but all of them together with the mother, died in one and the same day, and lie buried here in the Church of *Lausdune*: and this happened to her; in that a poore woman bearing in her armes two twinnes, the Countesse wondering at it, said shee could not haue them both by one man, and so reiected her with scorne, whereupon the woman sore troubled, wished that the Countesse might haue as many children at a birth, as there be daies in the whole yeere; which besides the course of nature, by miracle fell out, as in this table is briefly set downe for perpetuall memory, out of old Chronicles, as well written as printed. Almighty God must be in this beheld and honoured, and extolled with praises for euer and euer. Amen.

From the Hage, my selfe and other consorts hired a Waggon for two guldens, and passed to *Leyden*, hauing on both sides faire pastures, fruitfull corne fields, and some pleasant grones.

CHAP.

This yeere
fell in a ly-
ing and su-
perstitious
age.

CHAP. V.

Of my iourney out of the vnited Prouinces, by the Sea coast, to Stode and Lubeck in Germany.
Of my sailing to Denmarke, and thence to Dantzke in Prussen, and my iourney through
Poland to Padoua in Italy.



IN the end of the Month of *Iune*, and the yeere 1593: An. 1593
hauing now dispatched by Letters, all my businesse in
England, and hauing seene the vnited Prouinces, I was in
doubt by what way I should returne into *Italy*: and ha-
uing already passed the two waies of *Germany*, that by *Aug-*
spurge, and the other by the *Sweitzers*, and the way by
France being then shut vp by the ciuill warres, the com-
mon desire of Trauellers not to passe the same way twice,
but to see as many new Countries as their course will per-
mit; made me resolute to passe through the Kingdomes of *Denmarke* and *Poland*, and
by the fortified City of *Wien* in *Austria*. In which iourney, howsoeuer I should goe
much out of my way, and was like to indure many troubles; yet I thought nothing
was difficult to a willing minde. Therefore I hired a waggon from *Leyden* to *Vtrecht*,
and paid for my part twelue stivers. Wee passed three miles and a halfe in three
houres, by the village *Alpha*, where the Spaniards incamped, when they besieged
Leyden; and by a little Towne called *Gonda*, hauing on both sides faire pastures, but
somewhat ouerflowed, and ditches set with willowes; and we came to a little village,
where the waggoner gaue his horses meat. Then in foure houres space wee passed
foure miles and a halfe, hauing on both sides fruitfull corne fields; and like ditches
set with willowes, and so we came to *Vtrecht*. But a mile and a halfe before we came
thither, we passed out of the Territory of *Holland*, and entred the Bishopricke of
Vtrecht, which is one of the vnited Prouinces. Not farre from the City wee saw a
crosse, set vp for a Monument of a Bishop dying in battell against the *Hollanders*. I
had almost forgotten the little City *Werden*, which they shewed vs by the way, and
told vs, that the forme thereof was like the City of *Ierusalem*, which at that time I had
not seene, and therefore mention this from their report, rather then from my iudge-
ment.

The City *Vtrecht* is seated in length from South-east, by East, to North-west by
West, and vpon the end at South-east by East, is the gate *weitefraw*, where the *Rheine* *Vtrecht*
enters the City. At the other end, North-west by West, are the ruines of an old Castle,
which the Spaniards kept before the wars, to bridle the City: and there be two gates,
Saint Katherine-port, and *Wert-port*, each of them hauing their suburbs. On the
South-west side are walles of earth, but the ditches were almost dry. On the North-
east side is the gate *Olfske-port*, and there be three strong Raelings, one defending the
other. On this side be two streets fairer then the rest, called *New-graft*, and
Altkirkhoffe; and there is a pleasant walke well shaded with trees, vpon the banke of
the Riuer. In the midst of the City is the Cathedrall Church, hauing a faire Tower,
and a Bell, which they report to be of eightene thousand pounds weight. Neere to
the same is the Bishops Pallace, wherein the Bishops dwelt before the vnion of the
Prouinces; but at this time there dwelled the Countesse of *Meurs*, whose husband
died in these warres. In the same part lie the market place, and the Senate house. The
houses of the City are of bricke, and fairely built, but lose much of their beautie by
being couered on the outside with boords, and they seeme to haue more antiquitie,
then the buildings of *Holland*. There be thirty Churches, but onely three are vsed
for diuine seruice. In *Saint Maries Church*, (which as I remember is the Cathedrall
Church) these verses are written vpon a pillar.

*Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula narres,
Taurinis cutibus fundo solidata columna est.*

E 3

Posterity

Posterity heare this, and to your children tell,
Bull hydes beare vp this piller from the lowest hell.

Vpon a second piller this is written in Latine.

A Friſon killed the Biſhop becauſe hee had learned of him, being drunke, and betrayed by his ſonne, the Art to ſtop a gulfe in this place, the yeere 1099.

Vpon a third piller this is written in Latine:

The Emperour Henry the fourth, built this Church to our Lady, becauſe hee had pulled downe another Church at Milane, dedicated to her.

And to my vnderſtanding, they ſhewed me at this time manifeſt ſignes of the aforeſaid gulfe, which theſe inſcriptions witneſſe to haue beene in this place. Heere I paid for my ſupper twenty ſtiuers, and for my breakefaſt fix ſtiuers.

From hence I went to *Amſterdam*, five miles in three houres ſpace, and paid for my paſſage in the waggon ten ſtiuers. For halfe the way on both ſides wee had faire paſtures, and ſaw many ſtrong Caſtles belonging to Gentlemen. Neere *Vtrecht*, at the paſſage of a riuer each man paid a Doight, and before wee came to the halfe way, we paſſed the confines of this Biſhopricke, and entred the County of *Holland*. Then in the ſpace of two houres and a halfe, we came to *Amſterdam*, hauing in our way on both ſides faire paſtures.

Fly.

On Friday in the beginning of the Month of *Iuly*, at five a clocke in the euening, I tooke ſhip, vpon the Maſt whereof was a garland of Roſes, becauſe the maſter of this ſhip then wooed his wife, which ceremony the Hollanders vſed. And the ſea being calme, wee paſſed eight miles to *Enchuſen*, where wee caſt anchor. By the way wee paſſed allhole, where our ſterne ſtruck twiſe vpon the ſand, not without feare of greater miſchiefe. On Saturday we ſayled betweene *West Freeſland* vpon our right hands towards the Eaſt, and *Holland* vpon our left hands towards the Weſt, and after tenne miles ſayling, came to the Iland *Fly*, which being of ſmall compaſſe, and conſiſting of ſandy hils, hath two villages in it. From hence they reckon twenty eight miles by ſea to *Hamburg* in *Germany*, whether we purpoſed to goe. Aſſoone as wee caſt anchor here, the Maſter of our ſhip went aboard the Admirall of certaine ſhips, which vſed to lie here, to guard this mouth of the ſea, with whom hee ſpake concerning our paſſage to *Hamburg*, and deliuered him Letters, commanding that our ſhip ſhould haue a man of war to waſt it. This Admirall lay continually in this harbour, to guard this paſſage into the ſea, and he commanded nine ſhips, which were vpon all occaſions to waſt the Hollanders to *Hamburg*, and defend them from the *Dunkirkers*, and all Pirats. But at this time there was not one of theſe men of warre in the harbour, and the Admirall himſelfe might not goe forth. So as for this cauſe, and for the tempeſtious weather, wee ſtaied here all Sunday. But vpon Monday, the winde being faire for vs, and contrary for the men of warre that were to come in, ſo that loſing this winde, we muſt haue expected (not without great irkeſomneſſe) a ſecond winde to bring in ſome of theſe men of warre, and a third winde to carry vs on our iourney: the Maſter of our ſhip (carrying fixe great Peeces, and hauing ſome tenne Muſkets) did aſſociate himſelfe with ſeuen other little ſhips, (hauing only Pikes and ſwords) and ſo more boldly then wiſely reſolued to paſſe to *Hamburg* without any man of warre.

This Monday morning we hoyſed ſaile, but being calmed at noone, we caſt anchor between the *Fly*, on our left hand toward the Weſt, and another little Iland *Shelling* on our right hand towards the Eaſt: and lying here, wee might ſee two little barkes, hottering vp and downe, which wee thought to be Fiſher-men, and nothing leſſe then Pirats of *Dunkirke*. Heretill euening we were toſſed by the waues, which vſe to bee more violent vpon the coaſt; but a faire winde then ariſing, all our ſhippes gladly weighed anchor. At which time it happened that the anchor of our ſhip brake, ſo as our conſorts went on, but our Maſter, according to the nauall diſcipline, not to put to ſea with one anchor, returned backe to the harbour of the *Fly*, there to buy a new anchor, all of vs fooliſhly curſing our fortune and the ſtarres. On Tueſday morning while wee ſadly walked on the ſhoare, vvee might ſee our conſorts comming backe with

with torne sailes, and dead men, and quarters of men; lying on the hatches. We beholding this with great astonishment, tooke boat to board them, and demanding the newes, they told vs that the little barks we saw the day before vvere *Dunkirkers*, hauing in each of them eighty Souldiers, and some few great Peeces, and that they had taken them, & spoiled their ships, of their chiefe & lightest goods, and had carried away prisoners to *Dunkirk* all the passengers & chief Marriners, after they had first wrung their foreheads with twined ropes, & with many horrible tortures, forced them to confesse what money they had presently, & what they could procure for ransom. Further, with mourning voice they told vs, that the Pirats inquired much after our ship, saying that it was the bride, with whom they meant to dance, cursing it to be destroyed with a thousand tuns of dinels, & swearing that if they had foreseene our escape, they would haue assailed vs by day, while we rode at anchor. They added, that they had left no goods, but those they could not carry for weight, and had changed their ragged shirts and apparell with the poore Marriners. And indeed they had iust cause to bewaile the escape of our shippe, being laded with many chests of Spanish Ryalls, whereof they were not ignorant, vsing to haue their spies in such places, who for a share in the booty, would haue betrayed their very brothers. As we had iust cause to praise almighty God, who had thus deliuered vs out of the iawes of death, so had wee much more cause to bewaile our rashnesse, yea and our wickednesse, that we had striuen, yea and repined against his diuine prouidence, which with humble and hearty sorrow I confesse to the glory of his sacred name. In this Iland I paid for my supper and bed ten stiuers, for my breakfast and dinner eight stiuers.

On Wednesday we had a most faire winde, but the terrour of our last escape, made vs stay in the harbour. In the euening I went to lodge in the village, and paid tenne stiuers for my supper and bed, and there I saw great store of all kindes of shel-fish, sold for a very small price.

Since this iourney by Sea, (had besides our expectation) proued so difficult, my selfe, though I had seene the Cities vpon the sea coast of *Germany*, yet preferring my safety before the charge and trouble of that way, did resolute to passe to *Hamburg* by land, with which purpose when I acquainted my consorts; suddenly all the passengers resolved to leaue the ships, and to go by land; at which resolution the Masters of the ships stormed, but when each of vs had payed them a Doller for our passage from *Amsterdam* to the *Fly*, they were well pacified.

My selfe and nine consorts in my company, hired a boat for thirty stiuers, each man paying three stiuers: and so vpon Thursday in foure houres space, wee sailed three miles to *Harlingen*, a City of west *Freesland*, passing the aforesaid Inland sea. And the same day hiring a boat, for which each man paid six stiuers: wee passed a mile to the City *Froniker*, where is an Vniuersity, and passing by water through the midst of that pleasant little City, we passed two miles further, to *Lewerden*, where we lodged, and I paid for my supper ten stiuers. The next morning, being Friday, wee passed in six houres space two long miles to *Dockam*, and each man paid for his boate hire three stiuers. Without delay in the afternoone we entred a barke, to saile from West *Freesland*, one of the vnited Prouinces, into East *Freesland*, a Prouince of the *German* Empire: but scarce one mile from the towne we cast anchor, to expect the floud; and lying there, we heard from the land, great noise, barking of dogs, cries of men, and sounding of bells, which proceeded from some Spanish Free-booters breaking out of *Groning*, to spoile the Peasants. All the next day wee sailed, and in the euening for our better safety wee cast anchor neere a man of warre, (whereof there be some appointed to lie in this Inland Sea, to guard the friends of the States,) and early the next morning being Sunday; wee set saile, and by the rising of the sunne, landed in the Iland of *Rotermere* (which is diuided from the continent by this Inland Sea, and hath the maine Sea on the other side,) whence soone after we parted, and were put on land in East *Freesland*, a Prouince of the Empire, and passing one mile on foot, came to the City of *Emden*.

I said that the States maintained some men of warre in this Inland Sea, and these

vsed to send out in lesser boates some bodies of men, to search the Barkes whether they be friends or not; which bodies of men are vulgarly called *Die jagt*, that is, the hunting, of a metaphor taken from the hunting of dogs. For my passage from *Doe-kam* to *Emden* I paid ten stivers, and here for supper and breakefast I paid twenty three stivers, though the ordinary rate be but sixe stivers a meale without wine: and for a pound of cherries I paid eight stivers.

In our iourney to *Stode*, the first day wee came in sixe houres space three miles, to the village *Detrem*, vpon the confines of the county of *Emden*, passing through fruitfull corne fields, and faire meadowes; and being eight in the Waggon, we all paid fiftene stivers for the same. From hence we went a mile through wild and fenny fields, to the village *Open*, and each foure consorts paid for their Waggon three stivers, and our Waggon was driuen by a woman. Here the Graue or Count of *Oldenburg* hath a Castle, and each man paid for his supper seuen groates. By night we passed foure miles through a wild heath, to *Oldenburg*, and foure consorts paid ten stivers for a Waggon. They haue very little horses in these parts to draw the Waggon, like to the galloway nags of *Scotland*. The second day wee passed two miles and a halfe in foure houres space, through a sandy heath ground and thicke woods of oake, and came to a Village; where each man paid for his dinner foure stivers. After dinner we passed more then a mile through a like wooddy Heath, and in three houres space came to *Delmerharst*, where the Count of *Oldenburge* hath a faire and strong Castle, though it be a poore Village: and here each man paid halfe a stiver to the Count, and for our Waggon ten stivers. The same day we passed a mile through sandy pastures, and in three houres space came to *Breme*, where each man paid for our Waggon foure groats, and for our supper fise lubecke shillings. From *Breme* we passed foure miles through wild fields, yeelding some little corne, and thicke woods, and in sixe houres space came to a poore house; where each man paid for dinner fise lubecke shillings. Here those which carried any merchandise paid tole: and one man hauing a packe which a man might carry on his shoulder, paid foure lubecke shillings for the same: but all that goe to study in Vniuersities, or be no Merchants, are free from this imposition. After dinner we passed three miles in fise houres space to *Furd*, where each man paid for his supper fise lubecke shillings. The next day from two of the clocke in the morning to seuen, wee passed three miles through a heath and woods of oake, and came to *Stode*, where each man paid for his Waggon from *Breme* twenty two Lubecke shillings. At *Stode* I paid for my dinner in a Dutch Inne foure Lubecke shillings and a halfe, and for a steifkin or measure of Rhenish wine, halfe a doller. I briefly passe over this iourney vpon the sea-coast of *Germany*, because I formerly discribed the same.

The one and twenty of *July*, I passed in foure houres space by boat fise miles to *Hamburge*, and paid for my passage by water three Lubecke shillings, for my supper foure, and one for my bed. Early in the morning I passed six miles in sixe houres space, through wild fenny fields, woods of oake, and some few fields of corne, and came to the Village *Alislow*, seated in a bogge, whereof it hath the name; where I paid for my dinner fise Lubecke shillings and a halfe. Giue me leaue to tell you a ridiculous toy, yet strange and true: At *Hamburge* gate leading to *Lubecke*, we found a dogge that followed vs, and some passengers of credit assured mee, that for many yeeres this dogge had lien at that gate, and euery day without intermission, watching the first Coach that came forth, had followed the same to this village *Alislow*, being the bayting place at noone, and after dinner had returned backe to *Hamburge* gate, with another Coach comming from *Lubecke*, for Coaches passe daily betweene those Cities.

After dinner we passed foure miles in foure houres space, through hils more thicke with woods, but in many places bearing good corne, and came to *Lubecke*. For my place in the Coach this day I paid twenty lubecke shillings, and this night for my supper and bed, I paid sixe lubecke shillings. Here I bought the foureteenth Booke of *Amadis de Gaule*, in the Dutch tongue, to practise the same: for these Bookes are most eloquently translated into the Dutch, and fit to teach familiar language; and for this

Booke I paid eightene lubecke shillings, and for the binding foure; and for a Map of *Europe* to guide me in my iourney, I paid foureteene lubecke shillings: Also I paid for a measure of Rhenish wine five lubecke shillings, and as much for a measure of Spanish wine. From *Lubecke* I passed two miles in three houres space, through fruitfull hils of corne, and some woods of oake to the village *Tremuren*; and paid for my coach the fourth part of a Döller (which notwithstanding vseth to be hired for five lubecke shillings) and for my supper I paid foure lubecke shillings. I formerly shewed that this village is the *Hauen*, where the great ships vse to be vnladed, and from thence to be carried vp to lie at *Lubecke* in the winter.

Here I tooke ship to sayle into *Denmarke*, vpon the Balticke Sea, so called, because it is compassed by the Land, as it were with a girdle. This sea doth not at all ebbe and flow, or very little, after it hath passed in by the streight of *Denmarke*, being more then twenty foure miles long, so as vpon the shoares of *Prussen*, *Muscaw*, and *Suetia*, this sea seemes little to be moued, and many times is frozen with ice, from the shore farre into the sea; and the waues thereof once stirred with the winds, are very high, neither is the water of this sea any thing so salt as otherwhere, so as the ships sayling therein, doe sinke deeper at least three spans then in the German Ocean, as manifestly appears by the white sides of the ships aboue water when they come out of this sea, and enter the said Ocean. And this will not seeme strange to any, who haue seene an egge put into salt pits, and how it swimme, being borne vp with the salt water. The Master of the *Lubecke* ship in which I passed to *Denmarke*, gaue me beere for foure lubeck shillings; for which the Dutchmen and Danes drinking more largely, paid but one lubecke shilling more, and euery man had provided victuals for himselfe. I paid for my passage twenty foure lubecke shillings, and gaue foure to the mariners. From *Lubecke* they reckon twenty foure miles to *Kalsterboaden*, and from thence seuen miles to *Coppenhagen*, so called as the *Hauen* of Merchants. We left vpon our left hand towards the South, a little Iland called *Munde*, and (as I remember) the third day of *August*, landed at *Drakesholme*, being one mile from *Coppenhagen*, whether I passed in a Waggon through some pastures and barren corne fields; and neere the City I passed ouer the *Hauen* from one Iland to another. I paid for my Waggon three lubecke shillings. At our entrance of the City, on the East-side, is the Kings Castle, where the Court lies, especially in winter time. On this side, the City lies vpon the sea, and there is the said *Hauen*, as likewise on the North-side the sea is little distant from the City. When I entered the gates, the guard of souldiers examined me strictly, and the common people, as if they had neuer seene a stranger before, shouted at mee after a barbarous fashion; among which people were many mariners, which are commonly more rude in such occasions, and in all conuersation. The City is of a round forme, in which, or in the Kings Castle, I obserued no beauty or magnificence. The Castle is built of free-stone in a quadrangle. The City is built of timber and clay, and it hath a faire market place, and is reasonably well fortified. Here I paid for three meales and breakefast eight lubecke shillings, and as much for beere. The King at this time lay at *Roschild*, purposing shortly to goe into the Dukedome of *Holst*, where he had appointed a meeting of the gentlemen at *Flansburge*, to receiue their homage there, which vpon old piuidges they had refused to doe vnto him in *Denmarke*.

Therefore I went foure miles in foure houres space, through a wild hilly Country, to *Roschild*, so called of the Kings Fountaine; and my selfe and one companion paid twenty lubecke shillings for our Waggon: and though it were the moneth of *August*, yet the wind blowing strong from the North, and from the Sea, I was very cold, as if it had beene then winter. *Roschild* hath a Bishop, and though it be not walled, hath the title of a City; but well deserues to be numbred among faire and pleasant Villages. Here they shew a whet-stone, which *Albrecht* King of *Suetia*, sent to *Margaret* Queene of *Denmarke*, despising her as a woman, and in scoffe bidding her to whet her swords therewith: but this Queene took the said King prisoner in that warre, and so held him till death. Here I paid seuen Danish shillings for my supper. In the chancell of the Church is a monument of blacke and white stone for this Queene *Margaret*.

Coppenhagen

Roschild.

garet and her daughter, and the Danes so reuerence this Queene, as they haue here to shew the apparell she vsed to weare. In this Church are the sepulchers of the Kings, whereof one erected by *Frederick*, for *Christianus* his father, is of blacke Marble and Alablaster, curiously carued, hauing his statua kneeling before a Crucifix, and hung round about with sixteene blacke flags, and one red.

Hauing seene the King and the Courtiers, my selfe and my companion next day returned to *Copenhagen*, each of vs paying for the waggon tenne *Lubeck* shillings: and here I paid for my supper six *Lubeck* shillings, and three for beere.

*Fredericks-
burg.*

From hence I passed by sea, foure miles in fīue houres space, to *Elsinure*, and paid for my passage eight *Lubeck* shillings, and for my supper eight Danish shillings. And because I was to returne hither, to take ship for *Dantzke*, I passed the next morning three miles in foure houres space; through Hills of corne but somewhat barren, and woods of Beech, to *Fredericksburg*, and hauing but one companion with mee, wee paid for our waggon thither, and so to *Copenhagen*, each of vs twenty two *Lubeck* shillings. Here the King hath a Pallace, and a little Parke walled in, where (among other forraine beasts) were kept some fallow Deere, transported hither out of *England*, the twenty foure yeere of Queene *Elizabeths* raigne. I paid for my dinner foure Danish shillings, and as much for beere.

In the afternoone we passed fīue miles in six houres, through barren fields of corne, and groues of Beech and hasel-nuts, to *Copenhagen*, and by the way we saw a Crosse, set vp in memory of a waggoner, who hauing drunke too much, droue his waggon so fast, as hee ouerturned it on the side of a Hil, and himselfe broke his necke. The waggoners haue an appointed place at *Copenhagen*, where they haue a stable for their horses for two Danish shillings a night, but them selues buy hay and oates. And the next day by noone, they must return to their dwellings, though they go empty, when no passengers are to be found.

From hence, my selfe and one companion, hired a waggon for twelue *Lubeck* shillings each of vs, to *Elsinure*, being fīue miles, whither we came in fīue houres, fetching many circuits vpon the sea coasts.

Elsinure.

This is a poore village, but much frequented by sea-faring men, by reason of the straight sea, called the *Sownd*; where the King of *Denmark* hath laid so great imposition vpon ships and goods comming out of the *Balticke* sea, or brought into the same, as this sole profit passeth all the reuenewes of his Kingdome. In this village a strong Castle called *Croneburg* lyeth vpon the mouth of the Straight, to which the other side of this Narrow sea, in the Kingdome of *Normay*, another Castle is opposite, called *Elsburg*, and these Castles keepe the Straight, that no ship can passe into the *Baltick* sea, or out of it, hauing not first paid these impositions. They say there is another passage between two Ilands (for all the Kingdom of *Denmark* consists of little Ilands) but the same is forbidden vpon penalty of confiscation of all the goods. And they report that three shippes in a darke fog passed this straight without paying any thing; but after, this being made knowne to the Kings ministers, at the returne of the said ships all their goods were confiscated. In respect of the *Danes* scrupulous and iea-lous nature, I did with great difficulty, (putting on a Merchants habite, and giuing a greater reward then the fauour deserued,) obtaine to enter *Croneburg* Castle, which was built foure square, and hath only one gate on the East side, where it lies vpon the straight. Aboue this gate is a chamber in which the King vseth to eat, and two chambers wherein the King and Queene lie apart. Vnder the fortification of the Castle round about, are stables for horses, and some roomes for like purposes. On the South-side towards the *Baltick* sea, is the largest roade for ships. And vpon this side is the prison, and aboue it a short gallery. On the West side towards the village is the Church of the Castle, & aboue it a very faire gallery, in which the King vseth to feast at solemne times. On the North side is the prospect partly vpon the Iland, and partly vpon the Narrow sea, which reacheth twenty foure miles to the *German Ocean*. And because great store of ships passe this way in great Fleets, of a hundreth more or lesse together: this prospect is most pleasant to all men, but most of all to the King, seeing

ing so many shippes, whereof not one shall passe, without adding somewhat to his treasure. On this side lietwo chambers, which are called the King of *Scotland* his chambers, euer since his Maiesty lodged there, when he wooed and married his Queene. The hangings thereof were of redde cloth, and the chaires and stooles couered with the same, but they said that the rich furniture was laid vp in the Kings absence. The Hauen will receiue great number of shippes, and it hath *Croneburge* Castle on the North side, the Castle of *Elsburg* on the East side, and *Zealand* (the chiefe Iland of the Kingdome) on the West side, and the Iland *Wheen* on the South side.

To which Iland the long straight or narrow sea lies opposite towards the North, leading into the German Ocean. This Iland *Wheen* is a mile long, and not altogether so broad, hauing onely one groue in it. This solitary place, King *Fredrick*, Father to *Christianus* now rainging, gaue to a Gentleman called *Tugo-Brake* for his dwelling, who being a famous Astronomer liued here solitarily at this time, & was said to haue some Church liuings for his maintenance, and to liue vnmarried, but keeping a Concubine, of whom he had many children, & the reason of his so liuing, was thought to be this; because his nose hauing been cut off in a quarrell, when he studied in an Vniuersitiy of *Germany*, he knew himselfe thereby disabled to marry any Gentlewoman of his own quality. It was also said that the gentlemen lesse respected him for liuing in that sort, and did not acknowledge his sonnes for Gentlemen. King *Frederick* also gaue this learned Gentleman of his free gift, many and very faire Astronomicall instruments, and he liuing in a pleasant Iland, wherein no man dwelt but his family, wanted no pleasure which a contemplatiue man could desire. Besides the aforesaid instruments, this Gentleman had a very faire Library, full of excellent bookes, and a like faire still-house. Besides not farre from his house, he had a little round house of great beauty, in which he did exercise his speculation, the couer thereof being to bee remoued at pleasure, so as lying with his face vpward, he might in the night time fully behold the Starres, or any of them. In this little house all famous Astronomers vvere painted, and the following Verses were added, each to the picture, to which they belong.

Sulueta Heroes: vetus O Timochare salue,

Ætheris ante alios ausē subire polos.

God saue ye worthies: old *Timocherus*

I greet thee, more then many venturous,

To mount the Starres and shew them vnto vs.

Tu quoq; demensius Solis Lunaq; recursus,

Hipparche, & quot quot sidera Olympus habet.

And thou *Hipparchus*, thou didst measure euen,

The course of Sun, Moone, and all Starres of heauen

Antiquos superare volens, Ptolomee labores,

Orbis & numeris promptius astra locas.

Ptolomy, thou to passe old ages reach,

The Numbers and the Orbes dost better teach.

Emendare aliquid satis Albategne studebas,

Sydera conatus post habuere tuos.

Thou *Albategnus* somewhat yet to mend

Didst strue, but wert preuented by thine end.

Quod labor & studium reliquis, tibi contulit Aurum

Alphonse, vt tantis annumerere viris.

These got by paines and study, thou by gold

Alphonsus, with such men to be inrol'd.

Curriculis tritis diffise Copernice, terram

Inuitam, astriferum flectere cogis iter.

Copernicus, thou old said sawes didst doubt,

Thou mak'st heauen stand, and earth turne round about.

In the best place this Gentleman *Tugo Brahe* had set his owne picture, with the following Verses ;

Quæsitis veterum & proprijs, normæ astra subegi,

Quanti id : Iudicium posteritatis erit.

With old Rules and my owne, the Starres I place,

Which after-times, as it deserues, shall grace.

Many Instruments are there placed by him, which himselfe inuented, and hee hath made a solemne dedication of the house to the ages to come, with earnest prayers that they will not pull downe this Monument.

The Danes thinke this Iland *Wheen* to be of such importance, as they haue an idle fable, that a King of *England* should offer for the possession of it, as much scarlet cloth as would couer the same, with a Rose-noble at the corner of each cloth. Others tell a fable of like credit, that it was once sold to a Merchant, whom they scoffed when he came to take possession, bidding him take away the earth he had bought. The great reuenew exacted in this straight, hath giuen occasion to these and the like fables. And in truth, if either the King of *Suetia*, or the free City of *Lubeck*, had the possession of this Iland, and were fortified therein, they might easily command this passage, and extort what they list, from the Merchants passing that way, and perhaps conquer the parts adioyning ; but the possession thereof were altogether vnprofitable for any Prince, whose Territories lie out of the Sound, the entrance whereof is forbid by the two foresaid strong Castles. But lest I should bee as foolish as they, I returne to my purpose. And first giue me leaue to mention, that there lies a City not farre distant, in the Kingdome of *Norway*, which is called *London*, as the chiefe City in *England* is called.

An. 1593.

Vpon Sunday, the twenty six of *August*, in the yeere 1593, I tooke an English ship heere, to saile into *Prussen*, hauing first bought for my victuals halfe a lambe for twelue Danish shillings, thirty egges for six shillings, and some few pots of Spanish wine, for forty two Danish shillings, with some other small prouisions. From *Elfsnure* to *Dantzke*, they reckon eighty English miles. As soone as wee were come out of the harbour, wee saw two ships sayling two contrary wayes, and yet hauing both a forewind, which sometimes happens vpon the shoare, as marriners know. For of these two contrary winds, the one is airy, which holds when you are gone into the maine, the other is from the earth, and in short time faileth at the very shore: which euent we presently saw with our eyes, one of the ships going fairely on his course, the other casting anchor. The English ship in which I went, was called the *Antelope*, being of one hundred fifty tuns, or thereabouts, and one Master *Bodley* was the Master thereof, who shewed me manifest signes, where his ship in two places had beene struck with lightning; the first whereof passed into the pumpe, and rent it, but comming to the water, was by the nature thereof carried vpward, and comming out at the top of the pumpe, made two little holes; then passing to the great Mast, rent it, and made a great crany therein, from the hatches to the top. The second struck the top of the said maine Mast, and againe rent it, in such wise as it would scarcely beare saile, till wee might come to *Dantzke*, where the best Mastes are sold at a good rate. The first day we sayled in the Baltick sea, some fiue miles with a scant winde, and cast anchor neere *Copenhagen*. With a faire winde and good gaile, Marriners vsually sayle some three Dutch leagues in an houre. On Monday early, wee sayled along the shore three miles to *Falsterboden*. On Tuesday early, wee sayled eightene miles to the Iland *Brentholm*, and vpon our left hands saw the land in two places, and there sounding with our plummet, sand of Amber stuck thereunto. The same day by noone, wee sayled the length of that Iland; and vpon Wednesday, by three of the clocke in the morning, hauing sayled thirty miles, we passed by Rose-head, being a Promontory neere *Dantzke*.

On Thurf-day by eight of the clocke in the morning, hauing sayled eightene miles, we came to a Land called *Kettell*, and entered the Port of *Meluin*, where the water was scarce two fadome deepe, our ship drawing one fadome and a halfe: the entry

was

was narrow, and there were many booyes floting vpon shoales & sands; and the weather being calme, we were drawne in by a boate with Oares. In like cases ships vse to draw themselues in, by the casting and weighing of Anchors; with great labour, and slow riddance of way: From *Kettell* we passed ten miles; and came to the Port of *Meluin*. *Meluin*. In the aforesaid entry of the Riuer, on the right hand towards the West, we saw *Dantzke* seated not farre from the sea shore, where it hath a haven, but not so safe as this: and towards the North-east in the same place a channell runneth vp to *Konigsberg*, the Court of the Duke of *Prussen*. The Port of *Meluin* is scarce ten foot deepe, but our ship passed through the mud, like a plow vpon land. This port is a little distant from the City, on the North-side, where we entered by a faire large street, called *Martgasse*, lying thence towards the South. *Prussen* of old was subiect to the order of the Teutonicke Knights, but by agreement made betweene the King of *Poland* and the Margraue or Marques of *Brandeburg*, Master of the said order, part of the prouince was giuen to the said Marques and his heires; with title of Duke, vnder homage to the King of *Poland*, with condition that for want of heire male, it should returne to the Kingdome of *Poland*; and the other part was then vnitd to the said Kingdome: but *Dantzke* and *Meluin* remained free Cities, acknowledging the King of *Poland* for their Protector, for which cause they giue him many customes, and permit his Officer to abide in the City, and receiue the same. *Meluin* is a little and faire City, lately compassed with new wals, and at this time grew rich by the English Merchants, hauing their staple in the same. They giue good fare for foure grosh a meale; and he that paies for two meales in the day, may besides haue meat or drinke betwene meales, at pleasure, without paying any thing. The same euening we landed at *Meluin*, our Marri-ners staying in the ship, entertained other English Marriners comming aboard; and according to their custome, giuing them a peece when they departed: it happened that the peece being of iron, brake, and therewith cut the Cooke off by the middle, and rent all the prow of the ship. The English Merchants at *Meluin* had no Preacher, though the Citizens gaue them free exercise of religion: so that howsoeuer they excused it, by reason that learned Preachers could hardly be drawne to come so farre for meanes to liue, yet I thought them not free of blame in this point; because our Merchants further distant in *Asia*, and liuing vnder the Turkes Empire, found meanes by their bounty to haue learned Preachers. Neither indeed did I euer obserue in any other place (*Italy* excepted) that our Merchants wanted Preachers, where they held their staples.

From *Meluin* I went ten miles in one day to *Dantzke*, and we being onely two con- *Dantzke*. forts, paid each of vs a Doller for our Coach. In the morning we went sixe miles, and by the way passed the Riuer *Begot*, comming out of the riuer *Vistula*, where our Coachman paid three grosh to haue his Coach carried ouer a damme. Beyond this riuer we entered the territory of the King of *Poland*, and passing all this way through fruitfull corne fields, and rich medowes, and pastures, in a Countrey abounding with towne and Villages, we dined in a Village where we two by couenant paying for our coachman, spent each of vs eight grosh. In the afternoone we passed the rest of the way, one mile in the Kings territory, where we passed another damme of the riuer *Vistula*, and three miles to *Dantzke* in the territory of the same City. The King of *Poland* at this time was at the Port of *Dantzke*, called *Der Mind*, an English mile from the City, expecting a wind to sayle into his Kingdome of *Suecia*, and had with him his Queene, and many Ladies and Courtiers. Therefore desirous to see the King and the Queene, with their traine, I walked the next morning to this Port; which is barred with a mountaine of sand, so as the ships must vnlade in the roade, before they can enter this Haven; neither is any village built there, but onely one Inne, in which the King lay, with all his traine: but beyond the water there is a strong Castle of a round forme. From hence after dinner I returned on foot to *Dantzke*. The next day the King had a good wind, but before this (as those of the Romish religion are very superstitious) the King and the Queen (being of the house of *Austria*) while sometimes they thought Munday, sometimes Friday, to be vnlucky daies, had lost many faire winds. The Ci-

ty of *Dantzke* is a very faire City, and howsoever few ages past, they had not any houses built of stone, yet at this time many were built of free-stone, and the rest of bricke, with great beauty and magnificence, being sixe or seven roofes high. And they had publike gardens for sports, banquets, and exercises, which are very pleasant. They haue a very faire Senate-house, called *Hoff*, that is, the Court; and the Citizens haue a strange fashon, to put off their hats when they passe by it. From the market place being round (in which the King of *Poland* lodged some daies) to the gate *Hochethore* (being richly engraued) lieth a very faire street called *Longgasse* and leads vp towards the Mountaines hanging ouer the City. The famous Riuer *Vistula* doth not enter the City, but passeth by it on the East-side, and running towards the North, fals into the Balticke sea. But a little brook enters the City on the South-side, and runnes through it towards the North. There is a faire water conduit, vulgarly called *Wasserkunst*, where by a mill the waters are drawne vp into a cesterne, from whence they are carried by pipes into all the streetes and priuate houses; besides that many Citizens haue their priuat wels. The aforesaid brooke driues many mills, among which, one for the grinding of corne, belongs to the Senate, and it hath eightcene roomes, and bringeth into the publike treasure euery houre a gold gulden, and another without any helpe of hands, saweth boords, hauing an iron wheele, which doth not onely driue the saw, but hooketh in, and turneth the boords to the saw. The Garners for laying vp of corne called *speiker*, are very faire, and very many lying together, in which the Citizens lay vp corne brought out of *Poland*, and according to the wants of *Europe*, carry it into many kingdomes, and many times relieue fruitfull Prouinces in time of casual dearth. The Queene of *Poland* came in a disguised habit to see these garners; and they haue a law that no man may carry fire or a lighted candie into them. In the Church called *Parkirk*, the resurrection of our Lord is painted with great art, and the same againe is figured vnder a globe of glasse, which kinde of painting is here in vse. This City compassed with one wall, contains three Cities, gouerned by three Senates, out of which one chiefe Senate is gathered to gouerne the whole City; and these three Cities are called *Furstat*, that is, the fore City, and *Altstat*, that is, the old City, and *Reichstat*, that is, the Empires City. The whole City vnited, lies in length from the South to the North, and vpon the South-side is *Furstat*, where the foresaid brooke diuiding the City doth enter, and there is the aforesaid water conduit, and without the wals a faire village or suburbe called *Scotland*, in which there is a sanctuary, which offenders may enter, paying a gulden to the Bishop; and none but Artificers, & for the most part shoemakers, dwell in this suburbe. On this side, and towards the East and North, without the wals, lie plaine fields, which may be drowned at pleasure. Vpon the East side within the wals, are the aforesaid garners for corne. On the West-side without the wals, great mountaines hang ouer the City, and vpon them *Stephen King of Poland* incamped, when he besieged the City, which hath for defence very high wals on the same side. Vpon the North-side in a corner lies *Altstat*, betweene which and *Furstat* on the South-side, lies the chiefe City *Reichstat*, in the middest whereof is the aforesaid market place, and a publike armory; besides that great Ordinance is planted vpon the wals round about the City. I said that from this market place, the faire street *Longgasse* lieth to the gate *Hochethore*. Betweene *Reichstat* and *Altstat*, lie the foresaid two mills, to grinde corn, and saw boords, both (in my opinion) very rare. The City of *Dantzke*, from the Roman superstition, hath the same Saint for protector of their City, which *England* hath; namely, *Saint George*, whom they carry in their flags and banners. And by the way let me remember, that the state of *Genoa* in *Italy*, and the Island of *Chios*, vulgarly *Zio*, in the sea neere *Constantinople*, carry also the same Saint in their flagges. At *Dantzke* I paid five grosh a meale, and being to passe into *Poland*, where good meat is not in all places to be had, I carried some prouision in the Coach, and paid for two hens five grosh, and for each measure of wine (all kinds being of like price) I paid ten grosh, which measure is called a stoope, and is somewhat bigger then the English quart.

The ninth of *September*, after the old stile (for the new stile is vsed in *Poland*), I tooke
my

The ninth of *September*, after the old stile (for the new stile is vsed in *Poland*) I tooke my iourney to *Crakaw*, and we being foure consoits, hired a Coach for forty guldens. The first day in the morning we passed five miles in five houres space, through fruitfull hils of corne, and onely one wood, in that part of the Dukedome of *Prussen*, which belongs vnto the King of *Poland*, and came to the City *Diersaw*, by which the riuer *Vistula* runneth. After dinner we passed three miles, through a wood and a Fen, to the Village *Zunzane*, inhabited by Hollanders, who hauing dried the Fen, made the fields much more fruitfull. And from thence the same night hauing passed the riuer *Vistula*, we went halfe a mile to *Gratenis*, a City belonging to the Sborosky, a family of Gentlemen. The second day in the morning we went five miles, through a wood and fruitfull fields of corne, to a little Citty *Colmersee*, where that day was a meeting of the neighbour Gentlemen. If you except *Crakaw*, and the greater Cities, the building in these parts is poore, being of meere dirt in the Villages, and of timber and clay in the better townes, the houses being couered with straw, or tiles of wood, and the gentlemens houses be farre distant one from the other, and of no beauty. After dinner we went foure miles through fruitfull fields of corne, to the City *Toarn*. Hitherto we had giuen money to a Hollander, one of our consoits, for the paying of our expences, and now by his account each of vs had spent three guldens and a halfe, for he had provided wine and such things which wee could not find in Villages, to be carried in our Coach. In this City we supped at an Ordinary, and five of vs paid two dollers. The riuer *Vistula* passeth by this City, and for passing the same by a bridge, wee paid for our Coach two grosh, and then entring *Massouia*, a Prouince of the Kingdome of *Poland*, the third day in the morning we passed three miles through a wood of firre, and one mile through corne fields, and I haue omitted what I paid for my dinner. In the afternoone wee passed three miles through a wild plaine, and woods of oake to *Britzoll*, where I likewise omitted my expences. The fourth day in the morning we passed five miles, through corne fields and woods of oake, to *Quodonab*, where I forgot my expence. I formerly said that foure of vs had hired a Coach from *Dantzke* to *Crakaw*, but the horses being but two, were extreemely weary; so as one of our company hauing a letter to take post horses (if so I may call poore iades) paying a grosh for each horse euery mile; which Letter is vulgarly called *Podwoda-briefe*. I was easily induced to leaue the Coach, and beare him company; and they telling vs that we had now passed more then halfe the way, we agreed so, as we two who left the Coach, should pay each of vs six guldens for the same. But the Hollander ouer-reached vs; for we had not gone halfe the way, and yet paid more then halfe the price which we should haue paid for the whole iourney. This done, we two drawne vpon a sledge, passed two miles through corne fieldes that afternoone to a poore Village, and paid for our passage two grosh. The fifth day in the morning hiring a countrey Waggon, and two horses at the same rate, we passed two miles through fields of hops, and sandy fields of corne, and two woods of firre, to *Lönzchizcha*, and from thence five miles through woods and sandy fields, to another village, and paid for our sledge halfe a grosh each mile, and for a horse for two miles sixe grosh, and for three miles seuen grosh. Here we inuited two Polackes to dinner, yet both together spent onely foure grosh and a halfe for vs and them; for we had ten egges for a grosh; and all other victuals very cheape. After dinner we hired two horses, and a Countrey Waggon for eight grosh, and passed foure miles through a stony way, and sandy fields of corne, to *Peterkaw*, where the King hath a Castle, and there we bought for our selues, flesh, bread, and beere, for our supper, at a very cheape rate; and giuing one grosh to the Hostesse for dressing our meat, and for butter and fier, shee was very well content with it. The sixth day in the morning we passed five miles, and in the afternoone two miles, with the same Waggon, for which wee paid seuen grosh, and the same horses, for which wee paid foureteene grosh. And we passed through woods of high firre trees, and some few fields of corne. Our meat we bought our selues, and as formerly our Hostesse dressed it, and we fetched our beere without doores. I remember wee paid three grosh for a goose, two for a partridge, two for a loyne of mutton, and three for a pigge. They

sold a bushel of oates for two grosh, which at *Thoarn* they sold for six grosh. In these parts were great store of hop-yards. After dinner we passed three miles throught woody hils, and corne fieldes, and paid for our horses and a country waggon twelue grosh.

The seuenth day in the morning, wee passed to a poore village foure miles, through fruitfull hils of corne, and many woods of firre, and one of oake, and vvee hired our country waggon with two horses, for fourteene grosh. Further wee went three miles to another village, through hils of corne, and a heath full of woods, and paid for one horse and a waggon, six grosh. After dinner we passed to a village three miles, through fruitfull hils of corne; and by the way we might see a stately Gentlemans house, and Gentlemen hawking in the fieldes: and I remember not in all my long trauell, euer to haue met hawkers or hunters in the fieldes, but onely heere, and once in *Bohemia*. In this village the King hath a Castle. The eight day, in the morning, we passed forward with the same horses and waggon, which we had in the afternoone before, and went two miles to *Pnecho*, and wee paid for our horses and waggon fifteene grosh, and gaue one to the waggoner. Here the King hath another faire Castle. From hence we passed two miles to a village, through mountaines and corne fields, and paid for two horses and a waggon foure grosh, and gaue to the waggoner procuring our horses one grosh.

Crakaw. The same day we went three miles, through little mountaines of corne, to *Crakaw*, and paid for two horses and a waggon six grosh. Heere wee lodged with the Fleming, consort of our iourney, and had our diet after the Dutch manner, and price. Fortified Cities, are very rare in *Poland*, they placing their strength in their swords and horsemen, rather then in walles. Of all the Cities, *Crakaw* is the chiefe, where the King and his Councell reside. It is seated in a plaine, hauing mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and it is compassed with two walles of stone, and a dry ditch. The building is very faire, of free stone foure roofes hye, but couered with tiles of wood for the most part. It is of a round forme, but somewhat longer from the East to the West. In the midst of the City is a large market place quadrangular, wherein is the Cathedrall Church, and in the midst of the market place is the Senate house for the City, about which are many shops of Merchants. Vpon the East side of the City is the Kings Castle, seated on a hill; being faire, and high built, almost quadrangular, but somewhat more long then broad, and lying open on the South side, without any building aboue the wall. On the East side be the Chambers of the King and Queene, with galleries adioyning. On the North side is a faire gallery, some forty fine walking paces long, where they vse to feast and dance. On the West side are the chambers of the Queene Dowager; from whence are priuate staires to the gate of the Castle; by which the French King, *Henry* the third, stole away secretly into *France*. On the same side is a Chappell, in the which the Kings are buried. Vpon the East side of this City, where this Castle is seated, lie foure suburbs; namely, the Iewes little City, and *Cagmen*, which is diuided by the riuer *Vistula*, from the other two, called *Stradam* and the Stewes. And *Stradam* belongs to the City, but the rest haue their own Magistrates and priuiledges. Towards the South and South-west, lies the suburb *Garbatz*, belonging to the City, which of late was burnt in the ciuill war, by the forces of *Zamosky*, one of the Palatines, and Chancellor of the Kingdome, defending the Election of *Sigismund* now King, against *Maximilian* of *Austria*, chosen King by another party. On the North side are the suburbs *Biskop*, and *Clepart*, which haue their owne Magistrates.

From hence being to take my iourney for *Italy*, I bought a horse for eightene Guldens, and he that sold him, according to the manner there vsed, caused his bridle to be put on, and so by the same deliuered the horse into my hands. I paid fifteene grosh for a paire of shooes, fifty for a paire of boots, nine for spurs, two guldens and a halfe for a saddle, a gulden and a halfe for other furniture for my iourney, nine grosh for stirrups, eight grosh for foure horse shooes, and eight grosh for each bushell of oates. An Italian Gentleman being to returne into *Italy*, bought likewise a horse; and with this faire companion I tooke my iourney. The first day towards euening

we rode two miles through fruitfull hills of corne, to a Country house, where I paid for my supper two grosh, for hay a grosh & a halfe, for a quarter of a bushell of oates, two grosh, and gaue to the Ostler halfe a grosh. The second day in the morning we rode three miles, through woods of firre, to a village, where I paid for my dinner two grosh, for hay halfe a grosh, for the third part of a bushell of oates a grosh and a halfe. After dinner we rode one mile and a halfe through a great wood, hauing the Mountaines of *Hungary* on our left hand, and passing the riuer *Vistula*, we rode a mile through fenny fields, and woods of firre and beech, and came to a little Citie *Opsefona*, where I paid for my supper eight grosh, and for some three English pintes of wine five grosh, for beere a grosh and a halfe, for a third part of a bushell of oates, nine grosh, and for hay and straw a grosh and a halfe, and this City was subiect to a Gentleman of *Poland*.

The third day in the morning, we rode three miles and a halfe, through fields somewhat ouerflowed, but fruitfull in corne, and a wood of firre, to *Plesna*, subiect to the Barrons of *Promnitz*, and seated in *Silesia*, a Prouince of the Dutch Empire; for after one miles riding we came out of *Poland*, into the said Prouince, which is subiect to the Emperour, as likewise *Morauia* is, by his right as hee is King of *Bohemia*: but in *Silesia* they speake Dutch; and *Morauia* hath his owne language, little differing from that of *Bohemia*. Also in our way we passed the riuer *Vistula* by boat, and another arme thereof by a bridge. Here the Barrons of *Promnitz* haue a Castle, wherein they reside; and here I paid for my dinner sixe grosh, for beere one, for hay and a third part of a bushell of oates two grosh, and for a measure of wine (somewhat bigger then the English quart) ten grosh. After dinner we rode two miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, to a little City subiect to the Emperour, (not by large subiection, but proper right to all the Reuenues of that Territory) as he is King of *Bohemia*: and I paid for supper three grosh, for a third part of a bushell of oates with hay and straw five grosh. The fourth day we rode two miles in the morning, being now entred into *Morauia*, where the miles are exceeding long, as they be in *Bohemia*: and we passed through most fruitfull hills of corne, and some woods, and came to a little village, seated a little beyond the City *Freeftat*, belonging to the Dukes of *Tesch*, and here I paid for my dinner three grosh, and as much for my horse-meat. After dinner we rode two miles through hills and mountaines, fruitfull of corne, and some woods of oakes: for *Morauia* is a pleasant Countrey, very fruitfull, and full of townes and villages; and we came to *Ostrenam*, where I paid for my supper three grosh, for beere two, for my horse-meat foure and a halfe. The fift day in the morning we rode three miles, through fruitfull hills of corne to the village *Botenisa*, being very pleasant and full of orchards, and subiect to a Gentleman of that Countrey. By the way we passed on horse-backe two armes of the riuer *Odera*, which hath his head three miles distant. Heere we dined with the Preacher (or Minister) of the Towne, because the Hoste of the Inne was newly dead; & I paid for my dinner foure grosh, for beere one grosh, and for horse-meat two grosh. After dinner we rode two miles, through most fruitfull hills of corne, to a pleasant village (as all *Morauia* is pleasant and fertile) and I paid for my supper five grosh, and foure for my horse-meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode three miles, through fruitfull hills of corne, hauing woody Mountaines on both hands; and in the midst of the way, passed by the City *Granitz*, and came to *Leipny*. The Cities in these parts are built with Arches halfe ouer the streets, so as in the greatest raine, a man may passe in the streets vnder them with a dry foot, and such is the building of this little City, where in some thirty families of Iewes did dwell. Here I paid for my dinner foure grosh, and for my horse-meat two grosh (hitherto I meane groshes of *Poland*.) After dinner we rode a mile and a halfe in a paved way, with corne fields on both hands, to the City *Speron*; where I paid for my supper five grosh, (I meane now, and hereafter groshes of *Morauia*,) and for my horse-meat three grosh: and here I paid for an Orange two grosh. In this iourney through *Poland*, and from *Cracaw* to this place, we had heere the first bed, hauing before lodged vpon benches in a warme stoue. The seuenth day in the morning, we

rode two very long miles, through most fruitfull hils of corne, & rich pastures, to a village, hauing by the way passed by the Citie of *Creitzon* (wherein many Iewes dwelt) & by very many villages: and here I paied for my dinner three grosh, & for my horse-meat one grosh, for a measure of wine like an English pint, three creitzers. After dinner we rode a mile and a halfe, through most fruitfull hils of corne, to a place called, The Iewes village, beyond the Episcopall City *Vascon*, and I paied for my supper two grosh, and for my horse-meat three grosh and a halfe. The eight day in the morning wee rode two miles, going much out of our way, and passed through most fruitfull hils of corne, and pleasant vineyards, to *Nimsich*, and I paied for my dinner foure grosh, for my horse-meat one grosh and a halfe. After dinner we rode halfe a mile, through hils planted with vines, to *Tracht*, and I paied for my supper six grosh, for my horse-meat two and a halfe, and for beere to wath my horses feet, six creitzers.

The ninth day in the morning, wee rode foure miles to a village, through hils of corne, and in the mid way were the confines of *Morauia*, and of *Austria*, into which we now entred. Here I paied for my dinner fourteene creitzers, and three for my horse-meat. The vintage being now at hand, when wee came from our Innes in the morning, wee vsed to carry bread with vs, and so to breake our fast with bunches of grapes gathered by the way. After dinner we rode two miles, through hils and mountaines most fruitfull of corne and wine, to *Pasdorffe*, and I paied for my supper eighteene creitzers, and nine for my horse-meat. The tenth day in the morning we rode two miles and a halfe; through hils of corne, and many woods, to a village, not farre from *Vlrich-kirke*, and here I omitted my expence.

Vienna. After dinner we rode two miles and a halfe, through a very large plaine, fruitfull of corne and pasture, with many pleasant woods, and compassed round about with mountaines, and came to *Vienna*, vulgarly called *Wien*. Neere the City on the North side the riuer *Danow* runneth by, from the East to the West, three armes whereof close together (with some ground betweene, which many times is ouerflowed) wee passed by three bridges, whereof one hath twenty nine arches, the other fifty seuen, and the third fifteene, each of those arches being some eighteene walking paces long. Betweene the second bridge, and the third next to the City, is a pleasant groue, and good part of the ground vnder the bridges is many times dry; but when the riuer riseth, it doth not only fill all the beds, but ouerfloweth the fields on both sides. At the gate of *Wien*, each man paid for his horse two pochannels; and when wee came to the Inne, the Hoste sent our names written to the Magistrate. *Wien* the metropolitan City of *Austria*, is a famous Fort against the Turkes, vpon the confines of *Austria*, which if they should once gaine, their horse-men might suddenly spoile the open Countries of *Bohemia*, and *Morauia*, and good part of *Silesia*. The Citie is of a round forme, and vpon the North side there is an ascent to it vpon a hil, otherwise without the wals on all sides the ground is plaine, except the West side, where mountaines lie a good distance from the City, and vpon that side the Sultan of the Turkes incamped, vpon the hils neere the gallows, when in the time of the Emperour *Rodulphus*, hee besieged the City, or rather came to view it, with purpose to besiege it the next summer. The streets are narrow, but the building is stately, of free stone. Two Towers of the Church are curiously ingrauen, the like whereof is not in *Germany*, except the Tower or steeple of *Strasburg*. The common report is, that two chiefe workemen had great emulation in building them; and that one hauing finished his Tower, found meanes to breake the necke of the other, lest his workmanship should excel that he had done. One of the Towers some three yeeres past, was shaken with an earth-quake, and indeed the houses of this City are many times shaken therewith, and they haue a Prophecy of old, that this City shall be destroied with an earth-quake. It is dangerous to walke the streetes in the night, for the great number of disordered people, which are easily found vpon any confines, especially where such an army lieth neere, as that of *Hungary*, gouerned by no strict discipline. *Ernestas* and *Mathias*, Arch-dukes of *Austria*, and brothers to the Emperour *Rodulphus*, did at this time lie here, both in one house, and did eat at one table, and in the time of their meales, it was free for strangers and

and others to come into the roome. I staid three daies at *wien* to ease my weary horse, and I paid each meale twenty foure creitzers, for oates the day and night eightene, and in like sort for hay six creitzers.

From hence we tooke our iourney for *Padua* in *Italy*; and the first day after dinner we rode six miles, in a plaine of vineyards, pastures, and corne fields, with some woods, to a village, where I paid fifteene creitzers for my supper, and eight for my horse. The next day in the morning we rode foure miles, through a wild plaine, by the City *Newstat*; and not farre thence came to *Newkirke*, where I paid twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, foure for my horse, and twelue for a measure of wine, like our English quart. Henceforward we had no more beere, but onely wine set on the table. After dinner we rode three miles through woods and mountaines, planted with vines, and a rich valley of pasture and corne, all in a stony soyle, to *Schwatzen*. I obserued that the horses we met laded with wine, had their noses couered, which they said was done, lest they should be ouercome with the vapour thereof. This City is seated betweene most high mountaines, in a narrow streight, hewen out of a Rocke, and shut vp with a wall of stone. Here I paid for my supper twenty creitzers, and for drinking after supper (vulgarly *schlaffdruncke*, that is, sleeping drinke) sixe creitzers, and for the fourth part of a bushell of oates, nine creitzers (which before we had for foure creitzers and a halfe) and for hey and straw three creitzers. The third day in the morning we rode two miles, through wooddy mountaines, the ascent of one of them being halfe a mile, and through rich pastures, to *Morthusly*, and I paid for my dinner eightene creitzers, and for my horse-meat five creitzers, oates being deerer here then before. This day neere *Spitle* we passed out of *Austria* into *Styria*. After dinner we rode two miles, through wooddy mountaines, yeelding good pastures, to a village, where I paid for my supper twenty foure creitzers, and twelue for my horse-meat. The fourth day in the morning we rode foure miles, through mountaines with pasture and woods, and valleies of corne, to the City *Brucke*, where I paid for my dinner fifteene creitzers, for my horse-meat five creitzers, the third part of a bushell of oates being here sold for twenty foure creitzers. After dinner we rode in like way two miles, to the City *Lowen*, and I paid for my supper fifteene creitzers, for three little measures and a halfe of oates, foure-teene creitzers, for stable three creitzers, and foure for dregs of wine to wash my horses feet. The fifth day in the morning we rode two miles in like way to a village, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse meat. After dinner we rode in the like way, and ouer mountaines couered with snow, three miles and a halfe, to a village, not farre from which, *Charles* of *Gratz*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, (vncke by the Father side to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, and Father to the Queene of *Poland*, lately married to King *Sigismund*,) was of late buried in a Monastery neere *Knettel-feld*. In this village I paid foureteene creitzers for my supper, and twelue for my horse-meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode one mile in like way, to *Iudenburg*, that is, the City of the Iewes, and I paid foureteene creitzers for breakfast. Then we rode five miles in a stony way, through high mountaines, to *Newen-markt*, and I paid eightene creitzers for my supper, and fifteene for my horse-meat. In this Countrey of *Styria*, many men and weomen haue great wens hanging downe their throats, by drinking the waters that run through the mines of mettals.

The seuenth day in the morning we rode two miles to the confines of *Styria*, and entring *Carinthia*, passed by the City *Freyfacke*, in which was a faire and strong Castle, seated vpon a high mountaine, and so wee passed one mile further to a village, all our way hauing beene very troublesome, by reason of the stony mountaines, and narrow passages, we hauing a coach in our company. Heere I paid twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, and foureteene for my horse-meat. After dinner wee rode two miles in a plaine compassed with mountaines, to *Sternfeld*; where I paid ninteene creitzers for my supper, and sixteene for my horse-meat. The eight day in the morning we rode one mile, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, to a pleasant City, *Saint Voyte*. As in *Styria*, so here in *Carinthia*, the men and women haue great wens vpon their throats, with drinking the waters that passe the Mines. Heere I paid for my dinner and sup-

per forty eight creitzers, and twenty foure for my horse-meat, for we staid here to rest our horses, and every day we tooke shorter iournies, because wee had a Coach in our company, which could hardly passe the streights and stony waies of the Alpes, and in no other part of the Alpes, they vse at any time to passe with Coaches, but here very seldome, in respect of the ill way. The ninth day we rode three miles, through a fruitful plaine of corne, to *Feldkirchen*, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse-meat. After dinner we rode about two miles, by the side of a lake on our left hand towards the South, beyond which lake *Boleslaw* King of *Poland* lies buried in a Monastery, who hauing killed a Bishop, warning him to amend his life, did vpon his owne free will doe penance there, taking the habit of a Monke, and seruing in the same Cloyster, as a lay brother to warme stoues: but the Polackes say, that the body of the dead Bishop did many miracles, whereupon with great expence of treasure, they of late obtained at *Rome*, to haue him made a Saint. And so we came to a village where I paid twenty creitzers for my supper, thirteene for my horse-meat, and eight for drinke after supper. The tenth day in the morning we rode about a mile, through high and rocky mountaines, to the City *Villake*, by which the Riuer *Draw* runneth, and here I omitted my expences. After dinner we rode three miles, through high and rocky mountaines, and a narrow way; and our Coachman by the way shewed vs vpon the left hand towards the South, a Castle, which of old belonging to the Gouvernours of the Prouince, was now demolished, and because money receiued of the Turkes for treason, was hidden here, they say that euer since ill spirits walke in that place.

In the villages of *Carinthia* (being a Prouince of the Dutch Empire) the Countrey people speake *Wendish*, or the tongue of the old *Vandals*, which I haue likewise heard to be vsed in villages neere *Augsburg*, and neere *Witteberg* in *Saxony*, and vpon the shoare of the Balticke sea in *Pomern*, and *Meckleburge*, so as it seemes, that barbarous nation, though scattered and loosing their name, yet still liueth in those places.

So we came to *Altaporta*, that is High gate, where I omitted my expences. The eleuenth day in the morning we rode a mile, through high mountaines and rocky, and a narrow way to the village *Treniso*, where the Dutchmen shewed a passport, and we all had a like passport giuen vs from the Emperour his Officers, which we were to deliuer to the Venetian Officers at *Pontena*, lest either for suspicion of infectious sicknesses, or any other cause, they should not permit vs to enter into *Italy*. In the said village I paid fiftene creitzers for my dinner, and fise for my horse-meat.

After dinner we rode two miles, in a stony way betweene mountaines, to *Pontena*, which the Dutch call *Pontafell*, and by the way there was a wall of stone betweene the mountaines, and a village called *Chiusa*, where there was a gate, shutting vp the highway, vpon which was written in Italian.

La chiusa,

*L'Alpi chiudono i confini della famosa Italia, ma non
ponno mai chiudere l'honor del sagio Contarini.*

The inclosure or shutting vp.

The Alpes close vp the confines of famous *Italy*, but can neuer inclose the honour of the wise *Contarini*.

The *Contarini* are a family of Gentlemen in *Venice*. Here the Venetian souldiers keeping this passage, required a beneuolence of vs, which we willingly gaue, and our companions paid foure Venetian lires for the foure horses in their Coach, but wee that were horsemen paid no tribute. Here we had another passe-port to be shewed at *Venzona*. I paid at *Pontena* thirty sols of *Venice* for my supper, thirty fise for oates, and ten for hey.

And giue me leaue to remember, that I hauing for the cold at *Dantzke*, in the beginning of September, put on a woollen wasecoat, was forced now at the entring of *Italy*, for great heat in the end of October, to put off the same.

The twelfth day in the morning we rode foure miles (meaning Dutch miles, though we be now entered into *Italy*, because my Dutch companions so reckoned them.)

them.) We now had entred the Italian Prouince *Frioly*, which the Latines call *Forum Julij*; becaule the Legions vsed to be sent from hence ouer the Alpes, & the Venetians call *Patria*, that is country; becaule the Venetians fled from hence, into the Lakes of *Venice*, when *Attila* King of the *Huns* inuaded *Italy*; by this name acknowledging it to be their country, from whence they originally came. *Aquilegia* the seat of the Patriarkes, destroyed by *Attila*, was of old famous; but the Venetians by the Popes fauour, haue drawne the Patriarkes seat to *Venice*. By the way wee passed seuen branches of the Riuer *Tagliamonti* on horse-backe without boats, the streame being so violent by the waters falling from the mountaines, that it dazels the eyes, if the passenger looke vpon the water; for which cause wee passed warily, turning our eyes from the water, and hauing guides passing before vs; to try and shew vs the Fordes. By the way vpon a bridge, this was written in Latine:

For the carrying ouer of Dutch merchandize, by the streames of Ledra, S. S. President of the Prouince, speedily built this Bridge.

So wee came through a plaine somewhat wilde, or lesse fruitfull, to *Spilenburg*; where I paid twenty one sols for my dinner, eight for oats, and foure for hay. After dinner we rode two Dutch miles, through wild stony fields, to *Sannocate*, where I paid thirty sols for my supper, thirty two for oats, and ten for hay. The thirteenth day in the morning, we rode three Dutch, or fourteen Italian miles; through wilde grounds, and stony fields of corne, and neere our iournies end, by many Orchardes and Vineyards, to *Konian*, where I omitted my expence. By the way wee met a Gentleman, in his coach drawne with oxen. After dinner we rode two Dutch, or eight Italian miles, and in a wilde field, passed two branches of a riuer by a boat, in which we sat on horse-backe; and we paid sixteene sols for our passage, and thence wee came to a village, where I paid forty sols for my supper, twenty three for oats, and ten for hay. And comming hither on All-soules euening, which they keepe with great superstition, wee could not sleepe for little bells tinckling all night. The fourteenth day in the morning, we rode six Italian miles, through fruitfull hils of corne, and by pleasant Vineyards, to *Treuigi*, a City little in circuit, but fortified, and built of bricke, with arches hanging ouer the streets, vnder which men walke dry in the greatest raine, where I haue omitted my expences.

After breakefast we rode twenty two Italian miles, through a most pleasant plain, in which we passed ouer a riuer, and came to *Paduoa*. Here I sold my horse for twenty siluer crownes, which I bought at *Crakan* for eightene guldens; and by the way, I might haue sold him for twenty six crownes or more, and from the place where I sold him, might easily haue hired a coach or horses to *Paduoa*, but my foolish hope to sell him deerer, and desire to saue the charge of hiring a coach, or horse, kept me from selling him by the way, whereof I repented when I came to *Paduoa*, where horsemeat was very deere, and the horse-coarfers finding that I must needs sell him, agreed among themselves, so craftily, sending mee euery day new buyers, to offer mee lesse then before they had offered, as when I had kept him fourteene dayes, I must haue beene forced to sell my horse at their price; if I had not found an English Gentleman by chance, who returning into *Germany*, gaue mee twenty crownes for my horse. I staid all this winter at *Paduoa*, in which famous Vniuersity I desired to perfect my Italian tongue, where a Student may haue his table at an Ordinary (vulgarly *à la dozzena*) and his chamber for eight, or at most, for tenne siluer crownes the month: but few liue after this fashion, saue the Dutch, and strangers new arriued, and hauing not yet got the language; but rather they hire a chamber, which is to be had for a zechine, or tenne lires the month, or at a lower rate, the Hostesse being to finde linnen, and dresse the meat you buy. My Hoste had a large house, with a faire court, hired yeerly for forty crownes, and with him, my selfe and some Dutch men lodged, each hauing his chamber and plentiful diet, for eight siluer crownes the month.

When I went to *Venice*, I lodged with an Hostesse, an old widow, which had a house like a Pallace; for which, he paid two hundred crownes yeerely, and there I paid for a chamber foure siluer crownes by the month, euery man there buying

Paduoa.

meat

meat at his pleasure, which the Hostesse dresseth; and findes linnen.

But that the price of things may better appeare, it will not be amisse particularly to set some prices downe for both Cities; for howloever strangers spend more in *Venice*, then in *Paduoa*; yet that is not by reason of diet, but for the greater price of chambers, and extraordinary inticements to spend. The prices I will briefly set downe, in some few particulars, because in the due place treating of diet, I am to speake more largely thereof. It is the fashion of *Italy*, that onely men, and the Masters of the family, goe into the market and buy victuals, for seruants are neuer sent to that purpose; much lesse weomen; which if they be chaste, rather are locked vp at home, as it were in prison. Againe, the small coines of brasse, are very helpfull to the poore, all victuals being sold in small portions, according to the smallest money, yea, the very spices, which in the shoppes are put vp in papers, ready beaten, according to greater or the very least coynes. The Italians are sparing in diet, but particularly at *Paduoa*, the markets abound rather with variety, then quantities of meat. Some hundreds of turkies hang out to be sold, for six or seuen lires each, according to the goodnes. And this territory yeelding better corn then other parts, they haue very white bread, light, & pleasant in tast, especially that which is called *Pan-buffetto*. I remember I bought a pound of mutton for five sols and a halfe, of veale for eight, of porke for eight, a fat hen for two lires, eight little birds for six sols, a great and fat pigeon for two lires, a pullet for thirty five, and sometime forty sols, an Eele after ten sols the pound, kreuises the pound three, and sometimes six sols, a pike the pound seuen or eight sols, round cockles the hundred three sols, the longe, which we call rasers, the hundreth twenty sols, the skalops which they call holy cockels, twelue for a lire, Cheuerns the pound foure sols, a plaife sixe sols, tenches the pound eight sols, sawlages the pound ten sols, fixe egges eight sols, butter the pound foureteene sols, piacentine cheele the pound six sols, and parmesan the pound ten or twelue sols, a measure of salt for the table foure sols, rice the pound three sols, ten snailles foure sols, apples the pound two sols, pearres & wardens the pound foure sols, chesnuts the pound three sols, dry grapes the pound two sols, sometimes three; almonds the pound five sols, six oranges for one gaget, a pomegranat one sol, oyle the pound ten sols, a secchio of wine thirty five sols, or the pound thereof eight sols, waxe candles the ounce two sols, and ten small waxe candles twenty two sols, other candles the pound sixteene sols, or foureteene if they be little, a quire of writing paper five sols. The Hostesse dresseth your meat in the bargaine for your chamber, and findes you napkins, tableclothes, sheetes, and towels; and either in your chest or her owne, will lay vp the meat, and very bread you leaue, more providently then any of our parts would require; and little boyes attend in the market places with baskets, who for a soll will carry home the meat you buy; and dare not deceiue you though you goe not with them. I paid to my taylor for making a cloake fourelires, and for my doublet and hose eight lires; to my laundresse for making a shirt a lire, that is, twenty sols; for washing it two sols; and for washing foure handkerchers one sol. And this shall suffice for particular expences.

The City *Paduoa*, was built by *Antenor* a Troian, and the Heneti driven out of their Countrey, ioined themselves to these Troians. These with ioint force droue out the Euganei from the fertile Euganean hils neere *Paduoa*, where *Heracles* left them, and these Heneti gaue to their posterity the name of Venetians, to whom the Colonies of *Tuscany* ioined themselves, then the French subdued all this Prouince, till at last they subiected themselves to the Romans, and were made Citizens of *Rome*. The Roman Empire declining, the *Visigothes* vnder *Alaricus* droue the chiefe Citizens of *Paduoa*, into the lakes of *Venice*. Then *Attila* King of the *Hunnes* spoiled *Paduoa*, and the *Longobards* burnt it, which being rebuilt, and flourishing vnder the German Emperors, *Acciolinus* vsurped the gouernement thereof, in the yeere 1237. But Pope *Alexander* the fourth helped by the Venetians, restored it to liberty in the yeere 1257. In the faction of the *Guelphes* & *Gibellines*, *Paduoa* then & from that time hath bin subiect to many Princes of the *Scaligers*, & *Cararrians*, til about the yeere 1402. the Venetians tooke the City, which they held to the yeere 1509. when the French King *Lewis* made them

yeeld

yeeld to the Emperour; but the Venetians after two moneths recouered it, and to this day it is subiect to them, who send a Magistrate called *Podesta*, euery fifteene moneths to gouerne it. Some say *Padua* was first called *Antenor* (as the Heneti gaue the name of *Venice* to the Countrey) till after *Antenors* death, the Heneti called it *Padua*, of a City in their Countrey whence they were driuen. Others say it hath the name from a Greeke word, vpon the flying of Swannes: others say it is so called of the riuer *Po*, called in Latine *Padus*, or of the territory lying beyond the *Po*, the Riuer giuing name to the territory, and that to the City. Before it was destroyed by *Attila*, it was seated on the East-side of the Riuer *Medoacus*, but after it was built on the other side, in a fenny soyle; where now the market place is, but since it hath beene enlarged on both sides the water, being without the outmost wals seuen miles compasse, and of a triangular forme, as it seemed to me. The first angle is on the North-side, where is the Monastery of the Hermites of Saint *Augustine*, and the stately Pallace *Areno*, in which the French King *Henry* the third was lodged; when hee returned from *Poland* into *France*. The second angle is towards the East; where is the gate at which they take water to passe vpon the Riuer *Brenta* to *Venice*. The third angle is towards the South, where is the monastery *Santo*, called of Saint *Anthony* of *Lisbon*, and the monastery of Saint *Iustina*. And these angles taken away, the old City is round. On the West-side vpon the wals, is built the old Pallace of the old City. *Padua* is seated in a sweet plain, hauing no trees neere the City. Of old the wall was triple, and now it is double. The inner wall is some three miles in compasse, and is very high hauing a walke vpon it round about, with pleasant shade of trees, where Gentlemen vse to play at the balloone. This wall compassed round with the *Brent*, hath foureteene gates, with as many bridges of stone. The riuer *Brent* likewise compasseth the outward wall, which is about seuen miles compasse, and hath six stately gates, but this wall is nothing so strong as the other. The Riuer *Athesis* diuides the territory of *Padua*, from that of *Verona*, and the riuer *Po* diuides it from that of *Ferrara*.

Two riuers of old called *Medoaci*, enter the City; the greater at this day called *Brenta*, falling from the Alpes, with the right hand branch, runneth to *Padua*, and with the left hand branch to *Rosta*, and diuiding againe into two branches, one by the ditch *Brentella* is carried to *Padua*, the greater takes the name *Bachilio*, and neere to the wals of *Padua*, receiues the waters of *Brentella*, increased with a branch of *Brenta*. These Riuers enter the City, and with diuers channels driue many mils; compasse the wals, and not onely make the fields fertile; but serue to carry all commodities (abounding here) from hence to *Venice*, and to bring from thence such things as they want, and besides doe cleanse all filth of the stables and priuies.

The aire at *Padua* is very healthfull, and the building is with arches of stone, hanging ouer the streets, vnder which they walke dry in the greatest raine; but the streetes are thereby made narrow, and in the middest are dirty. There be fiue market places: in the first the Gentlemen and Students meet and walke: in the second herbes are sold, in the third corne: in the fourth wood, and in the fifth straw. The aforesaid monastery of Saint *Anthony*, is inhabited by Franciscan Friars, and is much fairer then any other religious house; the Church whereof was of old dedicated to *Iuno*, and after to the Virgin *Mary*, and at last to Saint *Anthony*. The pauement thereof is of marble, and the building very stately, hauing in the top seuen globes couered with lead, and three high towers. The Chappell wherein St *Anthony* lies, is all of marble, & round about it the miracles are engrauen, which they attribute to this Saint: at whose feast day they vse to present for great gifts the hallowed girdles of this St, which they tie about their loyns, and attribute strange effects thereunto. Here is a statua of marble, erected to *Peter Bem-bus*; and in the large yard there is a horse-mans statua of bras, which the Senate of *Venice* erected to *Gatta Melata*. In the Church of *Franciscan Minorites*, there is a statua erected to *Roccha Benello*, a Physitian, sitting in his chaire. In the aforesaid monastery of Saint *Iustina*, the order of Saint *Benedict* was first established, and from thence dispersed into *Italy*, and the Church thereof was of old dedicated to *Concord*, and after being made the Bishops Church, was endowed with great rents. These Monkes haue

a blacke habit, and in the Church they shew the reliques of the Martyr Saint *Iustina*, of Saint *prosdofimus* a Greeke, (who is said to haue beene Saint *Peters* Disciple, and to haue conuerted *Padua*, and to haue baptised Saint *Iustina*, when shee suffered Martyrdome) and likewise of Saint *Maximus* (both Bilhops, and protecting Saints of the City,) as also of Saint *Luke* the Euangelist, brought by *Vrius* a Monke from *Constantinople*; but the Venetians say the reliques of Saint *Luke* are with them. *Biondus* writeth, that here was a Church dedicated to *Iupiter*, and the sepulcher of *Titus Liuius*. In the first court yard of this Monastery, the incredible miracles of Saint *Benedict* are painted. In the second I found this Epitaph:

*Adolescens tametsi properas,
Hoc te saxum rogat ut se aspicias;
Deinde quod scriptum est legas.
Hic sunt Poetae Pacuuij sita ossa:
Hoc volebam ne scius ne esses: vale.*

D. M.

Young man tho thou hastest
This stone desires thee to behold it;
Then to read that is written.
Here are laid the bones of the Poet *Pacuvius*,
This I would haue thee know: Farewell.

D. M.

A large and pleasant meadow lies before this Monastery. There is another of the Benedictines in this City, but those Friars weare a white habit, & liue with more seuererules. In the Monastery of Saint *Augustines* Hermits, before named, are the sepulchers of the Princes of the family *Carraria*. The Cathedrall Church was of old Magnificall, and to this day hath twelue Churches vnder it within the City. The Marble chest containing *Antenors* bones, being found when the foundation of the Almes-house was digged, was then brought to the Church of Saint *Laurence*; wherein was found a gilded sword, and Latine verses in a barbarous stile, shewing that the Letter *A*, should be fatall to the City; vvhich they say to haue proued true by *Attila*, *Agilulfus*, *Acciolanus*, *Ansedissus* and *Albertus*: vnder vvhom the City vvas much afflicted. This chest is erected vpon Marble pillars at the doore of the Church, and vpon the wall these verses are written in Latine:

*Inclitus Antenor post diruta moenia Troia,
Transfudit huc Henetum Dardanidumq; fugas,
Expulit Euganeos, Patauina condidit urbem,
Quem tenet hac humili marmore casa Demus.
Famous Antenor, Troyes walles pulled downe,
Henets and Dardans remnant here did traine;
Expeld th' Euganeans, built faire Padua Towne,
Whom this low Marble house doth here containe.*

Another Epitaph of the same *Antenor*, seemes lately written by the very name of the City, and sauoureth a Transalpine wit, giuing small credit to *Liuy*, or their fabulous Antiquities:

*Hic iacet Antenor Paduana conditor urbis,
Proditor ipse fuit hique sequantur eum.
Antenor Paduaes founder lieth heere,
He was a Traytor, these him follow neere.*

The Monument of the Troian horse of wood, is kept in the Pallace of the Capilist family, whereupon they are called the Capilists of the horse. There bee eightene Cloysters of Nunnies in the City, and two of repenting or illuminate women, so they call whores entring Cloysters. About the middest of the City is a faire Pallace, where the

the Venetian Podesta or gouvernour dwels, the gallery whereof (in which hee sitteth to iudge causes) is very large, and hath a high arched rooffe hanging by Art, not sustained by any pillers, and the same is couered with lead, and adorned with many pictures of the famous Painter *Zoto*, and the length thereof is one hundred forty walking paces, the breadth forty three paces. There is the Statua of *Iulius Paulus*, Doctor of Ciuill Law, and of *Peter Aponensis*, or, *d' Abano*, and of *Titus Liuius*, and of *Albertus* the Hermitan, placed ouer the foure dores. At the West end of this gallery, is a Monument of *Titus Liuius* the Historian carued within the wall, and these verses are written vpon the wall in Latine:

*Ossatumq; caput, ciues tibi maxime Liui,
Prompto animo hic omnes composuere tui:
Tu famam eternam Roma, patriaq; dedisti,
Huic oriens, illi fortia facta canens.
At tibi dat Patria hac: Et si maiora liceret,
Hoc totus staret aureus ipse loco.*

Greatest *Liuy*, thy countrey men haue laid,
Thy head and bones here with a ready minde:
Thy Countrey, and *Rome* thou hast famous made,
Here borne, while their greatest acts thou hast refinde:
Thy Countrey giues thee this, if more it might,
Here all in gold thou shouldst stand shining bright.

This *Titus Liuius* died in the fourth yeere of the Empire of *Tiberius Caesar*, and in the sixty six yeere of his age. Not farre from this Monument stands a brazen Image of the same *Liuy*, with this inscription in Latine:

The bones of Titus Liuy of Paduoa, by all mortall mens consent worthy, by whose penne truly inuincible, the Acts of the inuincible Roman people should be written.

Besides, they shew in the City *Titus Liuius* his house. And this Monument, or these bones of him were brought thither from the Monastery of Saint *Iustina*. The Court where the Senate meetes, lieth neere to the said gallery of this Pallace; where there is a stone, which they call the stone of Turpitude, (that is, filthines or disgrace:) whereupon debtors, which disclaim the hauing of goods to pay their debts, do sit with their hinder parts bare; that with this note of disgrace, others may be terrified from borrowing more then they can pay. They haue a Pest-house called *Lazaretto*, & two like houses for Lepers, and one Almes-house for the poore strangers, another for Orphanes, and a third for children cast out, or left in the streets. Neere the Church of Saint *Lucia*, there is a Well, called the Diuels Well; which they say was brought into the street by Art Magick, out of the court-yard of a Gentleman, denying water to his neighbours. This City hath little trafficke, though it lies very fit for the same, because the Venetians draw it all to themselues.

But Gentlemen of all Nations come thither in great numbers, by reason of the famous Vniuersity, which the Emperour *Frederick* the second, being offended with the City of *Bologna*, planted herein the yeere 1222, or there abouts, some comming to study the ciuill Law, other the Mathemetickes, & Musick, others to ride, to practise the Art of Fencing, and the excercises of dancing and actiuity, vnder most skillful professors of those Arts, drawn hither by the same reason. And Students haue here great, if not too great liberty & priuiledges, so as men-staiers are only punished with banishment, which is a great mischief, and makes strangers liue there in great iealousie of treason to be practised against their liues. The Schoole where the professors of liberall Sciences teach, is seated ouer against Saint *Martins* Church, and was of old a publike Inne, hauing the signe of an Oxe, which name it still retaineth. The promotion of degrees is taken in the Bishops hall, neere the Cathedrall Church, and the Doctors are made in the chiefe Church. And there bee eight Colledges built for poore Students of seuerall Prouinces.

The *Athestine* family of the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and the *Honorian* family, of the tyrant

tyrant *Acciolinus*, and the Carrarian family of their owne Princes, had their beginning in this City, as they write. And they doe no lesse triumph of diuers Citizens borne heere, namely *Marsilius*, *Mamordinus* a Minorite who being a Diuine, wrote learnedly in the yeere 1329, of the power of the Pope and Emperour, defending the maiesty of the Emperour against the Pope: and *Iulius Paulus* a ciuill Lawyer, Disciple to *Papinius*, and liuing in the time of *Titus Liuius*; and *Francis Zabarella* a ciuill Lawyer, dying in the yeere 1417, and *Peter D'Abano* a Physician and Astrologer, dying in the yeere 1312: whose body being to bee burnt for suspicion of his being a coniurer, his Concubine buried, but his picture and his bookes were burnt by the Emperors command: and *Michael Sauonarola* a Physitian, and *Titus Liuius* a famous Historian: And *Lucius Aruntius Stella*, and *Caius Valerius Flaccus*, all Poets celebrated by Martiall: and *Angelus Beoleus* a Stage-player of wonderfull elocution, dying in the yeere 1542, and *Thraseas Peto* a famous Souldier, hated by *Nero*: and *Andreas Mantinia*, the best Painter of his age, being knighted, and dying about the yeere 1517, and *Augustinus Zoto* a Painter, with other famous men.



The Second Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of my iourney from Padua, to Venice, to Ferrara, to Bologna, to Rauenna, and by the shore of the Adriaticke Sea, to Ancona: then crossing the breadth of Italy, to Rome, seated not farre from the Turrhene Sea.



Who euer comes into *Italy*, and from whence soeuer; but more especially if he come from suspected places, as *Constantinople*, neuer free from the plague; hee must bring to the Confines a certificate of his health, and in time of any plague, hee must bring the like to any City within land, where he is to passe, which certificates brought from place to place, and necessary to bee carried, they curiously obserue and read. This paper is vulgarly called *Bolletino della sanita*; and if any man want it, hee is shut vp in the *Lazareto*, or Pest-house forty dayes, till it appeare he is healthfull, and this they call vulgarly *far' la quarantana*. Neither will the Officers of health in any case dispence with him, but there hee shall haue conuenient lodging, and diet at his pleasure.

An. 1594.

In the spring of the yeere, 1594, (the Italians beginning the yeere the first of *Ianuary*) I began my iourney to see *Italy*, and taking boat at the East gate of *Padua*, the same was drawne by horses along the Riuer *Brenta*; & hauing shot two or three small bridges, and passed twenty miles, we came to the Village *Lizzafusina*, where there is a damme to stop the waters of *Brenta*, lest in proceffe of time, the passage being open, the Marshes on that side of *Venice* should be filled with sand or earth, and so a passage made on firme ground to the City; which they are carefull to preuent, and not without iust cause, hauing found safety in their Isles, when *Italy* was often ouerflowed by barbarous people. Besides, they say that this damme was made, lest this fresh-water should bee mingled with their salt waters; since all the Gentlemen of *Venice* fetch their fresh water by boats from thence, the poorer sort being content with Well water. Heere whiles our boat was drawne by an Instrument, out of the Riuer *Brenta*,
into

into the Marshes of *Venice*, wee the passengers refreshed our selues with meat and wine, and according to the custome, agreed vpon the price of our meat before wee did eat it. Then we entred our boat againe, and passed five miles to *Venice*, vpon the marshes thereof; and each man paid for his passage a lire, or twenty sols, and for a horse more then ordinary, that we might be drawne more swiftly from *Padua* to *Lizzafusina*, each man paid foure sols, but the ordinary passage is only sixteene sols. We might haue had coaches, but since a boat passeth daily too and fro betweene these Cities, most men vse this passage as most conuenient. For the boat is couered with arched hatches, and there is very pleasant company, so a man beware to giue no offence: for otherwise the Lumbards carry shirts of Male, and being armed as if they were in a Camp, are apt to reuenge vpon shamefull aduantages. But commonly there is pleasant discourse, and the proverbe saith, that the boat shall bee drowned, when it carries neither Monke, nor Student, nor Curtisan (they loue them too well to call them whores,) the passengers being for the most part of these kindes. I remember a yong maide in the boat, crossed her selfe whensoever an old woman looked vpon her, fearing she should be a witch, whereat the passengers often smiled, seeing the girle not onely crosse her selfe for feare, but thrust her crucifix towards the old womans eyes. I said formerly that two Riuer *Medoaci*, runne through *Padua*, and that the greater by the name of *Brenta*, running to the village *Lizzafusina*, is stopped with a damme, lest it should mingle it selfe with the salt marshes of *Venice*, and that also the lesser Riuer by the name of *Bachilio*, passeth through *Padua*. This lesser streame runneth thence into the ditch *Clodia*, and going out of it makes a hauen, called *de Chiozza*, which lieth in the way from *Venice* to *Farraria*, and there it diuideth it selfe into two streames; and entring the salt marshes, makes the hauen of *Venice*, called *Malamocco*. Besides other Riuer falling from the Alpes, through *Frioli*, do increase these marshes, which are salt by the tides of the sea, though the same doth very little ebbe or flow in this Mediterranean, or Inland sea. And this hauen *Malamocco* is very large and deep, and is defended with a banke from the waues of the Adriatique sea.

The Description of Venice.



Vpon the West side of *Venice* beyond the marshes, lies the Territory of *Padua*.
On the North side beyond the marshes, lies the Prouince *Frioli*. On the South side
beyond

beyond the marshes, lies partly the firme land of *Italy*, and partly the Adriatique sea; On the East side beyond the marshes lies the Adriatique sea, and the City consisteth all of Iles, compassed round about with the saide marshes.

A The great channell.

B The market place of Saint *Marke*, seated in the first Sextary of Saint *Marke*.

C The Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peter*, the seate of the Patriarkes, seated in the second Sextary, called *Castelli Olinolo*.

D The third Sextary on this side the channell, called *di Canarigio*.

E The Church of Saint *James* lies neere the bridge *Rialto*, and is seated in the fourth Sextary of Saint *Paul*, being the first of them beyond the channell.

The rest of the City is diuided into two other Sextaries beyond the channell; namely the fifth *di S^{ta} Croce*, and the sixth *de Dorso duro*.

F The Church of Saint *George* the greater. G And the Church of *Santa Maria delle gratie*, both lie in the Sextary *di Santa Croce*.

H The Iland *Gindecca* belongs to the sextary *di Dorso duro*.

K The banke of the sea, vulgarly *Il Lido*.

L The Iland *Murana*. M The new *Lazaretto*.

N *Mazorbo*.

O *Buran*. P *San Francesco del deserto*.

Q *Torcello*. R *Duo Castelli*.

S *La Certosa*. T *S^{ta} Hellena*.

V *Lazaretto Vecchio*.

W *Chioza*.

X *Malamocco*, the haven within the sea banke.

Y *Ponugia*, an Iland.

Z *San' Georgio d' Alega*, in the way as we come from *Padua* to *Venice*, a little Iland.

✠ *La Concordia*: a little Iland.

The Henetians of *Paphlagonia*, their King *Palemon* being dead at the siege of *Troy*, ioyned themselues to *Antenor*, and possessing these parts, after they had driuen out the Euganeans, called the countrey *Venice*, and through their great vertue were made Citizens of *Rome*, and their chiefe men Senators thereof. But when *Attila* King of the *Huns* inuaded *Italy*, and the Empire of the West being weakned, did destroy the same, the said Henetians came out of *Hystria*, now called *Frioli*, and from the Territory of *Padua*, and other Italians came from adioyning parts, into certaine Ilands compassed with marshes, that they might be safe from those Barbarians; and about the yeere of our Lord, 421, began to build a City, which prouing a safe retreat from the tyranny then continually oppressing *Italy*, in proesse of time by ciuill Arts grew incredibly. These Ilands were in number sixty neere adioyning, and twelue more distant; which being all ioyned in one, haue made this stately City, and the chiefe of them were called in the vulgar tongue, *Rialto*, *Grado*, *Heraclea*, & *Castello Olinolo*. The Iland *Grado* was of old the seat of the Patriarkes, after that the Patriarchate of *Aquilegia* in *Hystria*, was by the Popes authority translated thither: but now the seat of the Patriarkes is remoued to *Castello Olinolo*. At first Consuls gouerned the City, then Tribunes, chosen out of each Ile one, till the yeere 697, when the Citizens abiding in *Heraclea* chose them a Duke, who dwelt in the same Ile. After forty yeeres they chose a Tribune of souldiers, in stead of a Duke, with like authority as hee had, and at last in the yeere 742, meeting in the Iland *Malamocco*, they chose a Duke againe, and remoued his seat from *Heraclea*, to that Iland. Then *Pipin* raigning in *Italy* about the yeere 800, the Venetians demolished *Heraclea* which was built againe, but neuer recouered the old dignity, being more notable in the seat of the Bishop, then in the number of Citizens. For most of the Gentlemen remoued their dwellings into the Iland *Rialto*, otherwise called *Riuo alto*; either of the depth of the marshes, or because it was higher then the other Ilands, and thereupon called *Ripa alta*. Whereupon that Iland getting more dignity then the rest, the Citizens in proesse of time ioyned the sixty Ilands lying neere one to the other, with some

some foure hundred bridges ; of which Ilands (as is aboue said) and of the twelue more distant, this stately City consisteth. Then by common counsell, the seat of the Dukes was established in this Iland, who built the stately Pallace which at this day we see. And now a new Dukedome arising out of these salt marshes of the sea, from that time daily grew in dignity. But the City was first called *Rialto*, and after, of the countrey from whence the Citizens came, was called *Venetia*, or in the plurall number *Venetie*: because many Dukedomes and Prouinces, or many Nations were ioyned in one, and at this day is vulgarly called *Venegia*. That the City was first called *Rialto*, appeares by old records of Notaries, written in these wordes: After the vse of *Venice*. In the name of eternall God, amen: subscribed in such a yeere of *Rinoalto*, and in these wordes after the vse of the Empire; In the name of Christ, amen: subscribed, dated at *Venice*. This stately City built in the bottome of the gulfe of the Adriatique sea, in the midst of marshes vpon many Ilands, is defended on the East side against the sea, by a banke of earth, which hath fise (or some say seuen) mouths or passages into the sea; and is vulgarly called *Il Lido*: and being so placed by nature, not made by Art, bendeth like a bowe, and reacheth thirty fise miles; and by the aforesaid passages, the ships and the tides of the sea goe in and out, and the deepe marshes whereof I haue spoken, are made of these salt waters, and of diuers fresh waters falling from the Alpes, and vulgarly called, *il Tagliamento La linexa, la praac, la Brenta, Il Po, l' Adice, and il Bacchiglione*. On the West side, the City is compassed with marshes, and after fise miles with the Territory of *Padua*. On the North side with marshes, and beyond them partly with the Prouince *Frioli*, partly with the aforesaid sea banke. And vpon the South side with many Ilands, wherein are many Churches and Monasteries, like so many Forts, and beyond them with the firme land of *Italy*. The City is eight miles in circuit, and hath seuentie parishes, wherein each Church hath a little market place, for the most part foure square, and a publike Well. For the common sort vse well water, and raine water kept in cisternes; but the Gentlemen fetch their water by boat from the land. It hath thirty one cloysters of Monkes, and twenty eight of Nunnes, besides chappels and almshouses. Channels of water passe through this City (consisting of many Ilands ioyned with Bridges) as the bloud passeth through the veines of mans body; so that a man may passe to what place he will both by land and water. The great channell is in length about one thousand three hundred paces, and in breadth forty paces, and hath onely one bridge called *Rialto*, and the passage is very pleasant by this channell; being adorned on both sides with stately Pallaces. And that men may passe speedily, besides this bridge, there be thirteene places called *Traghetti*, where boats attend called *Gondole*; which being of incredible number giue ready passage to all men. The rest of the channels running through lesse streets, are more narrow, and in them many bridges are to be passed vnder. The aforesaid boats are very neat, and couered all saue the ends with black cloth, so as the passengers may goe vnseene and vnknowne, and not bee annoyed at all with the sunne, winde, or raine. And these boats are ready at call any minute of the day or night. And if a stranger know not the way, hee shall not need to aske it, for if hee will follow the presse of people, hee shall be sure to bee brought to the market place of Saint *Marke*, or that of *Rialto*; the streets being very narrow (which they paue with bricke,) and besides if hee onely know his Hosts name, taking a boat, he shall be safely brought thither at any time of the night. Almost all the houses haue two gates, one towards the street, the other towards the water; or at least the bankes of the channels are so neere, as the passage by water is as easie as by land. The publike boats, with the priuate of Gentlemen and Citizens, are some eight hundred, or as others say, a thousand. Though the floud or ebbe of the salt water bee small, yet with that motion it carrieth away the filth of the City, besides that; by the multitude of fiers, and the situation open to all windes, the ayre is made very wholsome, whereof the Venetians bragge, that it agrees with all strangers complexions, by a secret vertue, whether they be brought vp in a good or ill ayre, and preserueth them in their former health. And though I dare not say that the Venetians

live long, yet except they sooner grow old, and rather seeme then truly be aged: I neuer in any place obserued more old men, or so many Senators venerable for their grey haire and aged grauity. To conclude, the situation of *Venice* is such, as the Citizens abound with all commodities of sea and land; and are not onely most safe from their enemies on the land, being seuered from it by waters, and on the sea being hedged in with a strong sea banke, but also giue ioyfull rest vnder their power to their subiects on land, though exposed to the assault of their enemies.

The City parted in the middest with the great channell, comming in from the sea banke neere the two Castles, is of old diuided into six sextaries, or six parts, vulgarly *Sestieri*; three on this side the channell, and three beyond the channell. The first sextary on this side the channell, is that of Saint *Marke*; for howsoeuer it be not the Cathedrall Church, yet it is preferred before the rest, as well because the Duke resides there, as especially because Saint *Marke* is the protecting Saint of that City. The body of which Saint being brought hither by Merchants from *Alexandria*: this Church was built in the yeere 829. at the charge of the Duke *Iustinian*, who dying, gaue by his last will great treasure to that vse, and charged his brother to finish the building, which was laid vpon the ruines of Saint *Theodores* Church, who formerly had beene the protecting Saint of the City. And the same being consumed with fire in the yeere 976. it was more stately rebuilt, according to the narrownes of the place, the Merchants being charged to bring from all places any precious thing they could find fit to adorne the same, whatsoeuer it cost. The length of the Church containeth two hundred foot of *Venice*, the bredth fifty, the circuit 950. The building is become admirable, for the singular art of the builders and painters, and the most rare peeces of Marble, Porphry, Ophites (stones so called of speckles like a serpent) and like stones; and they cease not still to build it, as if it were vnfinished, lest the reuenues giuen by the last wils of dead men to that vse, should returne to their heires (as the common report goes.) There were staires of old to mount out of the market place into the Church, till the waters of the channell increasing, they were forced to raise the height of the market place. On the side towards the market place are fiue doores of brasle, whereof that in the middest is fairest, and the same, with one more, are daily opened, the other three being shut, excepting the dayes of Feasts. Vpon the ground neere the great doore, is a stone, painted as if it were engrauen: which painting is vulgarly called, *Ala Mosaica*, and vpon this stone Pope *Alexander* set his foot vpon the necke of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, adoring him after his submission. The outward part of the Church is adorned with 148. pillars of marble, whereof some are Ophytes, that is speckled, and eight of them are Porphry neere the great doore, which are highly esteemed. And in all places about the Church, there be some six hundred pillars of marble, besides some three hundred in the caues vnder ground. Aboue these pillars on the outside of the Church is an open gallery, borne vp with like pillars, from whence the Venetians at times of Feasts, behold any shewes in the market place. And aboue this gallery, and ouer the great doore of the Church, be foure horses of brasle, guilded ouer, very notable for antiquity and beauty; and they are so set, as if at the first step they would leape into the market place. They are said to be made to the similitude of the Horses of *Phæbus*, drawing the Chariot of the Sunne, and to haue beene put vpon the triumphall Arke of *Nero*, by the people of *Rome*, when he had overcome the Parthians. But others say that they were giuen to *Nero* by *Tiridates* the King of *Armenia*, and were made by the hands of the famous engrauer *Lisippus*. These Horses *Constantine* remoued from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and that City being sacked, the Venetians brought them to *Venice*, but they tooke of the bridles, for a signe that their City had neuer beene conquered, but enioied Virgin liberty. And all the parts of these horses being most like the one to the other, yet by strange art, both in posture of motion, and otherwise, they are most vnlike one to the other. Aboue this gallery the Image of Saint *Marke* of marble, and like images of the other Euangelists, of the Virgin *Mary*, and of the Angell *Gabriell*, are placed, and there is a bell vpon which the houres are sounded, for the Church hath his Clocke, though another very faire Clocke in the market place be very neere it.

it. The rooffe in forme of a Globe, lies open at the very top, where the light comes in ; for the Church hath no windowes, and the Papift Churches being commonly darke, to caufe a religious horror , or to make their candles shew better , this is more darke then the rest. I paffe ouer the image of Saint *Marke* of brasse in the forme of a Lion, guilded ouer , and holding a booke of brasse. Likewise the artificiall Images of the Doctors of the Church, and others. I would paffe ouer the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, painted *ala Mosaica*, that is as if it were engrauen, but that they attribute great miracles to it, so as weomen desirous to know the state of their absent friends, place a wax candle burning in the open aire before the Image, and beleue that if their friend be aliue, it cannot be put out with any force of wind ; but if he be dead, that the least breath of wind puts it out, or rather of it selfe it goes out : and besides for that I would mention that those who are adiudged to death , offer waxe candles to this Image , and as they paffe by , fall prostrate to adore the same. To conclude, I would not omit mention thereof, because all shippes comming into the Hauē, vse to salute this Image, and that of Saint *Marke*, with peeces of Ordinance, as well and more then the Duke. A Merchant of *Venice* saued from shipwracke, by the light of a candle in a darke night, gaue by his last will to this Image , that his heires for euer should find a waxe candle to burne before the same. Aboue the laid gallery are little chambers, in which they lay vp pieces of stone and glasse, with other materials for the foresaid painting, *ala Mosaica*, which is like to engrauing, and Painters hauing pensions from the state, doe there exercise that Art , highly esteemed in *Italy*. The outward rooffe is diuided into foure globes, couered with leade. Touching the inside of the Church : In the very porch thereof is the Image of Saint *Marke*, painted with wonderfull art, and the Images of Christ crucified, of him buried, and of the foure Euangelists, highly esteemed ; besides many other much commended for the said painting-like engrauing , and for other workemanship. And there be erected foure great pillars of Ophites, which they say were brought from the Temple of *Salomon*. At the entery of the doore, is an old and great sepulcher, in which lies the Duke *Marino Morosini*. Not far thence is the image of Saint *Geminian* in pontificall habit , and another of Saint *Katherine*, both painted with great art. When you enter the body of the Church, there is the great Altar, vnder which lies Saint *Marke*, in a chest of brasse, decked with Images of siluer guilded, and with plates of gold, and Images enamelled , and with the Image of Christ sitting vpon a stately throne, adorned with pillars of most white Marble, and many precious stones, and curiously engrauen. At the backe of this Altar there is another, which they call the Altar of the most holy Sacrament, made of the best marble, with a little doore of brasse, decked with carued Images, and with foure pillars of Alabaster, transparant as Christall, and highly esteemed ; and vpon the same hang euery day two lampes of Copper : but at the times of feasts there hang two of pure siluer. Moreouer the Organs are said to be the worke of a most skillfull Artificer. In the higher gallery compassing the Church, is the image of Pope *Pelagius*, vnder which is a place where the holy relikes are kept, which Pope *Clement* the eight gaue to *Iohn Delphin* Knight, one of the Procurators of Saint *Marke*, and Ambassadour at *Rome* for *Venice*, namely a peece of a bone of *Phillip* the Apostle, a peece of the cheeke-bone, and foure teeth of the Martyr Saint *Biagijs* : peeces of bones of Saint *Bartholmew*, and Saint *Thomas* (forsooth) of *Canterbury*, and of the Apostles Saint *Matthem*, and Saint *Marke*, (whose body they say is laid in the foresaid chest) and part of the haire of the blessed Virgin, and a peece of a finger of the Euangelist *Luke*, and a peece of a ribbe of Saint *Peter*, with many like, which they shew to the people to be adored certaine daies in the yeere. Aboue the Altar of Saint *Clement*, these verses are written, which shew how they worshipped Images in a more modest though superstitious age.

Nam Deus est quod Imago docet, sed non Deus ipse

Hanc videas, sed mente colas quod cernis in ipsa

That which the Image shewes, is God, it selfe is none,

See this, but God heere seene, in mind adore alone.

Likewise these verses of the same Author, be in another place.

*Effigiem Christi qui transis, pronus honora,
Non tamen effigiem sed quod designat adora.*

*Esse deum ratione caret, cui contulit esse
Materiale lapis, sicut & manus effigiale.*

*Nec Deus est nec homo, praesens quam cernis Imago,
Sed Deus est & homo, quem sacra signat Imago.*

As thou Christs Image passest, fall the same before,
Yet what this Image signifies, not it adore.

No reason that it should be God, whose essence stands
Materiall of stone, formall of workemens hands.

This Image which thou seest, is neither God nor Man,
But whom it represents, he is both God and Man.

At the entry of the Chancell, is the throne of the Dukes, made of walnut-tree, all carued aboue the head, and when the Dukes sit there, it was wont to be couered with carnation satten, but now it is couered with cloth of gold, giuen by the King of *Persia*. There be two stately pulpits of marble; with Histories carued in brasse, where they sing the Epistles and Gospels. On the left hand by the Altar of Saint *James* is a place, where (if a man may beleue it) the body of Saint *Marke*, by a creuice suddenly breaking through the marble stone, appeared in the yeere 1094. to certaine Priests who had fasted and praied to find the same, the memory of the place where it was laied at the building of the Church about 829. being vtterly lost. I beleue that the memory thereof was lost about the yeere 829. when superstition was not yet ripe, but that it was found in the yeere 1094. that age being infected with grosse superstition, let him that list beleue. They themselues seeme to distrust this miracle, while they confesse that the same body was most secretly laied vnder the great Altar, and neuer since shewed to any man, but once or twice, and that after a suspicious manner. To the foresaid pulpits another is opposite, where the Musitians sing at solemne Feasts, and from whence the Dukes newly created, are shewed to the people, and likewise the holy relikes (as they tearme them) are shewed twice in the yeere. The wals in the Church are so couered with the best marbles, as the lime and bricke cannot be seene: and these peeces of marble with their spots and brightnes, are very beautifull, whereof two are held for admirable Monuments, which are so ioined, as they liuely represent the Image of a man. Here *Marino Morosini* first of all the Dukes hung his Armes vpon the wals, whom the other Dukes after him in number forty three haue followed, and there hung vpon their Armes. In the midst of the Church hangs a banner, giuen by the Citizens of *Verona*, in token of subiection, and two others for the same purpose giuen by the Citizens of *Crema* and *Cremona*. The Marble pillars set in Caues vnder the Church, beare vpon the pauement, which is made of peeces of the best marble, carued and wrought with little stones of checker worke very curiously, especially vnder the middle globe of the roofe, and neere the great doore. And among the rare stones opposite to the singers pulpit, they shew one of such naturall spots, as it is esteemed a Iewell, which by change of colour (they say) doth shew the change of weather. Moreouer they shew certaine Images, carued by the direction of the Abbot *Iohn Ioachim* of old time, whereof many shew future euent, as that of two cockes carrying a wolfe vpon their backe, which they vnderstand to be *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Charles* the eighth, French Kings, casting *Lodouico Sfortia* out of his Dukedome, and in like sort, (to omit many other more hidden) that of the Lyons fat in the waters, and leane vpon land, which they vnderstand to be the power of *Venice* by sea, and the weakenes by land. Besides they say the same Abbot caused the Images of Saint *Dominicke* and Saint *Francis* to be drawne vpon the doore of the Sanctuary, long before they liued; and the title of Saint is added to each of them, but the name is not set vpon the pictures, yet they both are painted in the habit of their order. They shew two like pictures drawne by direction of the said Abbot, whereof they vnderstand one to be the last Pope, vnder whom shall be one shepheard and one fould: but they say it is vnknowne what the other signifies. Before the new Chappell of the blessed Virgin, there be two little chambers, whereof one is called the Sanctuary, in which their holy relikes are kept, the other

other is called the Jewell house, because the treasure of Saint *Marke* (so they appropriate all publike things to Saint *Marke*) is there kept, and it is vulgarly called *Luogo delle gioie*, that is, the place of the Jewels.

The Procurators of Saint *Marke*, keepe this treasure, and make no difficulty to shew it to strangers of the better sort. In this place I saw the Ducall Cap, (vulgarly *il corno*, or, *Beretta Ducale*) which the Dukes weare at their Creation, being of inestimable value, for the multitude and price of the Jewels, especially of a diamond vpon the crowne of the Cap, and a chrysolite set in the midst. I saw two crownes of Kings with twelue stomachers of pure gold set with rich Jewels (which the Noblewomen wore at *Constantinople* before the Turkes tooke it) and twelue other Crownes all of pure massy gold; all which the Venetians diuiding with the French, had for their part, when they tooke *Constantinople*, in the yeere 1203. I saw a saphyre of extraordinary bignes, and a Diamond which the French King *Henry* the third gaue to this state, when he returned that way from *Poland*; and two whole Vnicornes hornes, each more then foure foot long, and a third shorter, and a little dish of a huge price, with innumerable vessels, which for price, rarenes, and workmanship, are highly valued. They say that a Candian thiefe tooke away this treasure, which is kept with many doores and barres of iron, but that he restored it, being betrayed by his fellow.

In a Chappell of this Church, is a Font of brasse, with a brasen image of Saint *Iohn* baptizing, and the Altar thereof is of a stone brought out of *Asia*, vpon which they say Christ did sit, when he preached at *Tyrus*: but others say it is the stone vpon which the Patriarke *Iacob* did sleepe. They shew there the chaire of the blessed Virgin, of stone, and two peeces of marble spotted with the blood of *Iohn Baptist*, and the marble sepulcher of Duke *Andrea Dandoli*. In the Chappell of the Cardinall *Zeno*, they shew the Rocke stricke by *Moses*, and distilling water, and two precious peeces of porphyry. In the vpper Vestry they shew the picture of the Virgin, painted by Saint *Lukes* hand, and the ring of Saint *Marke*, and his Gospell written with his owne hand, and a peece of the Crosse of Christ, and of the Pillar to which he was tied, and Bookes couered with massy siluer, and candlestickes, chalice, and many vessels of siluer gilded, all set with little precious stones, and the Bishops Miter of great price, and many rich vestures for the Priests. The chiefe Priest of this Church must be a gentleman of *Venice*, and though hee be no Bishop, yet the Popes haue giuen him great priuiledges, and he is to be chosen by the Duke; because the Dukes built this Church, wherupon it is euer since called the Dukes Chappell. This Church of Saint *Marke*, is not vnworthily called the golden Church, for the rich ornaments thereof, especially for the Images thereof, painted *a la mosaica*, like a worke engrauen. For the workemen doe incorporate gold with little square peeces of glasse, and guild the same ouer; then breaking them in very small peeces, they lay them vpon the pictures.

Among the Parish Churches belonging to Saint *Marke*, is the Chappell of Saint *Theodore*, where the Inquisitors of Religion sit thrice a weeke: namely the Popes Nuntio, and the Patriarke (an Inquisitor by his place, and at this time a Dominican Friar), and three Senators chosen by the Senate. Likewise the little, but most faire Church of Saint *Geminian*, is seated in the market place of Saint *Marke*, whose Priest, according to the custome of *Venice*, is chosen by them that haue vnmoveable goods in the Parish, and is confirmed by the Patriarke, in which Church the most notable things are, three Images grauen vpon the great Altar, and the sepulcher of *Iohn Peter Stella*, Great Chancellor, and the Altar of *Lodovico Spinello*, and the Monument of *Iames* and *Francio Sansouine*, famous engrauers. In the Church of Saint *Mary Zebenigo*, the Monuments of *Sebastian Foscarini*, a Phylosopher, and of *Ierome Molini*, a Florentine Poet, and the picture of the Lords Supper. In the Church Saint *Vitale*, the artificall statua of that Saint on horsebacke. In the Church Saint *Angelo*, built by the family of the *Morosini*, the Altar of the holy Sacrament. In the Church of Saint *Fantino*, the Architecture, and among other Images, the head of a Crucifix, and the singular Images of the blessed Virgin, and Saint *Iohn*, painted standing by the Crosse. In the Vestry of Saint *Fantino* (whose Monkes vse to accompany and comfort those that are executed) the two Altars,

Altars, and in the first of them the brazen Images of the blessed Virgin and Saint *Iohn*, and in the second the excellent Marble Image of Saint *Ierome*. In the Parish Church of Saint *Luke*, seated in the midst of the City, a monument of foure most learned men, and another of *Peter Aretine*, called the scourge of Princes, are the most remarkable things. The Inquisitors worthily condemned the bookes of this Aretine, for the filthinesse of them (howsoever they be yet commonly sold) and the common report is, that they also commanded his horrible Epitaph to be blotted out, which was set in this Church of Saint *Luke*, in these words;

*Qui gaice l' Aretin' Poeta Tusco,
Chi disse mal' d'ogniun', fuora che di Dio,
Scusandosi, dicendo, io nol' conosco.
Here lies the Aretine, a Poet of Tuscany,
Who spake ill of all but of God,
Excusing himselfe, saying, I know him not.*

Of the same Aretine saith *Ariosto*:

Ecco il flagello de' Principi, } Behold the scourge of Princes
Il Diuin' Pietro Aretino } The Diuine *Peter Aretine*.

In the stately Church of Saint *Saluatore*, the Marble image of Saint *Ierom*, another of him, and a third of Saint *Laurence*, and the great Altar of pure silver, are curiously ingrauen: and in the chappell of the holy Sacrament, the Image of *Mary Magdalen*; and in another chappell, the Image of Saint *Augustine*, praying among his Monkes; and not farre off two Images of the Monument erected to Duke *Francis Venerio*: all painted with great Art, and the Altar of the blessed Virgine equall, or to be preferred to the best in the City: the Altar of S^t *Antony*, and two Monuments of Dukes, all adorned with rare engrauen and painted Images, and a faire paire of Organs. In the Church of Saint *Bartholmew*, the picture of Manna falling from heauen, and the brazen Images of Christ, of the foure Euangelists, and six Angels. In the Church of Saint *Giuliano*, many pictures, but especially that of Christ carrying his Crosse, and neere the doore another of Saint *Ierom*, and two Marble Images vpon the Altar. In the Church of Saint *Stephen*, rich with Marble and pillars, the Marble Images of the Apostles, with the pillars whereon they stand, and the Altar ingrauen with brasle, and the Monument of *Iames Suriani*, and another of *Anthony Cornari* with this inscription:

*Antonij ad Cineres viator adsta
Hic Cornarius ille, quem solebant,
Rerum principia & Deos docentem
Olim Antenoria stupere Athenæ,
Accitus Patrias subinde adoras,
Ornatus titulis fascibusque,
Doctrina venetam beaut urbem.
At the ashes of Anthony, passenger stand,
This is that Cornarius whom of old,
Teaching the principles of Nature and the Gods,
Antenors Athens was wont to admire.
After called home to his Countrey,
Graced with Titles and Magistracy,
With his Learning he made Venice happy.*

These things I say are in these Churches most remarkable.

The second sextary on this side the channell, vulgarly *Il sestiero di Castello*, hath the name of the Castle *Oliuolo*, which seated towards the sea, may seeme to be diuided from the Citie, yet it is ioyned thereto by a long bridge. Of old it was a City by it selfe, and therefore the Dukes Throne being established in the Iland *Realto*, the Bishops seat was made here, who is inuested by the Duke, and was consecrated by the Patriarke of *Grado*, till that being extinguished, this was raised to the dignity of a Patriarke, in the yeere 1450. In the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peter*, this is written vpon the Chappell in Latine;

Who

Who ere thou be that approachest, worship: Within these grates of Iron the crosse is inclosed, that is adorned with three haire of the beard of Christ, with a naile, the cap in which he drunke to his Disciples, and with a peece of the true Crosse, &c.

This Patriarcall seat hath two old pulpits of marble, the monuments of the Bishops and Patriarkes, which with the adioining Pallace of the Patriarkes, are the most remarkable things thereof. In the Church of *John Baptist* in *Bragola*, many curious pictures, the sepulcher of that Saint guilded ouer, the Image of Christ, the pictures of the lesse Altar, especially that of Christ baptised, that of Saint *Hellen*, that of Christs resurrection, and the liuely picture of Christ sitting with his Apostles at his last supper. In the Church of Saint *Mary Formosa*, this inscription is read; *Vincentius Capellus most skilful in Nauigation, and Prefect of the Gallies, no lesse praised of old, who receiued signes of honour from Henry the seuenth, King of Britany, &c.* There, vpon the great and very faire Altar, the Images of the foure Euangelists, and vpon the top, that of Christs resurrection, and of two Angels. In the Church Saint *Marina*, the statua on horsebacke erected by the Senate to *Tadeo della volpe* of *Imola*, and the great Altar, with the pillars of porphyry. In the Church of Saint *Leone*, the Images of Saint *Ierome*, of Christ at supper with his Disciples, of *John* the Euangelist, and Saint *Michaell*, all painted by the hands of most skilfull workemen. In the Church of Saint *Anthony*, foure most faire Altars (in the second whereof the Image of Christ, and in the third rich with excellent pillars, the History of ten thousand Martyres painted, and in the fourth the espousals of the blessed Virgin, are all painted with singular Art) and a foot statua erected by the Senate to *Victor Pisanus*. In the Church of Saint *Dominicke*, the library, and pictures of the Altars. In the Church of Saint *Francis di Paola*, many things giuen vpon vow, and hung vpon the wals. In that of Saint *Francis della vigna*, a very faire and stately Church, the Altar of the Chappell belonging to the Family *Grimani*, and the pictures & brasen images of the same: and in the Chappell of the Family *Dandoli*, the picture of Saint *Laurence* martyred, and in the Chappell of the *Iustiniani*, being very rich, the Images of the foure Euangelists and twelue Prophets. In the Chappell of our Lady, the monument of *Marke, Anthony, Morosini*, Knight and Procurator (famous in the warre which the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, made in *Lombardy*, and thrice Ambassador from the State) also the famous library of this monastery, and the bells (which they say were brought out of *England* after Queenè *Maries* death.) In the Church of the Saints, *John* and *Paul*, (being one of the chiefe Churches) the situation, the architecture, the pictures, and the monuments of sixteene Dukes; and another of *Marke, Anthony, Bragadini* (who hauing defended the Iland *Cyprus* from the Turkes, when they tooke it, had his skinne fleed off, by the command of the tyrant, against his faith, in the yeere 1571.) Also three horsemens statuaes, one to *Leonardo de Prato*, Knight of *Rhodes*, another to *Nicholao Orsino* Count of *Pitiglia*, both erected in the Church, the third for greater honour erected in the market place, to *Bartholmeo Coleoni* of *Bergamo*, for his good seruice to the State in their Warres; all three erected by the Senate. Also a foot statua erected by the Senate, to *Dennys Naldo*, a most valiant Commander of their foote, and the stately sepulcher of *James de Canallis*, and the Chappell of the Rosary (magnificall in the architecture, in rare marbles, in the art of engrauers, and excellent pictures, especially that of Christ crucified.) In the Church of Saint *Mary delle Virgini*, (a Cloyster of Nunnes, built by the Dukes, and belonging to them by speciall right) two marble sepulchers. In the Church Saint *Gioseppe*, the admirable monument of the *Grimani* (with admirable Images engrauen of the Duke *Grimani* created, and his Dutcheffe *Morosini*, crowned, and the like curiously wrought:) also the Image of Christ transfigured, and another of Christ buried, are the most remarkable things. And whereas the grauen images of this Church, be of rare beauty, they say that the chiefe of them were brought out of *England*, after the death of Queenè *Mary*. In the Church of Saint *Iustina* (a parish Church, and yet the chiefe cloyster of Nunnes, twice rebuilt by the family *Morosini*,) two curious statuaes of marble of *Paros*. In the Church of the Holy sepulcher, (being a cloyster of Nunnes) the sepulcher of Christ like that at *Ierusalem*, of ophites and like stones. In Saint *Zachary* a cloyster of Nunnes, the

the pall of the Virgin painted, another like it in the chappell, the sepulcher or Altar vnder which the said Saint (father to *John* Baptist) is laid, and at the backe of the great Altar, three sepulchers of Porphry and Ophytes, the stones of the great Altar, and the stately architecture of the Church, are the things most remarkeable: and the same cloyster hath great reuenues. In generall vnderstand that the Churches are for the most part built of bricke, and some few of free stone, though they be so couered with Marbles and like stones, as the bricke or free stone is scarce seene in the inside. In the Priory of *S^t John*, belonging of old to the Templary Knights, & now to the Knights of *Rhodes* or *Malta*, it is remarkeable that the reuenues thereof be great, and that the Priory is giuen by the Pope, which *Paul* the third gaue to the Cardinall Saint *Angelo* his nephew (for so they call their bastards), whom *Alexander* the Cardinall of *Farnesi* succeeded, yet not as Cardinall, but as Knight of *Malta*, and after him the Pope gaue it to the Cardinall *Ascanio Colonna*. And the most remarkable things in the Church are the pall of the great Altar, the supper of our Lord painted, the picture of Christ speaking with the woman of *Samaria*, and that of *Herods* banquet, when he gaue *John* Baptists head to *Herodia*. The Greeke Church belongs to this sextary, built in *Rio di San Lorenzo*. The almes-house Saint *Lazero*, feeds foure hundred, or five hundred poore people; for all that beg are sent thither, and they haue many of these houses. These are the most remarkeable things in the Churches of this sextary.

The third sextary, or sixth part of the City on this side the channell (meaning towards the gulf of *Venice*) vulgarly is called *Il sestiero di Canaregio*, of the canes or pipes which they were wont to vse in the building of ships. In the Church of the Prophet *Jeremy* (built by three families, *Morosini*, *Malipieri*, and *Ranandi*) the sepulcher of Saint *Magnus* (who built eight Churches when the City was first founded) and the Image of the blessed Virgin much adored. In the Church of Saint *Marciali*, the Images aswel of the great Altar, as of the Altar of *Angelo Raphaeli*. In the Apostles Church (where excellent sermons are made in the Lent,) the carued Image of our Lady vpon the Altar, and her picture vpon the same painted by Saint *Luke*. In the Church of Saint *John Chrysostome*, the pictures of three Theologicall vertues, & of Saint *Marke*, and the carued Images of the Virgin, and the Apostles. In the Church of Saint *Giob*, the ingrauing of the chappell of the *Grimani*, and of the Altar of the *Foscari*; the picture of Christ in the garden, with his Apostles sleeping, and the pictures of the next Altar, namely, that of the Virgin, Saint *Sabaſtian*, and Saint *Giob*. In the Church of Saint *Mary de serui*, the pictures of the great Altar, especially of the Virgins assumption, and also of the Virgins Altar, and of Saint *Augustins* Altar, especially that of the wise men adoring Christ, and the carued Images of another Altar, the Marble sepulcher of Duke *Andrea Vendramini*, being the fairest of all other in the City, and the Oratory of the banished men of *Lucca*, who first brought into this City the weauing of filke, and of whom many were made Gentlemen of *Venice*. In the Church of Saint *Mary del' Orto*, the huge Image of Saint *Christopher*, the History of *Moses*, and the prophicies of the last iudgement painted, the painting of the arched-roof, rare for perspective Art, and che chiefe of that kinde, the Monument of *Iasper Contarini* Cardinall, of the Marble of *Paros*, and the pillars of our Ladies Altar, with many Marble stones. In the Church of Saint *Mary de Croſtechieri*, the ancient pictures, the notable pall of Saint *Laurence*, worth seuen thousand crownes, and the pictures in the chappell of *Lewis Vſperi*. In the Church of Saint *Lucia*, the Monument and chappell of the Saint. In the chappell of Saint *Luigi*, the great Altar, fairest of those built of wood. In the Church of Saint *Mary* of the Miracles, the fairest of any Nunnery, for the beauty and rare stones, the walles couered with Marble, two Marble Images of two children vnder the Organs, (the works of famous *Praxitiles*), the Images of marble of *Paros*, the stones of Porphery and Ophytes wonderfully carued, the great Altar of Marble, ingrauen with great Art, the brasen Images of Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, and of Angels. These are the things most remarkeable. In the Church of Saint *Mary* of Mercy, *Sansouine* witnesseth this Epitaph, (which I will set downe, lest any should thinke incredible the like practises of Papists against Emperours and *John* the King

of England,) in these words: *To Ierom Sauina, a Citizen of Venice, Prior of Saint Maries, notably learned in good Arts; but more renowned for piety, which hee also shewed at his death towards his enemy, who gaue him poyson in the challice at the Lords Supper; by many arguments of his charity. He died in the yeere MDCI. Also in the great Schoole, the same is witnessed in these wordes: To Ierom Sauina wickedly killed by poyson giuen, (O horrible villany) in our Lords Supper, &c.*

The fourth sextary or sixth part of the City, and first of those beyond the channel, (meaning towards the Territorie of *Padua*,) is vulgarly called of the chiefe Church *Il sestiero di San Polo*. In which Church of Saint Paul, the most remarkable things are these: the picture of Christ washing his Apostles feet, the pall of siluer, gilded, and the precious stones vpon the great Altar; the pictures of the Altar of the holy Sacrament; and of the blessed Virgin, and the Images of Saint Andrew and the Apostles vpon pillars. In the very faire market place of the same Church; of old a market was weekly held, and to the yeere 1292; the market was held heere on Wednesday, and in the market place of Saint Marke, on the Saturday; but at this day none is held here, but both in the place of Saint Marke; for the benefit of those that dwell there, and that the houses may bee more deerely let; which belong to Saint Marke. Neere the Church of Saint Siluestro, the Patriarkes of Grado dwelt, till the Bishop of *Castello Oliuio* was made Patriarke. In the Church of Saint James of *Rialto*, narrow, but very faire, the precious stones and the pictures of great Art and antiquitie, and the fiue Altars. In the Church of Saint Mary Gloriosa, faire and great, the Bel-frey stately built, the Monument of the most famous Painter *Titiano*, two Images of Marble neere the great doore, the Marble Image of Saint Iohn; ouer against the Florentine chappell, the chancell paued with Marble and adorned with the grauen Images of the Prophets, at the charge of the family *Morosini*; the rare pictures of the great Altar, the Epitaph of *Francis Bernardo*; who being imployed into England in his yong yeeres, made peace betweene King Henry, and the French King Francis, which many great men had attempted in vaine, and for this braue act was Knighted by both the Kings. These things in this church are most remarkable.

The fifth sextary, and the second beyond the channel of the chiefe Church, is called *Il Sestiero di Santa Croce*: in which Church, being a cloyster of Nunnes, Duke Dominick *Morosini* lies buried, with this inscription: *Here lies Dominick Morosini Duke of Venice, with Sophia his Dutchesse; hee was a good Duke, and most wise, full of faith and truth, &c. He took the City Tyrus, and vnder him Istria and Pola were subdued with fifty gallies, whereof were Captaines his sonne, and Marino Gradonico. This glorious Duke died in the yeere MCLVI.* Also the Marble pillars of the great Altar, the brasen Angels, and the brasen Images, of Christ rising from the dead, of Saint Francis and Saint Anthony. In the Church of Saint Simion Prophet, the picture of Christs supper with his Apostles. In the Church of *S. Giacomo dell' Orio*, a pillar esteemed for a Iewell, a Marble pulpit, one of the fairest in the City, and the Images of the chappell for christning. In the Church of Saint Eustace, the pictures of Christ whipped, of Christ carrying his crosse, and of Christ praying in the garden, all of great Art. In the Church of Saint Mary Mater Domini, the great Altar of most pure siluer, and the passion of Christ ingrauen; the Altar of the blessed Virgin with her picture, and the Altar of the holy Sacrament with the rich Porphyry and Ophyte stones; and the Marble Images of Saint Marke, and Saint Iohn the Euangelist. In the Church of Saint Andrew, the fairest of this sextary, and a cloyster of Nunnes, the pictures of Christ crucified, and of his supper with his Apostles; and the most faire Altars of the Virgin, Saint Anthony, and Saint Nicholas. In the Church of Saint George the greater, (giuing name to the Iland in which it is seated, ouer against the market place of Saint Marke, and the chiefe Church next that of Saint Marke,) the pall of the great Altar, and the brasen Images; two brasen Images of the Organs, the seats of the wal-nut tree wonderfully ingrauen, another Altar built by Vincent *Morosini*, the Altar of Saint Stephen the first Martyr, the Altar of the blessed Virgin and her Image, the Altar of Saint Lucia with her Image, and the wonderfull crucifix of

another Altar. In the Church of Saint *Mary delle gratie*, the infinite gifts hung vp there vpon vowes. In the Church of the Holy Ghost, the Pall of the great Altar, and the marble stones and pillars, and the brasen candlestickes, and a skreene of brasse guilded, and the pictures of Saint *Markes* Altar, the candlestick of the great chappel, curiously carued, the rare Images and arched rooffe of the Altar of the Cratch; being all the worke of the famous Painter *Titiano*, whose rare image also the Friars haue: and in the publike refectory of the Friars, the admirable pictures of the resurrection, of *Sampson*, and especially of Christ supping with his Apostles. In the monastery of Saint *Hellen*, (giuing name to the Iland, and founded by *Alexander Boromeo*, and being one of the fairest in the City) a crosse of inestimable value. In the Church of Saint *Andrew della Certosa*, the monument of *Austine Barbadiçi*, who hartening the confederates to fight, was chiefe cause of the victory against the Turkes by sea, in the yeere 1571. and while he liued, by faire and rough tearmes; kept the league vnbroken, which presently vpon his death was dissolued. In the Church of Saint *Nicholas del Li-ro*, the sepulcher of Duke *Dominicke Contarini*, rich with porphery and ophyte stones, and a well of fresh water, lying very neere the sea, and hauing so full a spring, as it serueth all the shippes and gallies. The almshouse of Saint *Lazerus*, is built for lepers. The old *Lazareto* is a pest-house, where the Prior and Physitians haue yeerely fee to attend the sicke. Not farre from that, is the new *Lazareto*, whither they are sent who are suspected to haue the plague: but as soone as they begin to be sicke, they are sent thence to the old *Lazareto*: and hither all suspected men are sent to try their health, which if they keepe for forty daies, then they are set free. These things are in this sextary most remarkeable.

The sixth sextary, and the third and last beyond the channell, is of the forme of the Iland, called *il sestiero di dorso duro*. In the Church of the Saints, *Geruasio* and *Protaso*, the grauen Images and pictures in the chappell of the holy sacrament. In the cloyster of Saint *Agnes*, the Prioresse bringeth vp six Virgins, which being of ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnes; and sixe more of good families sent thither in their place. In the Church of Saint *Gregory*, there is a second monument erected to *Anthony Bragadini*, traiterously slaine by the Turkes at the taking of *Cyprus*. The Iland *Giudecca* belongs to this sextary, the chiefe Church whereof is Saint *Eufemia*, it hauing nine other Churches. The Church of the Iesuites is called Saint *Mary of Humblenes*, and it hath pictured with great art the palls of the passion of Christ, of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, of Christ circumcised, and of Saint *Francis*, and the great Altar is one of the fairest in the City. In the Church *Carmini*, a singular paire of Organs, the Images of the blessed virgins, foure Euangelists, and Christ crucified: and vpon the altar of Christ crucified, two stones shining like christall, which are esteemed for iewels. In the Church of Saint *Mary of Charity*, the rich chappell of *San Saluadore*. In the most faire Church of the Capuchine Friars, seated in the Iland *Giudecca*, the images of brasse, and the faire skreene of the great Altar. In the most faire Church of Saint *Mary the greater*, being a Nunnery, the rare pictures of the greater chappell. In the Church of the holy crosse *Della Giudecca*, the monument of the Cardinall *Francis Morosini*, sent Ambassador to the Turke, and Nuncio to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, in the French Court: and here the rest of his Family vse to be buried. The Monastery of the conuerted is for whores repenting. Another is built for Orphan Virgins, the Church whereof hath rich screenes of marble, with brasse images: and in the same liue some two hundred and fifty Virgins of almes, and by the worke of their hands, which comming to ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnes. These things are in this sextary most remarkeable.

The Venetians haue six fraternities or great schooles, such as be also at *Rome*, and the Gentlemen and Citizens all giue their names to one of them, as in *England* at *London*, the Citizens haue companies, into which the King, Queene, and Nobles, many times vouchsafe to be admitted. And in these schooles, as it were in Vniuersities, they vse to haue exercises of religion. The first of them is called Saint *Mary of Charity*, after the rule whereof, the rest are framed, and the great Guardian thereof is chosen yeerely,

ly, and weares a skarlet gowne with large fleeues, which they call Ducall fleeues, and he hath the title of *Magnifico* by priuiledge. These schooles giue dowries yeerely to 1500. Virgins, and distribute among the poore much money, meale, and clothes: for besides many gifts by last testaments daily giuen to those vses, each of the schooles hath some five or sixe thousand duckets in yeerely reueneue, and they are gouerned like common wealthes. In the said schoole, the Images of the Apostles, and the pictures, especially one of the blessed Virgin, and another of the foure Doctors of the Church, are very faire. In the schoole of Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist, the passion of Christ is wonderfully figured, and *Phillip* the second King of *Spain*, and his sonne *Ferdinand*, and *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, and other Princes, haue beene of this fraternity. The third is of mercy. The fourth of Saint *Marke*. The fifth of Saint *Rocco*, passing the rest in ceremonies & pompe, and number of brethren. The sixth is of Saint *Theodore*, and each of these hath his Church and Pallace, and precious monuments, and these are subiect to the counsell of ten; for there be many lesse schooles, each art hauing his schoole, and these are subiect to the old Iustice, and out of them when need is, souldiers are pressed.

It remaines to adde something of the magnificall building of this City. And in the first place, the market place of Saint *Marke* is paved with bricke, and it consists of foure market places, ioined in one; whereof two may rather be called the market places of the Dukes Pallace (ioining to the Church of Saint *Marke*) the one being on the furthest side from Saint *Marke*, betweene the pallace and the great channell, the other right before the pallace towards the channell, foure hundred foot in length, and some one hundred and thirty in bredth. The third is before the Church doore of Saint *Mark*, and lies in length five hundred and twenty foot towards the Church of Saint *Geminiano*, and hath one hundred and thirty foot in bredth, which may more properly be called the market place of Saint *Marke*. The fourth is on the other side of the Church, towards the Church of Saint *Bass*. In this market place of foure ioined in one, are solemne spectacles or shewes, and all processions made, and there on Ascension day, is the Faire held, and the markets on wednesday and saterday: there they vse to muster souldiers; and there the gentlemen and strangers daily meet and walke. Before the doore of Saint *Markes* Church, are three peeces of brasie carued, and for bignesse like the bodies of trees, vpon which at festiuall daies three rich banners are hung, in signe of liberty, or as others say, for the three Dominions of *Venice*, *Cypro*, and *Candia*.

Vnder the tower of the Clocke, fifty foot distant from Saint *Markes* Church, is a passage to and from this market place; and this tower all couered with marble, beares a remarkeable Clocke, which sheweth the course of the Sunne and the Moone daily, and the degrees they passe, and when they enter into a new signe of the *Zodiacke*, and about that the gilded Image of our Lady shineth, placed betweene two doores, out of one of which doores, onely at solemne Feasts, an Angell with a Trumpet, and the three Wise Men of the East following, passe before our Ladies Image, and adore her, and so goe in at the other doore. About that, there is a carued Image of a Lyon with wings, and vpon the very top, two brasen Images, called the Mores; which by turnes striking with a hammer vpon a great bell, sound the houres.

The houses opposite to the Pallaces of the Procurators of Saint *Marke*, are called the houses of the State, and they belong to the Church of Saint *Marke*, and hauing some fifty shops vnder the Arches of the vpper roofes (where men may walke dry when it raine) they yeeld great rents to the Church. Opposite to these are the Pallaces of the said Procurators, which are also in the said market place, which I said to be more properly called the market place of Saint *Marke*, and these being stately built, sixty sixe foot high, and the stones curiously carued, doe not onely adorne the market place, but in summer giue a pleasant shade to passengers, besides that vnder the Arches of them, men may walke drie in the greatest raine, and the shops vnder these Arches yeeld great rents, and vnder these Pallaces out of foure little streetes there be so many passages to and from the market place. These Pallaces are built at the charge of the State, the nine Procurators being to haue nine Pallaces: for as yet they were not

all built; but in the meane time any pallace falling voide, it was giuen to the eldest of them that had none, yet not according to their age, but according to their election.

The steeple or belfrey of Saint *Marke*, distant some eighty foote from the Church, and set ouer against it, is to be admired, not onely for the foundation, strangely laid vnder the earth; but also for many other causes. It is built foure square, each square containing forty foot, and it is three hundred thirty three foot high, of which feet the pinnacle contains ninety sixe, and the wooden Image of an Angell about the pinnacle couered with bras and gilded, and turning with the wind, contains sixteene feete. It is adorned with high pillars of marble, and with a gallery at the bottome of the pinnacle, made with many pillars of bras, and vpon the pinnacle with great marble Images of Lyons, and from the top in a cleere day, men may see a hundred miles off the ships vnder sayles; and it beares foure great bells, whereof the greater called *La Trottiera*, is rung euery day at noone, and when the Gentlemen meet in *Senate* with like occasions: but when a new Pope or Duke is made, all the bells are rung, and the steeple is set round about with waxe candles burning. I went to the top of this steeple, which hath thirty seuen ascents, whereof each hath foureteene lesse ascents, by which the going vp is as easie, as if a man walked on plaine ground, at the contriuing whereof I much wondered. In the lodge of this steeple, the foure brasen Images of *Pallas*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, and of *Peace*, and about them, the figure of *Venice*, with the Dominion by sea and land, and the Image of *Venus* the Goddesse of *Cyprus*, and of *Iupiter* the King of *Candia*, present themselves, and neere the great gate the Images of the blessed Virgin and of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, are highly valued.

Right ouer against the Dukes Pallace, in the foresaid second market place of the pallace, is the library, whose building is remarkable, and the architecture of the corner next the market place of the Bakers, is held by great Artists a rare worke, and diuers carued Images of Heathen Gods, and Goddeses in the old habit, are no lesse praised, as done by the hands of most skilfull workemen. On the inside, the arched roofes curiously painted, and the little study of iuory, with pillars of Allabaster, and rare stones, and carued Images (in which an old breuiary of written hand, and much esteemed, is kept) are things very remarkeable. The inner chamber is called the study; in which many statuaes and halfe statuaes, twelue heads of Emperors, and other things giuen to the State by Cardinall *Dominicke Grimani*, are esteemed precious by all antiquaries. And in this Library are laid vp the Bookes, which the Patriarke and Cardinall *Bessarione* gaue to Saint *Marke* (that is to the State) by his last will, and the most rare books brought from *Constantinople* at the taking thereof, and otherwise gathered from all parts of *Greece*. Out of this Library is a passage, to the chambers of the Procurators of Saint *Marke*: before you enter them most faire statuaes, and on the inside rare pictures, draw your eyes to them.

Not farre from thence are two pillars (the third whereof in taking them out of the ship, fell into the sea, and could neuer be recouered) and they be of huge bignesse; for the erecting whereof, as a most difficult thing, great rewards were giuen to a *Lumbard*, and immunity was giuen to him by priuiledge, for all that should play at dice vnder them. Since it is accustomed, that all condemned men are executed betwene these pillars, which of old were put to death neere the Church of Saint *Iohn Bragola*, and vpon one of these pillars stands the brasen statua of Saint *Marke*, vnder the forme of a Lyon, and vpon the other stands the marble statua of Saint *Theodor*. The statua of Saint *George* beares a shield, in token that *Venice* rather defends it selfe, then offends others, since the right hand carries a defensue weapon.

Behind the Library is the Mint house (vulgarly called *La Zecca*, whereupon I thinke the gold coyne of the Venetians is called *Zecchino*) in which house it is remarkeable, that there is no wood in any part thereof, but for feare of fire it is all built with stone, bricke, and barres of iron. Here the great statuaes of Gyants, lifting vp their massie clubs, as it were forbidding the entrance; and in the court yard the statua of *Apollo*, holding wedges of gold in his hand, to shew that gold is made to grow in the bowels of the earth by the vertue of the sunne, are things remarkable.

From

From hence on the left hand is the market place, which I said to be the first of the Pallace, seated between the channel & the Pallace. And from hence on the right hand is the fish market, in which (as likewise in that of *Rialto*) store of good fish is to be bought twice in the day.

The market place in which the said Bel-frey and Library are built, is also adorned with the stately Pallace of the Duke, all couered with Marble, and most sumptuous in the carued images and pictures, and in the pillars of the Arched walke on the outside. The first staires towards the second market place of the Pallace, and ouer against the said Library, are very stately, and are vulgarly called *Scala de' Giganti*, that is the staires of the Giants, so called of two huge Marble statuaes of *Mars* and *Neptune*, which the common people call Giants. But the Pallace hath many other staires, whereby men ascend thereunto. Opposite to the aforesaid statuaes, are two other of *Adam* and *Eue*, but not so great as they: and not farre from thence is a stone guilded, with an inscription which the Senate placed there, in memory of the French King *Henry* the third, whom they entertained, passing that way from *Poland* into *France*. On the left hand is the Chappell of Saint *Nicholas*, which is the Dukes priuate Chappell. Hence you ascend into a large Hall (as they call it) or a large Gallery; in the middest whereof the golden staires shine with gold, and two marble Images and rare pictures. On the left hand of the said staires, is the passage to that part of the Pallace, which is assigned to the Duke for his dwelling, and in the first chamber, called the Dukes Armes, *Sala del scudo*, the pictures of Christs resurrection, and another of him crucified, are much praised, though it hath many other rare pictures. When you haue ascended the golden staires, you shall see foure rare pictures. From thence the way on the left hand leads to the Chancery, where many chambers are adioyning, proper to diuers Councels of State, all adorned with grauen Images and pictures of the best; namely, the chambers of the Councell rich in the painting of the arched rooffe. That of the *Pregadi*, hauing generall rare painting and caruing. That called *La secreta*, in which the secret writings of the State is laied vp. The Chappell of the Colledge, where the Duke and the Senators daily heare Masse, and it appeares by an inscription, that the Antiquities were of old laied vp there, among the pictures whereof, that of Christs resurrection, and the Map of the Territory of *Venice*, are much praised. That of the Councell of *Tenn*, in which the picture of the Wise-men offering gifts to Christ is much praised, (neere the same are chambers, in which many rich Armors and rare Monuments are laied vp.) And that of the great Councell, one hundred fifty foot in length, and seuentie foure in breadth, adorned round about with rare pictures, namely on the side towards the foresaid second market place of the Pallace, the History of *Fredericke* the Emperour, and of Pope *Alexander* the third is cursorily painted. Towards the foresaid first market place, lying betweene the Pallace and the channel, the History of *Constantinople*, taken by the Venetians and French, is painted; and the capitulation of the voyage, made in the Church, and the rest of the Saints in heauen, are reputed rare workes.

The prisons of old were vnder this Pallace of the Duke; but lately a new house is stately built of the stone of *Istria*, for that vse neere the bridge *Della Paglia*.

The foure square market place of *Rialto*, is compassed with publike houses, vnder the arches whereof, and in the middle part lying open, the Merchants meet. And there is also a peculiar place where the Gentlemen meet before noone, as they meet in the place of Saint *Marke* towards euening; and here to nourish acquaintance, they spend an houre in discourses, and because they vse not to make feasts one to another, they keepe this meeting as strictly as Merchants, lest their frinship should decay. The Gold-smiths shoppes lie thereby, and ouer against them the shoppes of Iewellers, in which Art the Venetians are excellent. There is the Pallace of a Gentleman, who prouing a Traytor, the State (for his reproch) turned the same into a shambles, and some vpper chambers to places of iudgement. The fish market lies by this shambles, a great length along the banke of the great channell, and in the same shambles and fish market, as also in the like of Saint *Marke*, great plenty of victuals, especially of fish, is daily to be sold. A publike Pallace stately built lieth neere the bridge of *Rialto*.

This bridge in the iudgement of the Venetians, deserues to be reputed the eighth miracle of the world. The old being pulled downe, this new bridge began to bee built in the yeere 1588, and was scarce finished in three yeeres, and is said to haue cost two hundred fifty thousand Duckets. It is built of the stone of *Istria*, vpon one arch ouer the great channell, and the ascent to the toppe hath thirty fixe staires on each side, and vpon each side of these staires, are twelue little shoppes covered with lead: not to speake of the carued Images, of the blessed Virgin, the Angell *Gabriel*, and the two protecting Saints of the City, namely Saint *Marke*, and Saint *Theodore*.

Thereby is a Pallace called *Il Fontico de i Todeschi*, because the Dutch Merchants haue it to their vse.

The Armory built for all kinde of Armes & Munitions, vulgarly called *l' Arsenale*, as it were the Tower of the Senate, is compassed with walles being in circuit more then two miles, where some foure hundred Artificers are daily set on worke about naual prouisions, and they receiue weekly for wages about one thousand two hundred duckets. Within the same is a seuerall place to make cables, & within the circuit hereof and no where else in the City, they build Ships and Gallies, and there bee alwayes in the same about two hundred gallies ready for seruice. To conclude, the State of *Venice*, being not growne to full strength, did in a hundred daies space, arme one hundred gallies against *Emmanuel* Emperour of the East, and no doubt their strength hath euery day growne greater to this time. In the said compasse of the Armory, lies a great boat called *Il Bucentoro*, because it corries about the number of two hundred; which boat hath vpon it a kinde of chamber which vseth to be richly hung, and couered ouer, when in the same the Duke and Senators be carried by water at some times of solemnity, especially at the feast of the Ascension, when of an old custome, they goe forth to espouse the sea, by the ceremony of flinging a ring into the same, and to challenge the command thereof, giuen them by Pope *Alexander* the third.

The Iewes haue a place to dwell in seuerally, called *Il Ghetto*, where each family hath a little house, and all haue one court-yard chmmon, so as they liue as it were in a Colledge, or Almes-house, and may not come forth after the gates are locked at night, and in the day they are bound to weare a yellow cap.

Though the City bee seated vpon little and narrow Ilands, in the midst of marshes and tides of the sea; yet hath it gardens in great number, and abounding with rare herbes, plants, and fruits, and water conduits, which with the carued Images and pictures, (out of the Gentlemens curtesie) may bee scene by any curious stranger.

The publike Libraries of speciall note are these: *Di S. Giouanni & Paolo: di San' Francesco: di San' Stefano: di San' Georgio Maggiore: and di San' Antonio*. Also priuate Libraries may be found out by those that be curious, and will bee after the same manner easily shewed them, and are indeede most worthy to bee sought out for the rarenesse of many instruments, pictures, carued Images, Antiquities, and like rare things: For the Venetians being most sparing in diet and apparell, doe exercise their magnificence in these and the like delights, and these precious Monuments, they will with great curtesie shew to any strangers, or to any louing antiquities, which my selfe found by experience, more specially at the hands of *Sig^r. Nicolao vendramini*, a Gentleman dwelling in the Iland *Ginecicca*, who most curteously shewed mee and my friends, though being altogether vnknowne to him, some rare clockes, admirable carued Images, and a paire of Organs hauing strange varieties of sounds.

The Pallaces of Gentlemen were called houses, but are, and worthily deserue to be called Pallaces, some hundred of them being fit to receiue Princes. For howsoeuer this Common-wealth at the first founding, was tied by many lawes to mediocrity, and the equality among the Citizens, yet pride hath by degrees seised vpon the same. The said Pallaces haue one doore towards the Land, and another towards the water, and most of them haue gardens. The foundations are laid of Oake in the waters, and the stone of *Istria* is much esteemed. The floores of the vpper roomes are not boarded, but plasted with lime tempred with tiles beaten to dust. The windows

dowes are for the most part very large, the greater roomes lying almost altogether open to receiue aire, but the lodging chambers haue glasse windowes, whereof the Venetians brag, glasse being rare in *Italy*, where the windowes are for the most part couered with linnen or paper. And howsoeuer glasse be common with vs on this side the Alpes, yet it is certaine that the glasse makers of *Venice*, dwelling in the Iland *Murano*, haue a more noble matter, & thereof make much better glasse then we can. To conclude, as I said the Venetians are most sparing in diet and apparel, so not onely in the building of their houses, but in the furniture thereof, the general sort passeth their degree, and many of the Gentlemen vse Princely magnificence. These are accounted the chiefe Pallaces: That belonging to the Procurators office, neere the Church of Saint *Anthony*. The old Pallace which belonged to the Templary Knights. That of the family *Gritti* neere the bridge *Della Madonna*. That of *Alexander Gritti*, neere the market place of Saint *Iohn Bragora*. That of *Dandoli*, neere the bridge *Della Paglia*. The Pallace neere Saint *Francis* Church, which the Senate bought, and vse to assigne it to the dwelling of the Popes *Nuncio*. That of the Dutchesse of *Florence*, built vpon the channell of the Dukes Pallace. That of the *Vetturi*, neere the market place of Saint *Mary*. That of the Patriarke *Grimani*, neere the *Malipieri*. That of the family *Georgij*, neere the same. That of *Francis Priuli*. That of *Lodwick Gerogij*. That of the *Capelli*. That of *Peter Giustiniani*. That of those of *Pesaro*, neere the Church of *S. Benedict*. That of the *Loredani* neere Saint *Stephens* Church. That of *Zeni*. That of *Contarini*. That of *Siluester Valierij*, neere the Church of Saint *Iob*. That of the *Cornari*, neere Saint *Pauls* Church. That of *James Foscarini*, neere the Church *Carmeni*. That of the *Michaeli*, neere Saint *Lewis* Church. That of *Lewis Theophili*, neere the Church *Della Misericordia*. The chiefe Pallaces vpon the channell are these. That of the *Loredani*. That of the *Grimani*, neere Saint *Lucia*. That of the *Delphini*. That of the *Cornari*, neere Saint *Maurice* Church, and that of the *Fascorini*, an old building but hauing the best prospect of all the rest. In which the Venetians entertained the French King *Henry* the third. To conclude, there be two rich Pallaces in the Iland *Giudecca*, one of the *Dandoli*, the other of the *Vendramini*.

In this famous City are twenty thousand families, and three thousand of the Gentlemen, and no age hath beene so barren, which hath not yeelded worthy men for Martiall and ciuill gouernment and learning. Of this City haue beene three Popes, *Gregory* the twelfth, *Eugenius* the fourth, and *Paul* the second, and many Cardinalls of which these are the chiefe: *Peter Morosini*, *Marke Landi*, *Anthony Corari*, *Iohn Amideus*, and in our age *Iohn Baptift Zeni*, and *Dominick Germani*. Also *Peter Bembus* was a Venetian, whom Pope *Paul* the third made Cardinall. Heere was borne *Pantalean Iustinianus*, Patriarke of *Constantinople* when the French ruled there. And *Venice* hath yeelded many most learned men, *Andrew Dandoli*, Duke *Francis Barbarigi*, *Andrew Morosini*, who wrote the History of his time in Heroique Verse. And many famous Ciuill Lawyers, *Lodwicke Foscarini*, and *Ierom Donati*. And many rare engrauers, and painters, *Titiano*, *Tenterotto*, and *Belino*. And many Commanders in the warre, *Iohn Bolari*, *Marino Gradinici*, *Dominick Morosini*, (the first prouisors of Military affaires,) *Andrew Morosini*, and *Simon Dandoli*, and many more famous in all kindes of vertue, to the chiefe whereof I haue said, that the Senate erected many Statuaes and Monuments. Giue me leaue to adde this of the family *Morosini*, namely, that among the most famous men, whose pictures were in the chamber of publike meeting, before it was burnt; there were the pictures of *Barbaro* and *Marco*, and *Antonio Morosini*. And that the same family hath giuen three Dukes, *Dominico*, *Marino*, and *Michael*; and three Patriarkes, and twelue Procurators of Saint *Marke*; (which number few families haue attained, onely that of the *Contarini*, that of the *Iustiniani*, and that of the *Grimani*, haue a little passed it). And that my selfe being at *Venice*, found there eighty Gentlemen of this name. Let the Reader pardon this obseruation, which I make for the Consonancy of that name with my owne, onely differing in the placing of a vowell, for more gentle pronuntiation, which the Italian speech affecteth; yet these Gentlemen being of one family, write their names some-

what diuerfly, some writing in their owne tongue *Morofini*, others *Morefina*, and in the Latin tongue, *Morocenus*, and *Maurocenus*.

Of the hiring of chambers, and the manner of diet in *Venice*, I haue spoken iointly with that of *Padua*, in the discription of that City, onely I will adde, that this City aboundeth with good fish, which are twice each day to be sold in two markers of Saint *Marke & Rialto*, & that it spendeth weekly five hundred Oxen, & two hundred & fifty Calues, besides great numbers of young Goates, Hens, and many kinds of birds, besides that it aboundeth with sea birds, whereof the Venerian writers make two hundred kinds, and likewise aboundeth with sauoury fruits, and many salted and dried dainties, and with all manner of victuals, in such sort as they impart them to other Cities. I will also adde that here is great concourse of all nations, as well for the pleasure the City yeeldeth, as for the free conuersation; and especially for the commodity of trafficke. That in no place is to be found in one market place such variety of apparell, languages, and manners. That in the publike Innes a chamber may be hired for foure sols a day; but for the cheapenes and good dressing of meat, most men vse to hire priuate chambers, and dresse their owne meat. That in the Dutch Inne each man paies two lires a meale. That no stranger may lie in the City more then a night, without leaue of the Magistrates appointed for that purpose; but the next day telling them some pretended causes of your comming to the Towne, they will easily grant you leaue to stay longer, and after that you shall be no more troubled, how long soeuer you stay, onely your Host after certaine daies giueth them account of you. To conclude this most noble City, as well for the situation, freeing them from enemies, as for the freedome of the Common-wealth, preserued from the first founding, and for the freedome which the Citizens and very strangers haue, to inioy their goods, and dispose of them, and for manifold other causes, is worthily called in Latine *Venetia*, as it were *Veni etiam*, that is, come againe.

Anno.

1594.

From *Venice* to *Ferraria* are eighty five miles by water and land: and vpon the third of *February* (after the new stile) and in the yeere 1594. (as the Italians begin the yeere the first of *January*) and vpon Wednesday in the euening, my selfe with two Dutchmen, my consorts in this iourney, went into the Barke, which weekly passeth betwixt *Venice* and *Ferrara*. The same night we passed twenty five miles vpon the marshes, within the sea banke, to *Chioza* or *Chioggia*, or (to speake vulgarly, the better to be vnderstood in asking the way) a *Chioza*, the first village on firme land, or rather seated in an Island, where the Ditch *Clodia* maketh a Hauen. The next morning in the same Barke we entred the Riuer, and passed fifteene miles to the Village *Lorea*, and after dinner ten miles in the territory of *Venice*, and eight miles in the Dukedome of *Ferraria* to *Popaci*, and vpon Friday in the morning twenty two miles to *Francoline*, where we paid for our passage from *Venice* thither, each man three lires and a halfe. By the way on land vpon both sides the Riuer, we passed a pleasant plaine, and fields of corne diuided by furrowes, in which furrowes Elmes were planted, and vpon them Vines grew vp to the tops. Such is the manuring of *Lombardy*, or the loward part of *Italy* towards the West, where the Vines growing high, yeeld not so rich wines, as in the other parts of *Italy* vpon mountaines and hils, vpon the sides whereof the Vines supported with short stakes, and growing not high, yeeld much richer wines. By this way our Barke staied many times in Villages, where we had time to eat, or to prouide victuals to be carried with vs; and we had an Ingistar, or measure of wine, something greater then our pint, for three sols of *Venice*: we bought bread after the weight, for they haue loaves of all prices, in which a stranger cannot be deceiued. It is the fashion to see the meat in the kitchin, and to agree of the price before you eate it, which if you doe not, you shall be subiect to the Hosts insatiable auarice, who take pleasure to deceiue strangers. And the price of the meats you may vnderstand, by the Italians, whom you shall see buy of the same. And if the deereness displease you, you may carry drie figs and raisons, and dine with them, the price of bread and wine being certaine; but you must sup at your Hosts Ordinary, if you will haue a bed. I said that we left our Barke at *Francoline*, where we might haue hired a coach to *Ferraria*, for which we three should haue

haue paied twenty two bolinei, but the way being pleasant to walke, we chose rather to goe these five miles on foot.

Ferraria is a very strong City of *Fiaminta*, and neere the City, the Riuer *Po* diuiding it selfe, hath made a long and broad Iland, which now is growne to firme land. It was compassed with walles by the *Exarches* of the Easterne Emperors; Lords thereof, and after it was subiect to the Bishops of *Rauenna*; then it came into the hands of the Princes of the family of *Este*, the lawfull heires whereof possessed it to the yeer 1394, when it passed to the line of Bastards. These Princes of *Este* were at first Marquesses, and afterwards were created Dukes, and *Hercules* of *Este* was the third Duke, who liued about the yeere 1550. At this day the family of *Este* being extinct, the Bishop of *Rome* hath inuaded this Dukedome. The City seated in a plaine, is compassed with a fenny banke, and is of a triangular forme, the three corners being towards the North, West and South. On the South side the riuer *Po* did runne of old, but it hath now left his bed, which is dried vp to firme land. But the lesse branch thereof runneth from *Francoline* to *Chioza*, where it falls into the sea, the greater making many lakes at *Comatio*, yeelds the Duke much profit by the fishing of eeles. In the heart of the City is a large market place, and ioyning thereunto a little Iland, in which the father of *Hercules* of *Este* built a stately Pallace, called *Belueder*, and in the market place before the doore of the Pallace, there is a statua sitting in a chaire, erected to Duke *Barso*, and another of a horse-man, and of brasle erected to Duke *Nicholas*. The streets are broad, and very dirty in winter, and no lesse subiect to dust in summer. The houses are built of free-stone, but according to the building of *Italy*, are almost flat vpon the top, so as that vpper rooffe hath neither chambers nor windowes. The houses are not built one neere the other, but diuided with most pleasant gardens, and dispersed.

On the North side of the City without the walles, the Duke hath a large Parke for hunting, and to keepe therein many strange beasts. There be two stately Pallaces besides the Dukes; one of the *Bentinoli*, the other of *Cesar*, Nephew to Duke *Alfonso*, who being eighty yeeres old, begot him of a Concubine; and because the Popes had intruded themselues into the succession of this Dukedome, which this holy mother the Church daily gaped to enioy, vpon the want of lawfull heires males; the Duke could not obtaine by intreaty, or any money, to haue the right of succession conuained to this Nephew. And howsoeuer he were now eighty yeeres old, yet the opinion of his command in military affaires, made the common people report, that the Pope would grant the succession to his Nephew, vpon condition he should lead an Army into *Hungary* against the Turkes. But the euent shewed, that the Popes thought nothing lesse: for this *Cesar* defending his possession fearefully, the Popes haue since that time, and long before I wrote this, inuaded this Dukedome, and vnited it to the Patrimony of Saint *Peter*. The circuit of the City is said to containe seuen miles, and in the same is an Vniuersity little frequented, and a faire Colledge wherein the professors read. The Duke hath two stables, in the one, one hundred twenty horses for coaches, in the other fifty for the saddle. In the *Beneuentane* Monastery, is the sepulcher of the Poet *Ariosto*, borne in this City, and it is of red Marble, with this inscription in Latine;

To Lodwick Ariosto Poet, a Patrician of Ferrara, Augustine Musicus, so great a man and so well deseruing of him, hath caused this Monument and Image of Marble to be erected at his owne proper cost, in the yeere of the Lord CIO IO LXXIII, Alfonso the second being Duke: he liued LIX yeeres, and died in the yeere of the Lord CIO IO XXXIII the eighth of the Ides of Iune.

The Statua of Marble is to the shoulder, and is set ouer his Tombe with these verses:

*Hic Ariostus est situs, qui comico,
Aures Theatri sparsit urbanas sale,
Satyrarū mores strinxit acer improbos,
Heroa culto qui furentem carmine
Ducamq; curas cecinit, atq; praliā;*

*Vates corona dignus unus triplici,
Cui trina constant, quæ fuere vatibus,
Graijs, Latinis, vixq; Hetruscis singula.
Here Ariosto lies, whose pen still feasts,
The Ciuill eares on stage with comick icasts,
Whose Sayters scourg'd the foule sins of his time;
Who sung the frantick worthy, in sweet ryme:
Great Dukes, fierce battels, and their pensive care.
Thus hath one Poet, three crownes to his share;
Greeke Poets, Latines, Tuscanes, each scarce one
Of these attain'd, he hath all three alone.*

In the Monastery *Certosa* there is a round pinnacle, the Monument of Duke *Borso*. In the Church of Saint *Mary* of the Angels, are laid vp some trophies of victory against the Venetians, which when a Citizen of *Ferrara* shewed vpon a time to a Venetian, in fashion of bragging, he answered pleasantly and wittily: to my remembrance, when you of *Ferrara* got this victory against vs, wee tooke the Countrey of *Poleseno* from you, and though we were ouercome yet we keepe that to this day. *Ierom Saucnorolla* a Frier was born in this City, who in a late age was of great fame & authority among the *Florentines*, and for some opinions of religion was burnt by the Pope. Here I paid thirty bolinei for a meale, in the chiefe Inne, where we were well vsed, when in baser Innes we had paid more with vile vsage.

From hence they reckon thirty foure miles to *Bologna*. Wee went on foot three miles to the village *La Torre della fossa*, and in the midst of the way, wee obserued the old bed of the Riuer *Po*, which was now dried vp. From hence we hired a boat for foure bolinei and foure quatrines, and passed in a broad ditch betweene high reedes, to a place called *Mal' Albergo*, that is, the ill lodging, being nine miles; and we vnderstood there, that foure souldiers were drowned the day before in the said ditch by their own folly, playing and tumbling in the boat. We had now passed seuen miles in the State of *Bologna*, and lodging here, each man paid for his supper sixteene bolinei. The next morning a boat went from hence to *Bologna*, but since they asked for each mans passage twenty two bolinei, and that the day was faire and the way very pleasant, we chose to goe on foot these eightene miles to *Bologna*. In the mid-way we came to a Countrey Inne, where they demanding excessiue prices for meat, we forsparring in the beginning of our long iourney, and loth to be made a prey out of their opinion of our gluttony, tooke bread and wine of them at the knowne price, and dined with some prouisions we had with vs; namely, one pound of Raisons, for which we had paid seuen bolinei, a pound of figges at the same price, and a pound of Almonds at the same price, bought at *Ferraria* to this purpose. After this refection we went the rest of our iourney through pleasant fields, manured after the Lumbard fashion, before discribed.

Bologna.

When we entred the gates of *Bologna*, the souldiers demanded a curtesie of vs, which wee gladly gaue them, perceiuing they would not search our portmanteaus, which otherwise by their office they may do. This is a City of *Flaminia*, of old subiect to the *Exarchate* of *Rauenna*, til the Eastern Emperors were cast out of *Italy*, by the conspiring of the Popes with the Kings of *Lombardy*, and so the *Exarchate* was vnited to that Kingdome, and shortly after the Popes likewise conspiring with the French King *Charles* the Great, against the Kings of *Lombardy*, and diuiding *Italy* betweene them, this City fell to the Popes share, howsoeuer they did not then attaine the possession thereof, or at least did not keepe it long: for afterwards the City was subiect to many tyrants, sometimes vnder the Vicounts of *Milano*, and at last inuaded by the Citizens thereof; namely the Family of *Bentiuoli*, vnder pretence to defend the common liberty, till the Pope about the time of the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, conspiring with him to inuade *Italy*, did cast out the *Bentiuoli*, and by little and little reducing the Citizens to obedience, and vsing them to the Church gouernement, did at last set ouer them his *Podesta*, and a Cardinall *Legate* (both strangers) to gouerne them. This popu-
lous

lous City is of a round forme, and of great circuit, but the wals are round about almost fallen downe. The City is seated in a large plaine, and such is the whole territory, onely on the South-side without the wals lie the Apennine mountaines, which diuide *Italy* almost in the midst, all the length thereof euen from *Genoa*, to the furthest limits of the Kingdome of *Naples*, bordering vpon the sea towards the East. On the same South-side, are the schooles of the Vniuersity, and the monastery of Saint *Michael*, and the rich stately monastery of Saint *Dominicke*, in which is the sepulcher of the said Saint curiously engrauen, and of white marble, and vnder a rich skreene lies the body, which they superstitiously worship, and they shew the place where the Saint gaue vp his last breath. Their refectory or place where the Monkes eat, is faire and large, and the Cellars of wine, and their store thereof are so great, as would better become the Temple of *Bacchus*, then a Cloyster of Monkes. It hath two foure-square Court yards, with arched Cloysters to walke vnder, and they be pleasantly planted round about with Cedars, of which they especially esteeme one, planted by the hands of that Saint, who likewise with his owne hand did beautifie a well of water no lesse esteemed by them. Their publike Library is much esteemed for many bookes of written hand, wherein they brag to haue a Bible written by the hand of *Esdras*. The building of this monastery is very stately, and it hath large galleries, as well below vnder the Arches, as round about in the vpper rooffe. Here is a monument of *Hans* (that is *Iohn*) sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, & they haue a place giuen by priuiledge to the Dutch for buriall. The building of the City is anticke, and many houses seeme to haue beene built by the *Lombards*. The foundations of the houses are of free stone, and the rest for the most part of bricke, built with arched Cloysters towards the street, vnder which they walke dry in the greatest raine. The Pallaces of Gentlemen are built towards the street, stately on the inside, but with little shew on the outside, and they all seeme to haue beene built of old. The windows are not glased (which the Venetians brag to be proper to their City, as a thing to be wondered at) but they are couered with paper, whereof part is oyled ouer. Towards the West-side of the City, is a large market place twoforked, in which is a faire conduit of water, with the Images of *Neptune*, and diuers Goddesse powring water out of their mouthes and breasts, and all made of mettall. In this market place is the Senate house, vulgarly called *il palazzo della signoria*, on the one side whereof are the Courts of iudgement, on the other the lodgings of the Gouvernour. At the very entry is a statua of brasse, erected to Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, a Citizen of *Bologna*, which appeares by an inscription in the Cathedrall Church: and within the Pallace is a statua of white stone, erected to Pope *Paul* the third, and another statua of a Gyant. The staires of the Pallace are made winding, and rising by little and little, giue so easie an ascent, as a horse may goe vp without difficulty: (the like staires be at *Ferrara* in the Dukes Pallace, and at *Venice* in the steeple of Saint *Marke*, and at *Torga* a City of *Germany*.) Within the Pallace is the statua of *Iulius* the second, Bishop (or rather the God *Mars*) of *Rome*, engrauen to his shoulders, with a leane and long face. Vpon the doore of the Pallace is written in golden letters, that the Emperour *Charles* the fifth held his Court there, when the Pope put the imperiall Crowne vpon his head, in the Church of Saint *Petronius*, which Church is of the old Lombard building: and this Saint is the protecting Saint of the City. Neere the stately Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peter*, is a house called the mountaine of piety, where poore men may borrow money freely, bringing pawnes, to auoid the oppression of the lewes vsury. Among the Lombard buildings there is an old Tower, called *d'Asinelli*, built of bricke with foure hundred seuentie two staires, which they esteeme one of the highest in Europe. From this Tower without the gates, all the fields are full of Pallaces and Houses. At the gate of Saint *Francis*, is a pinnacle with this inscription: *The Sepulcher of Accursius, who wrote the glosse vpon the Law, Sonne to Francis Hus.* In the territory of this City is a medicinall water, found in the yeere 1375. very famous throughout all *Italy*, of which is prouerbially said; *Chi bene l'Acqua della Porretta, O che lo spezza, o che lo netta*, that is, He that drinks the water of *Porretta*, either it bursts him, or els it cleanseth him. The strangers students here, call the stately Pallace of Cardinall

Camp:

Camp: the finnes of the Dutch, as built by the Fines imposed on them. We staid in this City two daies; and being three consorts, hired a chamber each man for foure bolinei the day, the Hostesse giuing vs linnen, and dressing our meat, and we paid for an Eele by the pound five bolinei, (for they sell fresh water fish by the pound) for a pike the pound foure bolinei, for three apples two quatrines, for a pound of raisons foure bolinei, for a pound of small nuts foure bolinei, for an ingestar of wine (a measure somewhat bigger then the English pint) foure bolinei, for a wax candle six bolinei. It was now the time of Lent, and so we were forced to eat onely fish, as the Italians did.

In the territory of *Bologna*, there is a place almost an Iland, called *Forcelli*, which was an Iland of old, and Historians witnesse, that the *Triumviri*, *Augustus*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, here diuided the world betweene them.

From *Bologna* the right way for *Rome* is directly to *Florence*, which way I neuer passed, disposing (as I thought) my iourney more commodiously; yet for the direction of other passengers, it will not be amisse to set downe the way. From *Bologna* to *Pianoro* are eight miles, to *Lograno* sixe, to *Scaricalasino* five, to *Caurex* three, to *Fiorenzuola* twelue, to *Scarperia* ten, to the bridge Saint *Piera* two, and to *Fiorenza* or *Florence* two miles.

At *Bologna* we chanced to light vpon post horses, being to returne twenty miles to *Imola*, and each of vs paid five poli for his horse. By the way towards the South were pleasant hils, towards the foot of the Apennine mountaines. On the left hand towards the North, were fields manured after the Lombard fashion before described, and we passed by the Castle Saint *Petro*, (the Italians call the walled Townes which haue no Bishops seat, by the name of Castles.) When we entered the gates of *Imola*, according to the custome, we deliuered our swords to a boy, who was to carry them to our Host, that he might keepe them till we went out of the Towne; and here each of vs paid two reali for our supper, and halfe a reale for our bed. The next morning we rode ten miles to the City *Faenza*, through a sandy way, and a barren soyle, yeelding some few vines growing vpon trees, and each man paid for his horse eight poli.

Rauenna.

From hence our right way to *Ancona*, had beene to *Forli* *Cesena*, and *Rimini*; but our desire to see the old famous City of *Rauenna*, made vs goe out of the way twenty miles to the said City, through a dirty way, and fruitfull fields of corne; and each of vs paid seuen poli for his horse. *Rauenna* is a most ancient City, whose wals the Emperour *Tiberius* either built or repaired. Here of old was the harbour for the nauie of *Rome*. Here the Emperour of the East, after the Westerne Empire was extinguished, made the seat of his Exarch. After, by the conspiring of the Popes, and the French Kings, *Pipin* and *Charles* the Great, all the Cities of this Exarchate fell to the Popes share. Yet others write that the French King onely added *Tuscany* to the Patrimony of Saint *Peter*; and it is most certaine that these Cities for long time did not acknowledge the Pope for their Lord, till at last the Popes in like sort conspiring with the French Kings, *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Charles* the eight, had their aide to subdue these Cities, and then Pope *Iulius* the second by terrour of his excommunications extorted *Rauenna* and other Cities from the Venetians, and casting out the Lords of other Cities, the Popes from that time, being very skilfull to fish in troubled waters, haue gotten possession of all the territories, from the confines of the State of *Venice*, to *Ferraria*, *Bologna*, and along the Coast of the Adriaticke sea, to *Ancona*. It is said that *Rauenna* stands not now in his old place, for at this time it is some two miles distant from the Sea: but the soyle thereof is most fruitfull in corne, and vsfit to yeeld wine, and it is rich in pastures. The houses are built of bricke and flint stone, and are so old as they seeme ready to fall. This City hauing been often taken by enemies, hath lost all the ornaments which it had, from so many Exarches and Kings of *Lombardy*, and from the Bishops thereof, who were so powerfull, as they stroue long time for primacy with the Bishops of *Rome*. On the North-side of the City lies the sea, but distant from the same, and without the wals is a wood of Pine-trees, and not farre thence lie the ruines of a very old and most faire Church, Saint *Mary* the Round, whose rooffe was admirable, being of one stone, and in the same Church was the rich sepulcher of the Lombard

bard King *Theodoricus*, which the souldiers pulled downe with the Church, to get the mettals thereof. On the East-side the sea lies some two Italian miles distant, where is the Hauen for ships, so much spoken of in the Roman Histories, where the nauy of *Rome* did winter, yet is it now neither conuenient nor secure for ships; neither indeed can any but very small boates come vp to the Towne. On the South-side without the golden gate (built by the Emperour *Claudius*) lie the ruines of a stately Pallace, built by the same King *Theodoricus*, and likewise of the City *Casaria*. In a Chappell of the Cathedrall Church is a most rich Font, and they report that many Kingly monuments were of old in this Church. In the market place lies a vessell of Porphyry, a Kingly monument, which the Citizens in the yeere 1564. brought from the foresaid sepulcher of King *Theodoricus* in the ruined Church of Saint *Mary*, neere the gate on the North-side. In the monastery of Saint *Francis*, is the sepulcher of the Poet *Dantes*, with these verses in Latin;

Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte iacebas;

Squallenti nullis cognite penè situ.

At nunc marmoreo subnixus conderis Arcu;

Omnibus & cultu splendidiore nites.

Nimirum Bembus Musis incensus Hetruscis

Hoc tibi (quem in prius hac coluere) dedit.

In a poore Tombe *Dantes* thou didst lie here;

The place obscure made thee almost vnknowne;

But now a marble cheft thy bones doth beare,

And thou appearest fresh as flower new blowne.

Bembus with *Tuscane* Muses rauished,

Gave this to thee, whom they most cherished.

In the yeere 1483. the sixth of the Kalends of *Iune*, *Bernar: Bembus* the Prætor, laid this at his owne charge: *The strength, merit, and crowne of the Friars minoris conuent.* S. V. F. and these verses were added in Latin;

Iura Monarchia, superos; Phlegetonta, lacusq;

Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousq;

Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris;

Aeternamq; suum petijt felicior Astris.

Hic claudor Dantes; patris extorris ab oris,

Quem genuit parui Florentia Mater Amoris.

The Monarchies, Gods, Lakes, and Phlegeton,

I searcht and sung, while my Fates did permit;

But since my better part to heauen is gone,

And with his Maker mongst the starres doth sit,

I *Dantes* a poore banishd man lie here;

Whom *Florence* Mother of sweet Loue did beare.

In the Church of Saint *Vitalis* the pauement is of marble, and the wals all couered with precious stones of many kinds, but vnpolished as they were taken out of the mines, shew great antiquity and magnificence, and doe not a little delight the beholder. Also there be certaine Images grauen in some stones, I know not whether by nature, or strange art, which are to be admired. Among which I remember one stone had the picture of a Turke in all the apparell they weare; another the Image of a Monke in his habit, another of a Priest with his bald head, and two other, the one most like the foot the other the leg of a man. There is an Altar of Alabaster, and the Church is of a round forme, whose rooffe is painted *À la Mosaica*, like engrauiing (of which kind of painting rare and much esteemed in *Italy*, I haue spoken before in the description of *Venice*). In this Church is a fountaine of water, which by vertue giuen it from this Saint (as they say) being thrice drunke off, giues remedy to the head-ach. Another Church of Saint *Geruasius* is so ioined to this of Saint *Vitalis*, as it seemed to mee but a Chappell thereof; and in this Church also is the Saint buried, of whom it hath the name: and there be also the sepulchers of *Flacidia*, sister to the Emperour, *Honorius*, and

of her sonnes and daughters, and of her nurse, with her husband. Here wee paid each man three poli for his supper.

From *Rauenna* we rode thirtie five miles to the old Citie *Rimini* (namely, ten to *Sa. uio*, five to *Ceruia*, five to *Cesnadigo*, and fiftene to *Rimini*) through wild fenny fields, and a great Wood of Pine-trees, and by the sandie shoare of the sea, betweene which and the Apenine Mountaines (diuiding *Italy* by the length) the Valley was so narrow, as we continually did see the snowy toppes of those Mountaines towards the South, and for the most part did see together with them the *Adriatique* sea towards the North. In the foresaid Castle *Cesnadigo*, the Post-master would haue forced vs to take new post-horses, if he that let our horses to vs, had not pleased him, by the paiment of some money: for the post-horses are knowne by a list of furre they weare in their bridles; and if a man ride into a Towne vpon a Post-horse, he must either goe away on foote, or take another Post-horse there, for no priuate man dare let him a horse, which makes passengers loth to hier post-horses of returne, though many times they may be had at good rate, rather then he will returne emptie with them; yet if a man will walke a mile or two, he may easily hier a horse in other Townes, which are frequent in *Italy*. And let no man maruel, that these Princes fauour the Post-masters and Inkeepers to the preiudice of strangers, because in that respect they extort great rents from them. By the way, in the Village *Bel' Aria*, each of vs paid two bolinei for passage of a Riuer. The Brooke *Rubico*, now called *Pissatello*, by this way to *Rimini*, did runne from the West into the *Adriatique* sea, and there of old was a Marble pillar, with this inscription in Latin; *Here stay, leaue thy Banner, lay down thy Armes, and leade not thy Army with their Colours beyond this Brooke Rubico; therefore if any shall goe against the rule of this commaund, let him be iudgedemie to the people of Rome, &c.* And hereupon it was, that *Iulius Caesar* returning out of *France*, and first stopping here, and then after he had seene some prodigious signes, passing ouer this Brooke with his Army, vttered words in Lattin to this effect; *Let vs goe whither the prodigies of the Gods, and the sinnes of our enemies call vs. The Die is cast.*

Rimini.

In the Market-place of *Rimini* is a monument of the same *Caesar* yet remaining, where words in the Latin tongue are grauen in a stone to this effect; *The Consuls of Rimini did repaire this paupit, decayed with age, in the moneths of Nouember and December, in the yeere 1555.* Vnder that is written; *Caius Caesar Dictator hauing passed Rubico, here in the Market place of Rimini spake to his fellow souldiers, beginning the ciuill warre.* In the same Market-place of *Rimini* is a pleasant Conduit of water. The Citie hath no beautie, and lyeth in length from the East to the West. On the West-side is a bridge built by the Emperour *Augustus*, which they hold to be very faire. Towards the East is a Triumphall Arke, built by the same *Augustus*, with old inscriptions, and a pinackle erected, which shewes the Flaminian way to *Rome*, and the Emilian way towards *Parma*.

I said, that the Popes territory extendeth this way as high as *Ancona*, and these inhabitants of *Marca* are accounted a wicked generation, the greatest part of the cut-throtes and murtherers dispersed through *Italy*, being borne in this Country. Our Hoste vsed vs very ill, demaunding of each of vs a poli for our bed, and three polo for our supper, and when we desired a reckoning, demaunding for a little piece of an Ele one polo and a halfe, and for three little Soles tenne bolinei, besides that by the aforesaid priuiledge, he forced vs (being Post-master) to take horses of him at what price he listed.

Pesaro.

The next morning we rode fiftene miles to the Castle *la Catholica*, where is a bridge diuiding the territories of the Pope, and the Duke of *Vrbine*: then we rode to *Pesaro* ten miles, and each man paid for his horse foure poli, and all our way was through fruitful hills and little mountaines.

This Citie hath a faire round Market-place, and a pleasant Fountaine therein, distilling water at eight pipes. The aire is thought vnwholesome; for which cause, and the great plentie of fruit, nothing is more frequent here, then Funerals in the Moneth of August, and the Inhabitants seldome liue to be 50 yeeres old: each of vs paid a Polo for our dinner, calling for what meate we liked, and agreeing first for the price.

From hence to *Ancona* are fortie five miles, and wee hired three Horses for twentie five

five Poli, with condition, that our guide (vulgarly called *Veturale*, or *Veturino*, should pay for his horse-meate, and bring them backe againe. After dinner we rode five miles to the little City *Fano*, compassed with high walles of Flint, and lying vpon a hill-side towards the sea, and subiect to the Pope, where we did see a triumphall arck of marble, curiously engrauen. Then we rode fifteene miles more to *Senogallia*, a strong Citie, and subiect to the Duke of *Vrbino*. By the way we passed the Bridge *Di Metro* (hauing foure-score Archés) and the Bridge *Di Marettia* (hauing fiftie Arches), both built of wood, and very low, as seruing to passe ouer little Brookes; which notwithstanding, by reason of the Mountaines being neere, doe often ouer-flow. All this dayes iourney was by the Sea-shore on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull hills of corne towards the South, ouer which hung the Apenine Mountaines; whence many times the waters discend violently, by reason of the narrow valley betweene the sea and the said Mountaines. It is prouerbiably said of the Magistrate of *Senogallia*; *Il Podestà comanda & fallo stesso*: that is, The Gouvernour commaunds, and doth it himselfe; whereby it seemes he is little esteemed. The Citie is of a small circuit, but very strong, and the houses are built of bricke, with a roofo something flat, after the Italian fashion: The Inne is without the gate, and so the more comodious for strangers; who may come late, and departe earely, which they could not do, if their lodging were within the walls. It is true, that he who buyes hath need to sell; for the Duke extorting great rent from the Inkeeper, he in like sort oppresseth the passengers: for a short supper at a common table, each man payed foure Poli, or Poali (a coine so called of Pope Paul). The next morning we rode fifteene miles to *Fimesino*, and thence to *Ancona*, hauing the sea on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull mountaines on our right hand towards the South. *Fimesino* is a Fort, and belongs to the Pope, but the Inne without the gate belongs to the Duke of *Vrbino*: And againe, when you haue passed the Bridge, all the Territorie to *Ancona* is subiect to the Pope.

The Citie of *Ancona* is compassed with three Mountaines, and hath the forme of a halfe Moone. On the North side is a Mountaine, vpon which the Gouvernour dwelles, and vpon the East side is another Mountaine; and vpon the side of these two Mountaines the Citie is built to the valley, and sea-side, towards the North. On the South-side is the third Mountaine, vpon which is the Castle called *Capo de Monte*, built in the same place where the Temple of *Venus* stode; and vpon this side the Citie is narrow, there being no houses built vpon the Mountaine, but onely in the valey vpon the sea. The Pope hath souldiers in this Castle, and thereby keepe the Citie in subiection: for the Citizens long defended their liberty, and howsoeuer they were subiect to the Pope, yet secretly chose their Magistrates euery yeere, to the yeere 1532; at which time Pope *Clement* the seuenth built this Castle against the Turkish Pirates. but besides he vsed it to bring the Citizens in absolute subiection. The streetes are narrow, and the wayes ill paved with Flint. The Hauen is of a triangular forme, and is now very pleasant, as of old it was of great fame for a most secure Port, yet it seemed not to me capable of many or great ships. Perhaps it was of old fit to receiue the Roman Nauie of Gallies; but since they haue neglected to preserve it. *Traiane* the Emperour repaired this Hauen, and adorned it with a stately triumphall Arke of marble, which remains to this day. About this Hauen there is pleasant walking, and the place where the Marchants meete, called *la Loggia*, lying vpon the sea, is as sweete an open roome, as euer I saw; but narrow, and nothing answerable for stately building to the Exchange of London. It is beautified with sweete pictures, among which one of an Angell, which looks right vpon you, on which side soeuer you behold it, is much esteemed. They haue a prouerb, one *Peter* in *Rome*, one Tower in *Cremona*, and one Hauen in *Ancona* (for the excellency of them). Neere the gate of the Citie (to my remembrance) on the East-side, is a very sweete Fountaine, powring water out of many heads of stone.

At *Ancona*, according to the custome of passengers, we agreed with a Vetturine, or letter of horses, that each of vs paying him fiftie five Poli, hee should finde vs horses, and horse-meate, and our owne diet to Rome; and to this end his seruant followed vs

on foote, after the fashion of the Italians, who ride slowly, and these seruants are called *Vetturini*, or *Vetturali*. Now we were to crosse the bredth of *Italy*, frō the Adriatique to the Tyrrhene Sea. The first day in the Morning, we rode fiftene miles to a little Citie, called *Madonna di Loretto*, through fruitfull Mountaines, and passing an high Promontary. By the way was an Altar, with this inscription in Latin; *O passenger, goe on merrily, &c. Gregorie the thirteenth hath well pauerd the rest of the way.* The like inscription is in the ascent of the Mountaine, vpon which the little Citie *Loreto* stands: for this way (in a fruitfull Countrey of corne, and a dirty soile) was pauerd at the charge of the said Pope.

Loreto.

A certaine chamber hath giuen beginning to this Citie and the Church thereof, then which nothing is esteemed more holy among the Pāpists; and because many gifts of great price vse to be giuen by vow to our Lady of this Church, the City is well fortified against Pirats, who did once spoile the same, and were like againe to be inuited by the hope of rich spoiles to the like attempt, if the Towne lay vnfortified. It is of little circuit, and lieth in length from East to the West, so narrow, as it hath almost but one streete in the bredth, and all the houses of this streete are Innes, or Shops of them that sell Beades to number prayers. On the East side, after a steepe descent of a Mountaine, lies a valley of two miles, and beyond that the sea. On the North side, towards *Ancona*, though the sea be very farre distant, yet from this Citie, seated vpon a high Mountaine, it may easily be seene. Vpon the dores of this Church, famous for mens superstitious worship, these verses are written:

*Il lotus tmeat quicunq; intrara, Sacellum,
In terris nullum sanctius orbis habet.*

Enter not here vnwasht of any spot,
For a more holy Church the world hath not.

At the Church dore is a statua of brasfe erected to Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth. As I walked about the Church, behold in a darke Chappell a Priest, by his Exorcismes casting a diuell out of a poore woman: Good Lord what fencing and truly coniuring words he vsed! How much more skilfull was he in the diuels names? then any ambitious Roman euer was in the names of his Citizens, whom he courted for their voices. If he had eaten a bushell of salt in hell; If he had been an inhabitant thereof, surely this Art could neuer haue been more familiar to him. He often spake to the ignorant woman in the Latin tongue, but nothing lesse then in *Tullies* phrase, and at last the poore wretch, either hired to deceiue the people, or (if that be more probable) drawne by familiar practice with the Priest, or at least affrighted with his strange language and cries, confessed her selfe dispossessed by his exorcisme. In the body of the Church, a Table of written hand, in the Greeke, Latin, and many other tongues, was fastened to a Piller, setting downe at large the wonderfull historie of the Chamber in the midst of the Church, which I confesse was lesse curiously obserued by me, abhorring from that superstition, & hastening from thence as much as I might; yet giue me leaue to set down the sum thereof out of the itinerary of *Villamont* a French Gentleman. This Chamber or Chappell (saith he) is the very house, in which the Queene Virgin of *Nazaret* was borne, brought vp, and saluted by the Angell, foretelling her of Christs birth, and in which Christ was conceived, and in which the Virgin dwelt after Christs ascention, accompanied with the holy Apostles, especially with Saint *John* by Christs commaund, which the Apostles after the Virgins death, for the great mysteries done here, turned into a Chappell, consecrated to the sacrificing of Christ, and dedicated the same, and with their owne hands, made the great Crosse of wood, now set in the window of the Chappell, and in which Saint *Luke* made with his hand the picture and Image now set aboue it. Let mee adde: This Chappell from a House became a Chamber, and of a Chamber was made a Chappell, and it is built of bricke, and is thirtie foote long, twelue and a halfe broad. In the chimney (as *Villamont* saith) as yet remaine the holy ashes, which no man dare take away, and the Altar also, vpon which the Masse is sung, was made by the Apostles hand. There is a roome

Let the
Reader be-
leeue as he
list.
Woe to him
that be-
leues.
Woe to him
that be-
leues.

roome into which you first enter, which is diuided from the Chappel by an iron grate, for no man enters the chappell without leaue, but must say his prayers in the outter roome; yet leaue is giuen to any that aske it. *Villamont* addeth, that he found by diligent search, that this Chappell was much reuerenced in the primitiue Church: but the holy land being subdued by Saracens, then by Turkes; he saith it hapned in the yeere 1291. that this house was taken vp from the foundations, by Angels, who in the night miraculously carried it to the Sea shoare of *Sclauonia*, where it was made knowne to the people by the shining of the Virgines Image, and then by a vision of a religious man, the Virgine her selfe made knowne the History to him. He addeth the Virgins Oration, wherein shee giues her selfe many titles, which in later ages were first inuented, and shee doth so extoll her owne praises with her owne mouth, as hee that reades the old song of the blessed Virgin, would cry out with the Latine Poet, onely changing the name. *O how is she changed from that Virgin*, which so modestly spake of her selfe.

Villamont addeth, that messengers were sent into *Palestina*, who found this History to be most true: yet this Chappell did not long abide in *Sclauonia*, but the Angels in the yeere 1294. tooke it vp againe, and transported it to this Sea coast of *Italy*, where againe it was made knowne by the shining of the Image, and many miracles daily done; whereupon the Chappell of the Image was called *Madonna di Loreto*, that is, our Lady of *Loreto*. And because theeuers lying in the wood, did spoile strangers, who daily came thither for deuotion, the Angels (as he saith) the third time tooke it vp, and set it downe in a priuate possession of two brothers, who disagreeing in the diuision of the profit rising by the concourse of people, the Angels the fourth time tooke it vp, and placed it in this firme seat, where now it remaineth. After it was often visited by strangers, *Pope Paul* the second built an other stately Church ouer it, *Pope Leo* the tenth hauing first fortified the little City against Pirates. Let me adde, that *Pope Sixtus* the fifth, borne in this *Marea* of *Ancona*, established a Bishop in this Towne, and so made it a City. *Villamont* relating the treasure of this Church, among the rest, nameth certaine Mapps of Cities, and Mountaines, and the Images of the twelue Apostles, a great Crucifix, Candlesticks, and infinite Vessels of siluer, Images, Chalices, Crosses, of gold, and many precious stones of huge value, two Crosses made all of precious stones (whereof one was giuen by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*), and a Harte of gold set with precious stones (the gift of the Duchesse of *Lorayne*) and a vessell of huge value, which the French King *Henrie* the third gaue, with this inscription:

Vt qua prola tua Mundum Regina beasti.

Et regnum & Regem prole beare velis.

Henri. III. Franc. & Pol. Reg.

Christianiss. M. D. LXXXIII.

Additaq. Regni insignia.

O Queene who with thy Childe the world hast blest,

Let not this King and Kingdome childlesse rest.

Of *Henry* the third, of *France* and *Poland* most Christian King, in the yeere 1584.

The Armes of the Kingdome are also set vpon it.

Thus farre *Villamont* relates,

He remembers no gift of greater value, then this of *Henrie* the third, yet (with leaue be it spoken) this King, a very slaue to the Romane Church, obtained not his petition. All these gifts are giuen vpon vowes, and my selfe did see in the outward roome of the Chappell (into which all are admitted) a Galley vnder all sailes, all of beaten gold, giuen by the vow of the Duke of *Florence*, vpon the recouery of his health. *Villamont* adds that this Chapel is compassed with a wal of white Marble, curiously engrauen, but that this wall could neuer by any art bee fastned to the Chappell, and that the Chappell is also compassed with twentie pillars, bearing the Images of ten Prophets, and the ten Sybills. Hee adds, that many miracles are heere done, and first giues instance in the person of the Marques of *Baden*, in the yeere 1584. Secondly he sets it downe

This Image neuer rested till it came into the Popes Territory, where it is not more helpefull to others, then profitable to the Pope and Church men.

Behold how holy these walles of bricke are, which cannot abide the impure touch of Marble.

for a Maxime, and proues it by an example, that no man euer tooke any thing out of this Church, without great mischief betalling him; and that the robbers thereof are compelled to restore, as it were by infernall furies. Let me say truly (alwaies reseruing due reuerence to the blessed Virgin, to whom the Scriptures teach such diuine worship to be most vnpleasing, as the Papiſts yeeld her), I say let me with due reuerence tell a truth. My selfe and two Dutch-men my consorts, abhorring from this superstition, by leaue entred the inner Chappell, where we did see the Virgins picture, adorned with pretious Jewels, and the place (to increase religious horror) being darke, yet the Jewels shined by the light of wax candles. When we were entred, the Priest courteously left vs, to giue vs space for our deuotion: but when we came forth (as the Italians prouerbially speake of the Priests auarice, Euery Psalme ends in, *Glory be, &c.* as if they should say, All religion to end in profit) it was necessarie for vs to cast almes into an iron chest behind the Altar, couered with an iron grate. Therefore my consorts, of purpose to delight the Priests eares with the sound of money, as with musicke, did cast into that chest many brasse quatrines, but of small value, and my selfe being last, when my turne was to giue almes, did in stead thereof, gather some tenne quatrines of theirs, which lay scattered vpon the grate, and got that cleare gaine by that Idoll. God forbid I should bragge of any contempt to Religion; but since it appeares, that such worship is vnpleasing to God: and because Papiſts will haue all their miracles beleeued, I will freely say by experience, that hauing gotten these few quatrines in such sort as I said, yet after that, God of his mercy preserued me in my long and dangerous trauell, and from that time to this day, by his grace, I haue enioyed, though no abundant, yet a competent estate, and more plentiful then in my former dayes. The fourth miracle related by *Villamont* (for I omit the third) is worth al the rest, which he saith hangs vp in this Church, written in the Italian tongue, and also printed; namely, that a French woman possessed with a diuel, came hither, and being exorcised by a holy Canon, did answer, that she had seuen deuils, and he casting them out, that the first called *Sordo*, at his comming forth blew out a torch; and that the second was called *Heroth*, the third *Venteloth*, the fourth *Sircto*. And while hee makes them all (without torture or commaund) to confesse their own wicked acts; and while he omitteth the other three, yet he doth not omit that the fourth told the Priest things vnknowne to the world, namely, that he shewed him the stone, vpon which the Angell stood, when hee saluted the Virgin; and likewise the place where the Virgin at that time stood, and that those places were afterward no lesse worshipped then the Chappell it selfe. This *Villamont* relates. Of these things reuealed by the diuell, giue me leaue to say, that if the diuell had been the greatest friend the Church of Rome hath, he could not haue told a more profitable thing to it, and that the Roman Church is not altogether vngratefull, which beleeueth the father of lies in so great a matter, and doth not so much as put him to his oath: but they are wise, to be of *Ouids* opinion,

Cur ego non votis blandiar ipse meis?

Why should I not flatter my owne desires?

I will ende the rest in one word. There is incredible concourse to this place from all parts professing the Roman Religion, neither is any man in the most remote parts of *Europe* oppressed with any calamity, but hee vowes some gift to this Image. In this Church I did see fiftie banished men, vulgarly called *Banditi*, who were banished for murthers, and such like crimes, and now had their pardon, vpon condition, that for some yeeres they should serue the Emperour in *Hungarie* against the Turks. These men abhorred in all *Italy*, yet (no doubt) at this time very deuout, did make stiffe vows, to expiate their sinnes, and to haue happie returne out of *Hungarie*, yet they held their hands from giuing any large almes. My selfe and my consorts were all this day fasting, for it had been an vnperdonable sinne to haue demaunded meate in our Inne, before wee had been in the Church, and would haue giuen open occasion to suspect our Religion. At last when wee returned to the Inne, our Vetturine gaue vs our dinner.

The same day after a slight dinner we rode foureteene miles, vpon a causey paved with

with stone, and winding about a mountaine, then through fields abounding with Oliue trees, but hauing no vines, and we came to the City *Macerata*, where the Popes Legat lies, and keepes his chancery for this *Marca of Ancona*. Part of this Prouince yeelds rich wine, whereof they haue onely white wine in the Innes. The second day in the morning, we rode twenty two miles to *Poluerina*, through a pleasant way, and fruitfull fields, yeelding corne and oliues. And by the way neere the City *Tollentino*, were the confines of the *Marca of Ancona*, and of the Dukedome of *Spoletò*. After dinner we rode ten miles to the Castle *Sereuallo*, through stony and barren mountaines. The third day in the morning we rode sixteene miles to *Fuligni*, through most stony and barren mountaines, which are called *Apennine*, and diuide the length of *Italy*, and through a large plaine planted with oliue trees, and compassed about with mountaines. This City was built vpon the ruines of the City *Forum Flaminium*.

After dinner we rode ten miles to the City *Spoletò*, through a firtle plaine, but stony, yeelding together in the same field, vines, corne, Almond and Oliue trees, and at the end of the plaine this City is seated, partly in a plaine, partly on the side of a mountaine, vpon the top whereof is a strong Castle, built vpon the ruines of an old Amphitheater, to the which men passe ouer a bridge of stone, vpheld by twenty four great pillars & ioyning two mountaines, which haue a deepe valley between them, but narrow and without water. In the Church of this Castle, they shew a picture of the blessed Virgin painted with Saint *Lakes* hand, of which kind there is an infinit number among the Papists. *Theodoricus* King of the *Gothes*, built a stately Pallace in the City, which being ruined, *Narses* the Eunuch Gouvernour of *Italy* vnder the Easterne Emperour did rebuild it. The Dukedome of *Spoletò* is subiect to the Pope, who tooke it, when he cast the Easterne Emperours out of *Italy*, and after extorted the grant thereof from the renewed Westerne Emperours. And the soile of this Dukedome is most fruitfull, of corne, wine, almond, and oliue trees, and of most sweet fruits. Of the wine *Martiall* thus writes;

De Spoletanis quæ sunt curiosa lagenis

Malueris, quam si musta Falerna hibas.

If with *Spoletò* bottels once you meet,

Say that *Falerno* mustis not so sweet.

The fourth day in the morning, we rode ten miles through stony and most barren mountaines, and five miles through a fertile plaine; wherein grew together corne, vines, and oliue trees, (which trees I obserued alwaies to grow in stony ground, which soyle in *Italy* vseth to be more firtile then other,) and seuen miles through a more firtile plaine; in the end whereof is the City *Narni*, whose situation is altogether like that of *Spoletò*. The Italians told me that the soyle of this territory, is made dirty with the sunne and wind, and dusty with raine, which since I haue found confirmed by learned Cosmographers. On the South-side of *Narni*, the Riuer *Negra* falls with great noise from a steepe Rocke, and the Friar *Leandro* (who hath best described *Italy*) affirms that the Riuer *Velino* makes a Fen, (which *Cicero* numbers among wonderful things,) and that this Fen endeth in a Lake, of old called *Velinus*, now vulgarly called *Lago di pie di luco*, and that betweene the running out of the waters, there is a Fountaine of *Neptune*, (which *Pliny* hath described) and that this Lake is the Nauell or midst of *Italy*; and lastly, that the water falling into the Lake (compassed with mountaines) by steepe discents, maketh noises like the groanes, yellings, and sighes of infernall spirits. From whence, and by other arguments, he seemes to proue plainly, that the verses of *Virgill* in the seuenth Booke of his *Aeneados*, are meant of this place, and that others are deceiued, who thinke them meant by *Tenaso* in *Apulia*, especially since the vallies *Ansancti* are in this place, vulgarly called *Nesanto*, for *Ansancto*, which signifies on all sides holy, because they are fertile. The verses of *Virgil* are these;

Est locus Italiae in medio, sub montibus altis,

Nobilis, & fama multis memoratur in oris,

Ansancti valles, &c.

Hic specus horrendum, & seui spiracula Ditis,

I 4

Monstran-

+ + +

CE

Monstrantur, &c.

Italies Center hath great Mounts beneath

A noble place, which is farre knowne by fame,

The *Ansancti* valleyes, &c.

A dreadfull hole, whereat fierce *Dis* doth breath;

Here may be seene, &c.

After dinner, we rode twelue miles to a little Towne, lying beyond the Riuer *Tyber*, namely, eight miles to the Castle *Otricoli*, through woody Mountaines, and Valyes bearing Olive trees, and come together with those trees; and from thence to the side of the Riuer *Tyber* two miles in pasture fieldes. Here we passed to the West-side of this so famous Riuer, where of old the Emperour *Augustus* built a stately bridge; but now men and horse passe in a ferry-boate, which is drawne ouer with the force of mens hands, by a great cable fastned a-crosse the Riuer. And lest the boate should be carried away with the swift streame, a second cable is fastned a-crosse the Riuer by postes on each side higher then a man; and they haue a third short cable, to the one end whereof the boate is fastened, and the other end hath a strong wheele, which is put vpon the second high cable, vpon which the boat slips forward; as it is drawne with mens hands by the first low cable: for the bed of the *Tyber* is broade in this place, and hath his spring not far off, among the high *Apenine* Mountains, and falling thence with great force, would carry away any boat rowed with oares: But from thence the bed of the Riuer grows narrow, and is such at *Rome*, as it scarce deserues the name of a Brooke, and nothing answers the glorious fame which Italians haue giuen it, who alwaies extoll their owne things to theskie: Hereupon it is necessarie, that when any store of raine falls, or much snow suddenly meltes, those waters falling from the Mountaines, should ouerflow the fields, and the Citie of *Rome* it selfe, as they haue often done, with great danger of the Citie, the same being not farre distant from this Ferrey, and these high Mountaines, among which the riuer hath his spring. But from *Rome* it runs in a narrow bed 12 miles to *Ostia* with a slow course, and there endeth in Lakes, the mouth of the hauen being so stopped, as the least Barks cannot passe to & from the sea. Here beyond our expectatiō, our *Veturine* alleaged, that he had agreed with vs to pay for our diet, not for our passages of Riuers; by which captious trick, each of vs was forced to pay two *Giulij* for our passage ouer the Riuer. Of the foresaid twelue miles to the little towne where of I spake, two miles remained, which we rode, and there lodged that night. The fifth day in the morning, wee rode seuentene miles to *Castel' nuouo*, through woody Mountaines, and Valies of corne, in a way very dirty and slippery; and here our *Veturine* tied to pay for our diet, put a new tricke vpon vs, saying, that he would not dine, but goe on to *Rome*, yet if wee pleased to dine, hee would out of his duty stay for vs, otherwise being ready to finish the rest of his iourney. We smiled at the knaues craft, and each of vs paid two poli and a halfe for our dinners.

Rome

After dinner we rode thirteene miles to *Rome* (of old the Head-Citie of the World) through winding hills and pastures; and when we came to the first Gate, we did meete many English men on horse-back, without bootes, being all Priests, going to *Madonna di Loreto*. I was much afraid, lest some of them being Schollers of *Cambridge*, should know me brought vp in the same Vniuersitie; neither was the hearing of the English tongue, or the sight of English men, euer before so vnpleasing to me. From this first Gate we rode, in the way of *Flaminius*, by the winding banck of *Tyber*, and many caues vnder mountaines and hills, to the bridge called *Ponte-Mole*, which vniteth the said way of *Flaminius*, lying on both sides the Riuer, and there wee passed to the East-side of the said Riuer *Tyber*; and passing on the same way of *Flaminius*, we entered the Citie by a large Gate, vulgarly called *Porta del Popolo*, and by a Market-place vulgarly called *Foro del Popolo*, in which Market-place is the Church of *S. Mary del Popolo*.

C H A P. II.

Of my iourney to Naples, and my returne to Rome, and of the description of both Cities. Of my iourney cursory to Sienna, Fiorenza, Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa, and the description of the three last Cities.



Deferring the view of *Rome* till my returne, I thought best to passe on presently to *Naples*, lest if I had staid longer, I might perhaps haue beene betraied into the hands of the Spaniards when I should come thither, for that Kingdome is subiect to the Spaniards, with whom the English then had warre: besides that in like cases, delay breeds danger; into which if I should haue fallen, I hoped to escape with more ease and contentment, when I had beene at the furthest of my iourney. Therefore according to the fashion,

I agreed with a Vetturine at *Rome*, for forty foure Giulij to giue me a horse to *Naples*, and to pay for my diet and horsemeat. I say it is the fashion, especially in waies of danger and trouble to get meat, that passengers should agree with their Vetturine for their diet; which if they doe not, they shall be subiect to the fraud of Hosts, in such a iourney, and hardly get so good meat as they, who daily passing, are well acquainted in all places. And in this tumultuary iourney to *Naples*, it is most of all necessary for strangers thus to agree with their Vetturine, since the Hosts are great extorters from all men, and especially from strangers; and it would be difficult for strangers not knowing the fashion of that hasty iourney and of the Country, to prouide for themselves. When we went out of *Rome*, our consorts suddenly in a broad street lighted from their horses, and gaue them to the Vetturines to hold, and so went themselves to the *Holy staires*, vulgarly called *Le scale sante*, that they might there pray for a happy iourney; at which time my selfe and my consorts slipped into the next Church, and going in at one doore, and out at the other, escaped the worshipping of those holy staires, and at fit time came to take our horses with the rest. They say that these staires were the same which Christ ascended in *Pilates* house at *Ierusalem*; and that they were from thence brought to *Rome*: and indeed at *Ierusalem* the place of them lies void, so as I would in this much rather beleue the Romans, then in the transportation of the Chamber at *Loreto*, which they would haue done by the Angels, and that often and at vnseasonable times, whereas in so many voyages into *Palestine* it was not difficult to bring these staires from thence. Yet they being of marble, and very rich, I would faine know how such a monument could be preserved, when *Ierusalem* was destroyed. And if they say they belonged to that house of *Pilate*, which they shew at this day, I dare be bold to affirme that the magnificence of these staires is nothing answerable to the poore building of that house.

The twelfth of *March* we rode twelue miles to *Marino*, a Castle belonging to the Roman Family of *Colonna*, and we passed through a fruitfull plaine of corne, hauing on our right hand towards the South, the ruines of old *Rome*, and the Castle *Tuscolo*, where *Cicero* wrote his *Tusculane* questions, not farre from *Palestrina*, of old called *Preneste*, where *Marius* besieged by *Scylla*, killed himself; & we might often see the Tyrrhene sea: and hauing vpon our left hand towards the North, an anticke conduit, made of bricke, lying all the length of the way from *Rome* to the Easterne mountaines, in which *Marino* is seated, and from whence the water was so farre brought to *Rome*, and vpon the same side hauing a new conduit built by Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, when the pipes of the other were broken: but the same is much lower and lesse magnificent then the other, and vpon this hand we had mountaines not farre distant. *Marino* was of old called *Mariana villa*, and from this Castle the mountaines which by the way we had on our left hand toward the North, crosse ouer to the Tyrrhene sea,

towards

towards the South, shutting vp the large plaine from *Rome* hither. And these mountaines planted with vines, and hauing a sweet prospect into the same plaine, are very pleasant. Whereupon there be very many Pallaces of Roman Senators built vpon these mountaines, which lying high, of the fresh aire, vulgarly this place is called *La Frescada*. Among these mountaines in the Village *Tiuoli*, the deceased Cardinall *Hippolito* of *Este*, built a Pallace and a wonderfull garden, which being ten mile distant from the City of *Rome*, the passengers for the most part hauing seene *Rome*, did in the Cardinals time, and yet many times doe passe that way. For it resembles a terrestriall Paradise, by reason of the fountaines, statuaes, caues, groues, fishponds, cages of birds, Nightingales flying loose in the groues, and the most pleasant prospect. In this Castle *Marino* we made some stay, to expect some passengers which were longer detained at *Rome* by their businesse.

And the Pope in this place giues fixty Horsmen Musqueters to accompany the Carrier, vulgarly called *Il Procaccia*, and to defend him from the spoyling of banished men, vulgarly called *Banditi*. And for this cause all passengers goe in this Carriers company, neither dare any passe alone. For these banished men lurking vpon the confines of the Popes State and the Kingdome of *Naples*, many times make excursions as farre as these mountaines, to doe robberies, and the weeke last past they had killed many passengers, and had robbed the Carrier, who doth not onely beare letters, but leades many Mules laded with goods. The chiefe of these banished men was the Nephew (so they call Church-mens bastards) of the Cardinall *Caietano*, who hauing eight thousand crownes yeerely reut in these parts, was banished by the Pope, and he vnderstanding that a Roman Gentleman passed with that Carrier, who had great friends about the Pope, and hoping to make his peace by taking him prisoner, did for that cause assaile that Carrier and his guard, till hearing that the Gentleman while they fought, had escaped to the next City, he withdrew himselfe & his men into the mountaines. This danger from banished men, makes the iourney to *Naples* very troublesome; and it is not safe nor lawfull for any man to leaue the company of this Carrier. So as the passengers rise before day, and take horse, and so sitting all the day, yet ride not about twenty miles, for the slow pace of the mules, and at noone they haue no rest, onely when they haue the Inne in sight, so as there is no danger of theeuers, they are permitted to gallop before, that they may eat a morsell, or rather deuoure it: for as soone as the mules are past, they must to horse againe, euery man not onely making hast for his owne safety, but the souldiers forcing them to be gone, who are more slow then the rest. To conclude the mules going a very slow pace, it was very irkesome to the passengers to rise before day, and to follow them step by step.

Hauing dined at *Marino*, and our full company being come, we together with our guard of horse-men rode eight miles to *Velitri*, through wooddy mountaines, infamous for the robberies of banished men, and vpon our right hand towards the South and towards the Tyrrhene sea, was a Lake vulgarly called *Lago Nymphae*, which the old Romans (delighted with doing difficult things) vsed to fill with sea water, and therein to make nauall fights. One wood by which we passed was more dangerous then the rest, where the Pope maintaines forty foot to assist the Guard of horse, till they haue passed the same. The discent of the last mountaine neere *Velitri*, was two miles long, yet pleasant by reason of the multitude of Vines growing vpon short stakes, which vse to yeeld the richest wine. *Velitri* is by writers called *Belitre*, an old City of the *Volsci*, and famous for the birth of the Emperour *Augustus*, and the dwelling of the Octavian Family. The second day in the morning we rode thirteene or foureteene miles to *Sermoneta*, and in the midst of the way our guard of horse left vs, and their trumpet asked of euery man a gift in curtesie, which we gladly gaue, and there new horsmen meeting vs, tooke vpon them our guard. After dinner we rode eight miles to a little towne *La casa nuova*, and fiue miles to an old City, which *Liuy* callesh *Prinernum*, yet other Cosmographers write that the ruines thereof lie in a plaine two miles off, whereas this is seated vpon a mountaine, yet growing to a City by the decay of the former, is called *Prinernum*, and vulgarly *Piperno*. We passed through wooddy mountaines,
full

full of Oliue trees on the right hand, and a fruitfull plaine of corne, and many Orchards of Orange trees, and like fruits, on the left hand. And among the mountaines on the right hand, the most remote was called *Circello*, of the famous Witch *Circe*, and it is a Promontory hanging ouer the sea, where at this day they shew the cup, in which *Ulysses* drunke the enchanted potion, and vnder the hollow caues of this mountaine, the Turkish Pirates lurke in the summer time, and rob the Christians. The last five miles of our iourney, all the passengers and souldiers were put before the Carrier and his Mules; for then we turned out of the plaine towards mountaines on the left hand, where (as they said) the banished men had the weeke before assailed the Carrier. After we had dined, the horse-men left vs, and certaine foot did after guide vs from one City to another. The third day in the morning we had a guard of horse-men, and rode twelue miles to *Terracina*, an old City, so called in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, and we passed through a fertile plaine of corne on the right hand towards the Sea, and stony hils full of Oliue trees on the left hand towards the Land, and many vineyards, and ruines of houses neere the City. After we had this morning rode two miles, we passed by an old Monastery called *la Badia della fossa nuoua*, where they haue a monument of Saint *Thomas Aquinas*, but his body was carried to the City *Tolouse* in *France*, when the French-men had the Kingdome of *Naples*. And after we had rode ten miles, our guard of horse left vs, and certaine foot meeting vs, conducted vs other 2 miles. In this way the waters in many places at the foot of the hils did stinke of brimstone, but infinite Laurel trees on all sides refreshed our smel. *Terracina* in the flourishing time of *Rome* was called *Anxur*, and it is seated vpon a mountaine, as most of the foresaid Cities are, and it lieth vpon the sea, which the land imbraceth like a halfe Moone, this Citie lying vpon one horne thereof, and the Citie *Caieta* vpon the other, of which Citie the Cardinall had name, who did oppose himselfe to *Luther*. The flouds of the sea make great noise, with striking vpon hollow caues of Rocks. A souldier came out of the Tower of *Terracina*, and demaunded of euery man five baocchi, which we paid, though it were onely due from them, who had portmanteaues with locks. Neere this City we did see the ruines of a stately Theater. After dinner we rode ten miles to the City *Fondi*, through a stony way, being part of the old way of *Appius*; and vpon the right hand we had a plaine towards the sea, and vpon the left hand rocky Mountaines towards the land, where wee passed by the Citie *Monticello*. At the mid-way, the Popes guard hauing left vs, we came to two old ruined walles, shutting vp the way, and lying from the Mountaine to the sea. This place called *Sportelle*, deuides the territories of the Pope and the King of *Naples*, and is kept by a Garison of Spaniards. I remember at our coming backe, these Souldiers demaunded of the passengers a gift in curtelie, and when some refused it, they stopped their passage, and onely troubled them in the searching of their carriage, vnder pretence that they might carry some prohibited things. These Souldiers did accompany vs to the Citie *Fondi*. I call the same and some other places by the name of Citie, because they were Cities of old, though now they be onely Villages, and haue no other beautie, but the ruines of age. This old Citie was sacked in the yeere 1534 by *Barbarossa* a Turkish Pirate. It is seated in a Plaine, hauing onely a meadow and a field ouerflowed betweene it and the sea, and the houses are built of Flints and such litle stones, but it had most pleasant Orchards, of Citrons, Oranges and Lemons. The Orange trees at one time haue ripe and greene fruites and buds, and are greene in winter, giuing at that dead time a pleasant remembrance of Summer. By our *Peturines* sparing, our diet was daily very short, and at *Terracina* we could not so much as get wine; and here our supper was so short, as we iudged our *Peturines* good Phisitians, who perswade light suppers. The wines of *Fondi* and *Cecubo* (for the mount *Cecubo* is not farre distant) are much celebrated by the Roman Poets, namely, by *Horace*. The fourth day in the morning, we rode ten miles to *Mola*, vulgarly called *Nola*, vpon a paved Causey, betweene stony Mountaines, being part of the way of *Appius*, and through great woods of Oliue trees, hauing by the way many Orchards of Oranges and like fruites, and entering neere *Mola* into a more open aire. Not onely this Village, but all this sea-coast is called *Mola*, of the Milles (as I thinke) driuen by waters

waters falling from the Mountaines, and it is numbred among the most pleasant places of *Italy*. *Mola* is built vpon the ruines of old *Formia*, which are to be seene in the fields round about it. Among these ruines is the house of *Cicero*, who speakes of his Village *Formia*, where *Scipio* and *Lelius* came to recreate themselues; and there is also the sepulcher of *Cicero*, so as it seemes he was killed by *Anthony* in this Territory. After dinner we rode eight miles through a wilde field with low shrubs, vpon a paved way, till wee came to the Riuer *Garigliano*, whose narrow and deepe streame we passed by boat, and staid long about the putting ouer of our horses, our company being great, and each horseman paid five baocchi for passage. Neere this Riuer wee did see the ruines of a most faire Theater, built of bricke and flint, and of another old and round Theater, and of a Conduit built of brick, vpon a 140 arches. Not farre hence among huge and snowy Mountaines, is the Citie *Traeto*, which hath the title of a Dukedome, and was of old called *Minturne*. After we had passed the Riuer, we rode seuen miles to *Sesso*, and three miles to a Country house, through a fruitfull Plaine of corne, hauing the *Tirrhene* sea so neare vs, as we might see it three or foure times. And because the other Carrier comming from *Naples* to *Rome*, lodged with his consorts a mile before vs in the Village *Castellano*, we were forced to lodge in this Country house. The fifth day in the morning, at the beginning of our iourney, we met the said Carrier with his consorts, and we rode eight miles to the Village *Francolisse*, in a most pleasant way, betweene Hills of black clay like stone, but a most fruitfull Countrey. This Village lay on the left hand of our way towards the land, among very pleasant Hills; and the place is not farre distant, where *Hanibal* brought into straights by *Labins*, did escape by a stratagem, tying fire vpon the hornes of Oxen.

Capua.

After we rode 8 miles to the most pleasant C ty *Capua*, through a most sweet Plaine, called *Laborina*, because it is laborious to the tiller, but it is wonderfull fruitfull, and aboundeth with Oliue trees, and vines planted vpon Elmes. Here we dined, not according to our couenant at our *Vetturines* charge, but at our owne cost, and each man had such meate as he chose, and that (as I thinke) because the passengers being now out of danger, and in a place abounding with all dainties, refused to be dieted at their *Vetturines* pleasure, and chose rather to feast themselues as they list. And in deede we had excellent cheare, delicate wine, most white pure bread, and among other dainties, I remember wee had blacke Oliues, which I had neuer seene before, and they were of a most pleasant taste. Here each of vs paid two Giulij and a halfe for our dinner. This City is newly built, but if you goe out of the Gates to Saint *Maries* Church towards *Naples* vpon the South-West side of the Towne, there you shall see a Colossus, and a Caue, and many Monuments of old *Capua* among the Orchards: the delicacies of which Citie were of old so famous, as we reade, that the Army of *Hanibal* grew effeminate thereby. This new Citie hath a Castle vpon the North-East side, built vpon the walles, wherein is a Garrison of souldiers, which keepeth the Citie in obedience, and the Riuer *Volturnus* runnes vpon the same side of the Citie, which they passe with a bridge of stone, neere which there is an inscription, that *Phillip* King of *Spaine* repaired the way, and built the bridge. The Citie is of a little compasse, but strong, and it hath a faire Senate-House, and a faire Church called *l'Annonciata*, with a faire Altar.

After dinner wee had no guard, neither were tied to accompany the Carrier, but it was free for euery man to take his way and company, or to ride alone at his pleasure. So from *Capua* we rode eight miles to *Anversa*, a new Citie, otherwise called *Aduersa*, and of old called *Attella*, whence were the old satyricall Comedies, which were full of baudery, and were called *Attellane*. And betweene this City and the Mountaine *Vesunius*, now called *Somma*, out of the way towards the land, and neere the Castle *Airola*, is the Valley *Caudine*, where *Hanibal* put the Romans, drawne into straites, disgracefully to passe vnder a paire of gallows, which were called the *Caudine gallows*, wel knowne to all that haue read *Liuy*.

Naples.

The same afternoone we rode further eight miles to *Naples*. And all this way from *Capua* to *Naples*, is a most fruitfull plaine of corne, and vines growing high vpon Elme trees, according to the Tillage of *Lombardy*, one and the same field yeelding corne, and wine,

wine, and wood to burne, but the other wines of this Country growing vpon hills and mountaines, and all the other fruites, cannot be worthily praised. We entered *Naples* on the East side by the Gate of *Capua*, where the Vice-Roies vse to enter in pompe. And this Gate is stately built, and vpon this side, the suburbs are long and faire, and the streete of *Capua* within the wals, is no lesse faire, in which is the prison: and because we were attired like Frenchmen, the prisoners scoffed at vs, and to my great maruell, the Citizens of good sort did not forbear this barbarous vsage towards vs.

The description of Naples, and the Territory.



- | | |
|--|---|
| (A) Rome farre distant. | (a) The Gate of <i>Capua</i> . |
| (B) <i>Capua</i> . | (b) The Kings Gate. |
| (D) <i>Torre di Græco</i> , and the Mountaine <i>Somma</i> . | (c) The Church <i>S. Clara</i> . |
| (E) The Mountaine <i>Pausilippo</i> . | (d) The Castle of <i>S. Ermo</i> . |
| (F) The Iland <i>Nisita</i> , or <i>Nisa</i> . | (e) Scattered houses. |
| (G) The Iland <i>Procida</i> . | (f) The Hauen. |
| (H) <i>S. Martino</i> (as I thinke) an Iland. | (g) <i>Il Molle</i> . |
| (I) <i>Ischia</i> , an Iland. | (h) The Castle <i>deuouo</i> . |
| (K) <i>Caprea</i> , or <i>Capre</i> , an Iland. | (k) The Vice-Royes house. |
| (L) <i>Palmosa</i> an Iland, and beyond it the <i>Syrenes</i> Iland, famous by fables. | (l) The new Castle. |
| (M) The Citie <i>Caieta</i> . | (m) The Lake d' <i>Agnano</i> , compassed with the Mountaine <i>Astruno</i> . |
| (N) <i>Circello</i> , a famous Mountaine for the Witch <i>Circe</i> . | (n) <i>Grotta del can</i> . |
| (P) The Bay of <i>Baie</i> or <i>Pozzoli</i> . | (o) <i>Solfataria</i> . |
| (R) <i>Linternum</i> , now called <i>Torre della Patria</i> . | (p) <i>Pozzoli</i> . |
| (X) The Promontory <i>Miseno</i> . | (q) <i>Tripergola</i> . |
| (Y) The Cape of <i>Minerua</i> . | (r) The Lake of <i>Auernus</i> . |
| (Z) The old Citie <i>Cuma</i> . | (s) <i>Baie</i> . |
| | (t) <i>Cento Camerelle</i> . |
| | (v) <i>Piscina mirabile</i> . |
| | (w) The <i>Elisian</i> fields. |

From the foresaid part on the East-side of the Citie, where we entred by the (a) Gate

of (a) *Capua*, without the walls, towards the land. Eight miles frō the Citie lies (D) *Torre di Graco*, now called *Torre d'ottauio*, where *Pliny*, writer of the Naturall history, and Admirall of the Naucy of *Augustus*, was neere the said Tower choked with vapours, while too curiously he desired to behold the burning of the Mountaine *Vesuius*, now called *Somma*. This Mountaine *Somma* is most high, and vpon the top is dreadfull, where is a gulfe casting out flames, and while the windes inclosed, seeke to breake out by naturall force, there haue been heard horrible noises and fearefull groanes. The rest of the Mountaine aboundeth with vines, and Oliues, and there growes the Greeke-wine, which *Pliny* calles *Pompeius* wine; and of this wine they say, this place is called *Torre di Graco*. The greatest burning of this Mountaine brake out in the time of the Emperour *Titus*, the smoke whereof made the Sunne darke, burnt vp the next territories, and consumed two Cities, *Pompeia*, and *Herculea*, and the ashes thereof couered all the fields of that territory. It brake out againe in the yeere 1538 with great gaping of the earth, and casting downe part of the Mountaine. The Pallace there, taking the name of the next Village, is called *Pietra Bianca*, that is white stone, which on the inside is all of marble, decked with carued worke in the very Chambers, and there is an Image of a Nymphe sleeping, and lying vpon an earthen vessell, out of which great quantity of water flowes, and falls into Marble Channels, wherein fish are kept as in pondes. This Pallace was built in the yeere 1530 by a Counseller to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. At the foote of this Mountaine, of old *Decius*, the first of all the *Roman* Consuls did by vow giue himsele for the Army. And at the bridge of the Brooke *Draco*, the last King of the Gothes *Teius*, was slaine, hauing three Bucklers all pierced with his enemies arrowes. On the same East side comming backe to *Naples*, (yet the said Mountaine lyes Northward) you shall come to a stately Pallace, which the Kings of *Naples* haue built, and called it *Poggio Reale*, being not aboue a mile from *Naples*. There of old was seated the Citie *Paleopolis*, and it lies in a most sweete Plaine.

From the said Pallace the way leades right to the Kingly (b) Gate, called *Porta Reale*, at which onely the King enters in solemne pompe, and from this Gate right to the West, lies a most faire and large streete called *Strada Toletana*, the way whereof on both sides is raised with a faire and large pauement for men to walk vpon, and it hath a faire Market-place. When you come to the end of this streete, there is the Church of Saint (c) *Clara*, called vulgarly *San' chiara*, which was built by *Agnes* of *Spaine*, wife to King *Robert*, where are artificiall sepulchers of the said *Robert* (comming of the *French* Kings) and of his wife *Agnes*, and of other Kings and Princes of the *French* family *Durazzana*. And there in a Chappell the Monkes day and night sing with a lamentable voice, or rather groane for the rest of their deceased soules. In the Church of Saint *Dominick* is an Altar, which they say, cost some twenty five thousand Crownes; and in the Vestrie lie the bodies of nine Kings in coffins of wood, couered with peuter, & hauing black veluet laied ouer them. Among these Kings are *Alphonso* the first, King of *Aragon*, and *Ferdinand* his sonne, and *Ferdinand* the second. And in this place also, the Monkes in like sort sing, or rather houle rest to their soules. They shew a Crucifix, which they say, did speake to *Thomas Aquinas* in this manner; *Thomas, thou hast written well of me, what reward dost thou aske?* And that *Thomas* should answere; *No reward Lord but thy selfe onely.* I haue heard, that Saint *Bernard* knowing the fraudes and impostures of the Monkes, and not dissembling them, when the Image of the blessed Virgin did in like sort praise him, did with much more pietie and wisdom answere out of *S. Paul*, *1. Cor. 14. Let women be silent in the Church, for it is not permitted them to speake.*

Not farre thence are the publike schooles of the Vniuersity, which the Emperour *Fredericke* the second founded there. In the most faire Church of the Monkes of Saint *Oliuet*, the Images of *Ferdinand* the first, and *Alphonso* the second, are so liuely engra- uen, and doe so artificially represent them, as well in the bed dying, as vpon their knees praying, with the mourning of the by-standers, (the horror of Religion being increased with lampes continually burning,) as my selfe by chance passing by this Chappell, thought I had fallen among liuing Princes, not dead Images; and perhaps I haue seene a more sumptuous monument, but a more beautifull did I neuer see. In
the

the little Church of the Hermitane Friers, Saint *Iohn in Carbonara*, is a monument of *Robert* King of *Naples*, and of *Ioane* the first his sister, of white marble, being an Altar, which the Italians thinke the most stately monument of *Europe*; but for my part I dare not preferre it to some in *Germany*, nor to many in *England*, nor to the monuments of the Turkish Emperours. Many tables are hung vp by vow in this Church. There is a faire sepulcher of white marble erected to *N. Caraccioli* Marshall of the Kingdome. I omit the most faire Church of Saint *Mary* of the Preachers, almost all of marble, and the Cathedrall Church called *Episcopio*, and the Church of Saint *Laurence*.

Vpon the North-west and by-north part of the City, is the Fort called (d) *S. Eremo* cut out in a high Rocke, yet the ascent therunto is so easie, as a horse-man may well mount to the top. Vpon this mountaines top lies a plaine; in which this Castle is seated, which commands the City, though it were taken by the enemy. A little beneath is the monastery of the Carthusians, and vpon pretence to enlarge that monastery, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth built this most strong Castle, to bridle the wonted petulancy and inconstancy of the Citizens; and from thence there is a most sweet prospect as well into the City, as to the bayes of the sea.

Towards the South-side is the Hauen, and beyond the (f) bay of *Naples* lies firme land; for the Sea comming in from the West, makes this bay. Vpon this side is a fortification for the safety of the haven, which is called (g) *il Molle*, & it driues off the waues of the sea, and makes the Hauen like an halfe Moone, and therein at this time were twenty gallies and ren small ships. The Armory lies vpon the Sea, from whence the gallies and ships and land forces are armed; and among other things, there is kept the rich Armour (yet without any ornament of gold) of the French King *Francis* the first, which he did weare when he was taken prisoner at *Paui*. Thereby lies a large market place, in which is a faire fountaine, with many Images casting out water. Also there is a Tower where they set light by night to guide sea men into the Hauen. In the said market place is a stone, vpon which many play away their liberty at dice, the Kings officers lending them money, which when they haue lost, and cannot repay, they are drawne into the gallies, for the Spaniards haue slaues of both sexes.

On the outside of the said Molle, or fortification vpon the haven, towards the west, & neere to the shore, lies the most strong fort called (i) *Castella nuovo*, seated in a plaine, and built by *Charles* the first of *Anjou*, and so fortified by *Alphonso* the first, King of *Aragon*, as it is numbred among the chiefe forts of *Europe*. The inward gate is most faire all of marble, and it hath a little fouresquare hall, in which the Parliaments are yeerely held, and the Viceroyes weekly sit in iudgement. Neere this hall is a faire tower, in which the Kingly ornaments are laid vp; namely, a scepter of gold, with great diamonds vpon the top, the sword with the haft and scabbard of gold, adorned with precious stones; the Kings Crowne shining with precious stones, a golden crosse, a huge pot of gold set with precious stones, great Vnicornes hornes, and the chiefe kinds of precious stones.

Further towards the West, (yet so neere, as the garden of the Pallace lies vpon the ditch of this Castle), is the (k) Viceroyes Palace, which hath a large and most sweet garden, and delicate walk, paved with diuers coloured and engrauen marbles. And in this garden are two banquetting houses, whereof one is very stately built, and hath a sweet fountaine close to the table continually powring out water. Also there is a delicate cage of birds, wrought about with thick wyer, and it is as big as an ordinary stil-house, delicately shadowed round about, wherein are many kinds of singing birds, as well of *Italy* as forraigne Countries.

A little further within the water, is the (h) Castle of the egge, built vpon a rock by the Normans, which Rocke is of an ouall forme, and gaue the name to the Castle, vulgarly called *Castel del' uouo*, which at this day is ruinous; and some say it was the Pallace of *Lucullus*; but it is certaine that the Normans built it, as they did also another Castle which is old, and called the Capuan Castle, of the adioining Capuan-gate. *Naples* was of old called *Parthenope*, of one of the Syrens there buried, whom they write to haue cast her selfe into the sea, for grieve that by no flattery shee could detaine *Vlisses*

with her. The Citizens of old *Cuma* built *Naples*, and lest it should grow great to the prejudice of *Cuma*, they pulled it down againe, till at last oppressed with a great glague, vpon the warning of an oracle, they built it againe, and changing the old name *Parthenope*, called it *Naples*, which in Greeke signifies a new City. It is seated at the foot of hils and mountaines, in length from the North-east to the South-west, or rather seemeth to be triangular, whercof two corners lie vpon the sea, and that towards the West is more narrow then the other, and the third blunt corner lies towards the mountaines. Vpon the East-side there be pleasant suburbs, and vpon the West-side more large suburbs; but vpon the North-side without the wals, there be onely some few (ecccc) scattered houses built vpon the sides of hils.

The houses of the City are foure roofes high, but the tops lie almost plaine, so as they walke vpon them in the coole time of the night, or at lest in generall the tops are not much erected, like other parts of *Italy*, and the building is of free stone, and sheweth antiquity: but the windowes are all couered with paper or linnen cloth; for glasse windowes are most rare in *Italy*, and as it were proper to *Venice*. It hath three faire broad and long streetes, namely, *La Toletano*, *la Capuana* and *la vicaria*, the rest are very narrow. There be eight gates towards land, and as many towards sea, among which the *Capuan* gate, since the Emperour *Charles* the fifth entered thereat, is decked with monuments and statuaes. There be in this City very many Pallaces, of Gentlemen, Barons, and Princes; whereupon the City is vulgarly called *Napoli Gentile*: Among these, two Pallaces are most stately, one of the Duke of *Greuina*, which the King of *Spain* forbad to be finished; the other of the Prince of *Salerno*. There be foure publike houses, called *Seggij*, in which the Princes and Gentlemen haue yecrely meetings, and there also is the daily meeting of the Merchants. Almost euery house hath his fountaine of most whollome waters. Neere the market place are many Innes, but poore and base; for howsoeuer the City aboundeth with houses where they giue lodging and meat, yet it deserues no praise for faire Innes of good entertainment. On all sides the eye is as it were bewitched with the sight of delicate gardens, aswell within the City, as neere the same. The gardens without the wals are so rarely delightfull, as I should thinke the *Hesperides* were not to be compared with them; and they are adorned with statuaes, laberinthes, fountaines, vines, myrtle, palme, cetron, lemon, orange, and cedar trees, with lawrels, mulberries, roses, rosemary, and all kinds of fruits and flowers, so as they seeme an earthly Paradise. The fields are no lesse fruitfull, bringing forth abundantly all things for the vse of man. The Kings stables without the wals are worth the seeing, for the horses of this Kingdome are much esteemed; and if any man buy a horse, to carry out of the Kingdome, he payes the tenth part of the price to the King.

The City being seated vpon the sides of hils, and by lying open to the South, being subiect to great heates, and most parts of the streetes being narrow, so as in walking the heat is not to be endured, and yet they cannot vse Coaches, one fashion pleased me beyond measure, that at the end of many streetes they had chaires, vulgarly called *Seggioli di Napoli*, which those that are weary doe enter, and they being couered round about, and onely hauing windowes on the sides, he that is carried therein, cannot be seene of any, and yet himselfe may see all that passe. Two Porters carry these chaires by two long staues fastened thereunto, and lift them but little from the ground, and so for a moderate price carry the passenger to any part of the City. After I obserued the same fashion at *Genoa*, which is in like sort seated vpon the sides of hils and mountaines, and in Cities so seated, I thinke this fashion very conuenient.

The territory of *Naples* hath many famous antiquities, and wonderfull things to be seene, which that we might behold, we went early in the morning on foot out of the Southwest-side of the City; & hauing passed long suburbs & scattered houses we came within a Musket shot to the mountaine (*E*) *Pausilippo*, which is wonderfully pleasant, aswell for the houses and villages built vpon it, as for the excellent fruits which it yeeldeth of all kinds. This mountaine being hard to be ascended, extendeth it selfe in good length from the sea towards the land, so as the way would be very troublesome to *Pozzoli*, either ascending the mountaine, or compassing it, had they not found a remedy

medy to this inconuenience. Therefore the Progenitors of these Citizens (which some attribute to *Lucullus*, as they doe all magnificall things, and others to one *Bassus*; but *Leander* the Cosmographer, a witnesse without exception, attributes it to *Coccius* a Roman,) I say, their Progenitors with wonderful Art and huge expence, digged a passage vnder this mountaine, and so made a plaine way to *Pozzoli* and those parts. This way *Strabo* calls a Caue, and it is vulgarly called *La grotta di Napoli*, and serueth this famous City in stead of a gate, yet is it a musket shot distant, and alwaies lies open. And the foresaid *Leander* witnesseth, that it is twelue foot broad, twenty foure high, and two hundred long, to which length if you adde 500. foote more, which at both ends was digged, but lies not couered as the rest, but in open aire, this worke may well be said to be an Italian mile long. My selfe obserued, that part of the passage vnder the mountaine, to bee nine hundred and fiftene walking paces long, and nine broad, and the hight I imagined to double the bredth, yet is it in some places bigger then in other. And for the bredth, it is certaine, that two Coaches, or Carts may passe together, one by the other. The enterance and the going out at the other end, are like two gates, and of old light came in by many holes or windowes from the top of the mountaine; but the falling of earth did by little and little stop this light; and in the time of *Seneca* this passage was so darke, as he compares it to a prison, and at last the light was so stopped by the fall of earth, by nettles and shrubs, as there was no light at all, till *Alphonso* the first of *Aragon*, King of *Naples*, opened two windowes towards the two ends, which onely light it hath at this day to direct passengers. At the entrance of either end, the opposite gate seemes no bigger then a full Moone, and a man entering there, would seeme a little child. It hath no light in the middest, but like twilight, or the Ouidian light which is in thicke woods, and in the twilight of morning and euening passengers vse torches, & continually the carters or horsmen when they passe by the midst of the caue, vse to giue warning one to the other, crying vulgarly *Alla marina* (that is towards the sea) or *Alla Montagna* (that is towards the mountaine) according to the side on which they come. Before we entered this caue, among other stately Pallaces, one vulgarly called, *Merguilino*, built by *James Sanazzarro*, a famous Poet almost of our age, and giuen by his last will to a religious house, contains the sepulcher of a learned man, vpon which *Bembus* is said to haue written these verses,

Da sacro cineri flores, hic ille Maroni

Sincerus, Musa proximus, vt tumulo.

These reliques decke with flowers, *Sincerus* here

In tombe as muse to *Maro* comes most neere.

Vpon the mountaine of *Pausilippo*, is the sepulcher of *Virgil*, shewed in two places, whom *Seruius* writes to haue beene buried in this way neere *Naples*; and that these verses were written vpon his sepulcher;

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc

Parthenope, cecini pascua, rura, Duces.

Mantuan borne, *Calaber* dead, me holds

Parthenope, who sung ploughs, Dukes, sheepefolds:

Or thus;

Mantua gaue me life, *Calabry* death, my graue

Parthenope, who sung pastures, Ploughs, Captaines braue:

Or thus;

Mantua life did lend to me,

Calabers laid me on deaths carre;

My bones lie at *Parthenope*,

Who sung sheepe, tillage, feates of warre.

And the best iudgements hold, that he was buried in the Church of the Friars regular canons, at the entrance of the caue, as you go fro *Naples*, & not in the Church at the going out of the Caue; and though both places shew the sepulcher, yet these verses are in neither place, but the inscriptions are worne out with age: the Monks report, that there was a statua of brasse vpon his sepulcher, which those of *Mantua* stole fro thence, & in-

deede, at *Mantua* they shew such a statua, whether stolne from hence or no, let them dispute.

When we had passed this Caue, wee bent our way from the Sea towards the land, and came to the Mountaine (*m*) *Astruno*, being of forme like a Theater, compassing a large Plaine. *Alphonso* the first, King of *Aragon* and *Naples*; and his sonne *Ferdinand*, vsed to inuite the Princes, Nobles, and People of the Kingdome, to hunting in this place, turning the dogs and beasts they hunted, into the valley, himselfe and the noble men sitting in a pleasant Groue vpon the top of the Mountaine; and the people being scattered round about the Mountaine, to behold the sport. In the same plaine compassed with this Mountaine, is the Lake of (*m*) *Agnano* which is said to be without bottome, and to haue nothing in it but frogs. And at the foote of the inside of the Mountaine next to *Naples*, there is a venimous Caue, vulgarly called (*n*) *la grotta del can*, that is the Caue of the dogge; because they trie the poison by putting dogs into it. This Caue is some eight foote high, and sixe broad, and goeth some foure paces vnder the Mountaine, where a signe is set, beyond which, if any living thing passe, it presently dies. *Pliny* writes, that this caue was called *Cheronea scroba*, euaporating a pestilent aire. We gaue two poli to a woman (dwelling there) for a dog, to trie the poyson with it, which dog wee fastened to a long staffe, and so thrust him into the caue, holding him there, till he seemed dead, and being taken out, would not moue for any blowes wee gaue it; then according to the fashion, wee cast the dog into the aforesaid Lake, and when he was drawne out, he began by little and little to moue, and at last, being come to his senses, ranne away, as if he had been madde. The common sort attribute this to the blessing giuen to the water by the Saint of which it is named, but nothing is more cleere, then that the sprinkling of any water will reuiue the spirits choked with any ill vapour. Besides, many haue tried, that liuing things cast into that caue, and held there for longer time then is vsuall, could neuer be fetched againe to life by this or any other water. They report, that a French Gentleman of *Tournan* trying to fetch a stone out of this caue beyond the aforesaid signe, paid for his curiosity by vnreouerable death. And that the French King *Charles* the eight, commanding an Asseto be thrust into this caue, the beast could neuer be fetched to life againe. And that *don iohn*, base sonne of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, forced a Gally-slaue to goe into this caue, and he falling dead, forced another slaue to fetch him out, who likewise fell dead, and that hee killed the third slaue with his owne hand, because hee refused to fetch out his two dead fellows. Many cast frogs into this caue, and except they presently leape back, this vapour kills them, which is said to rise out of Mines of Brimstone and other mettals. Into the foresaid Lake they cast flax, which will be steeped in that water in 14 houres, though it lies vsuall two weekes in other waters. And this water, though cold to touch, yet seemes to boile. The Earthquakes and flames breaking out of these Mountaines, by the vapours inclosed, gaue the Poets occasion to faine, that Giants were buried vnder them. Not farre hence are the wholesome baths, vulgarly called *I bagni d' Agnano*, which kind of baths are very frequent in this part. Heere lie the ruines of a great Village of *Lucullus*, and Writers affirme, that hee brought the Sea-water into the foresaid Lake, cutting the passage through Mountaines. Here also are the ruines of the Village of *Cicero*, which retain the old name, and the Emperour *Adrian* dying at *Bait*, was buried here, and his successor *Anthony* here built a Temple to him.

Vpon the top of a Mountaine neere this place, is a round field like a Market-place, vulgarly called (*s*) *Solfataria*, which *Strabo* calls *Forum vulcani*: & *Pliny* writes, that of old this place was called *Campi Flesrei*. It is of an Ouall forme, somewhat more long then broad, hauing 1500 foote in length, and 1000 in breadth, being compassed on all sides with Mountaines, except the enterance, lying towards *Pozzoli*. All the earth is hollow, and being beaten with a mans foote, soundeth like an emptie vessell; and not only the earth by the Brimstone is made yellow, but it made our bootes and shooes of the same colour, with walking vpon it, yea, when I cast a piece of siluer vpon the ground, it was presently made yellow, and with no rubbing could be made white againe. In this Ouall Market place (as I may call it) there is a short and narrow ditch of water, which is almost

almost round, and the water thereof boyles, as if fire were vnder it. They say, if any thing be cast into it, that it will be sodden in short space; but some part of it will be consumed: and *Leander* reports, that one cast foure egges into it, and presently tooke three fully sodden, but the fourth was consumed. Also he witnesseth, that this little ditch is not alwaies in one place, but in time workes it selfe from one place to another in this circuite, and yet is neuer greater, and that the old ditch is filled presently with new matter. An horseman cannot well come to this place, and as the same *Leander* writes, an horseman comming boldly thither, was swallowed vp into the hollow earth. And that the strange heate of this water may appeare, one of the Viceroyes Guard, a Dutchman, and comming hither, according to their fashion, to guide his Countrey men my consorts, told vs, that one of his fellowes not long before, comming in like sort as hee did, to guide his Countrey men hither, either being carelesse, or rather (as it is most probable) hauing drunke too much, and not guiding his feete well, by chance stumbled into this ditch, and when one of his friends tooke him by the hand to pull him out, that he pulled of all the skinne from his hand, and that after better aduice, they pulled him out with a cloake flung about him, but that within few daies he died, neither could the Phisitians giue him any remedy or promise any hope of his life. At the foote of the Mountaine there is a hole, where the vapours with their owne motion, continually cast vp little stones and stinking smelles; but if any man moue these vapours by a staffe, or any thing put into the hole, the more they are stirred, the greater stones they cast vp, yea flames of fire sometimes. There bee some cottages neere this place, where they make Brimstone, and all these parts smell of brimstone, and if the winde blow from hence towards *Naples*, the stinke thereof may bee smelled thither. On all sides here be Baths of wholesome waters, which of old were famous.

After we had passed huge ruines of old buildings; we came at the foot of a mountaine to the City (P) *Pozzoli*, of old famous, and called *Puteolis*, to which all these ruines are said to haue belonged of old, and it had the name of the Latin word *Puinus*, as also it hath the present name from the Italian tong, of the wels, which are frequent. I say it hath the present name of the Italian word *Pozzo*, signifying a well, though some will haue it named presently of *Puzzo*, which signifies a stink, because of the smell of brimstone in these parts: but the city being most ancient, cannot haue the old name of an Italian word: and it is certaine, that the Roman Princes of old vsed this part for the place of their recreation; for the great sweetnes of the Country, and the plenty of medicinall waters, whereupon they gaue it the first name. Others say that it was of old called *Diarchium*, but at this day it is called *Pozzoli*, or *Puzzoli*. Here we dined, and were forced to giue our swords to the Host, there being a great penalty set vpon any that carry their Armes. The City hath nothing worth the seeing, but the old Church, first built to Heathen Idols, and after by Christians dedicated to Saint *Proculus*, and it hath the names of the workemen that built it grauen vpon it, and there be shewed the bones of a Giant of wonderfull bignes. The Hauen of this City was of old very commodious; but by negligence is growne of no vse.

Here the sea entring betweene two Mountaines; was of old called the Creeke of (P) *Baie*, of that Citie seated on the opposite shore, or the Creeke of *Pozzoli*, of this Citie. *Suetonius* writes, that the Emperour *Tiberius* consulting about his successor, and inclining more to his true Nephew, *T. brasylus* the Mathematician should answere, that *Caius* should no more raigne, then he should ride ouer the Creeke of *Baie*. Wherefore *Caius* being Emperour, and hearing of this diuination (not as others say, in emulation of *Xerxes*, who made a Bridge ouer *Hellespont*, nor to the end that with the fame of this great worke, he might terrifie the rebellious *Germans* and *Britans*) did build a Bridge ouer this creeke of the sea, being about three miles long, that hee might thereupon passe from *Baie* to *Pozzoli*. Of this Bridge thirteene piles of bricke may bee seene neere the shore at *Pozzoli*, and as many on the other side neere the shore of *Baie*, and some of these piles haue yet arches vpon them, but ready to fall. And from these piles the Inner part of the bridge was founded vpon two ranks of shippes fastened with ancors, and couered ouer with a bancke of earth, to make the passagelike the way of *Appius*.

The rest *Suetonius* addeth in these or the like words. Ouer this bridge he went to and fro for two daies; the first day vpon a trapped horse, hauing his head adorned with a Crowne of Oake leaues, and bearing an Hatchet, a Sword, and a Garland, and a robe of cloth of Gold. The next day in a Coch-mans habit, driuing a Coch drawne by foure famous horses, carrying before him *Darius* a childe, one of the pledges giuen by the Parthians, his Pretorian Souldiers accompanying him, and his friends following him in a Coach, &c. He that desires to comprehend the magnificence of this work, must first know, that the *Mediterranean* sea is very calme, hauing little or no ebbing or flowing, and that this Creeke is yet more calme, and that this bridge was built in the furthest part of the Creeke, very neere the land. These things considered, (if my iudgement faile not), there is greater cause of wonder at the Bridge built by the Duke of *Parma* besieging *Antwerp*, being in like sort built vpon barkes fastened one to the other, and also at the Bridge of *London*, bearing a great ebbing and flowing of the sea, and built of free stone, vpon so firme a foundation, as it beareth many great and faire houses vpon it: but whatsoeuer the magnificence were, surely the vanitie of this worke was great, to spend so much vpon this Bridge, the way by land being not a mile longer then by the Bridge: Giue me leaue to digresse so farre, as to remember, that the Territorie of *Falernum* is not farre from *Pozzoli*, the wine whereof called *Falernum*, is so much praised by *Horace*. After dinner we went from *Pozzoli*, to view the Antiquities lying vpon this Creeke; and first we came to the Labyrinth, a building vnder ground, which hath the name of the multitude of roomes, with such passages to and fro, as a man may loose himselfe in them; and here wee had not onely neede of the thread of *Ariadne*, but of light also to conduct vs. *Leander* thinks, that all this building was to keepe fresh water. Then we came to the *Amphitheater*, being of an Ouall forme, the inner part whereof is 172 foot long, and 88 broad, the building wherof is little ruined: And *Suetonius* writes, that this was built for the Plaies of *Vulcan*. Not farre thence, neere the shoare, is a fountaine of cleare and sweete water, flowing plentifully out of the sea, so that for a great distance we might with our eies distinguish the same from the sea water, which *Leander* thinks to haue been brought by pipes vnder the earth, to these houses of the old Romans. Neere this place are the ruines of many buildings, now called *Belgermano*, which the Emperour *Tiberius* is said to haue built, when he returned with triumph from the German warre. Betweene the rocks that compasse this sea, is the way *Attellane*, which leades those that passe to *Rome*, to the way of *Appius*, and there be many baths, for most of the waters are medicinall.

Neere the Lake of *Auernus* vpon the side towards *Pozzoli*, lies a Mountaine, (q) which lately broke out of the earth, where of old were the bathes of *Tripergola*, whence the dwellings in this part, and this place, are called *Tripergola*, and here of old were many large and stately buildings, but by reason of many Earthquakes, and roberies of Pirates, the houses were long since forsaken, and at last in the yeere 1538 were swallowed vp by the earth. For in that yeere vpon *Michaelmas* day was a terrible Earthquake in this place, which brake out with fire in great flames, casting vp stones, with a great tempest of winde, and darkenesse of the aire, so as the people thought the worlds end was come. And at this time the ashes of this fire were carried by the winde to places twentie miles distant. At last after seuen daies, this confusion ceased, and then the aforesaid Mountaine breaking out of the bowels of the earth was first seene, being three miles high, and at the bottom foure miles compasse. Vpon the toppe of this Mountaine is a hole some fiftie paces broad, which towards the bottom growes more and more narrow, where it seemeth round, and of little compasse, hauing a cleare water, yet giuing a stink of brimstone, and this hole is like a Theater made by art. In the foresaid fearefull Earthquake, caused by the breaking out of the vapours inclosed vnder the hollow earth, many famous bathes were lost, and no more seene. Not farre hence is the Mountaine of Christ, so called, because they say, that Christ with the Squadrons of the Fathers, passed this way when hee ascended from Hell. But the French Gentleman *Villamont* worthily iudgeth this to be fabulous, and likewise the miracle of the Crucifex here, bearing the markes of Christ, yet doth he giue too much credit to the miracles of *Loreto*.

Vpon

Vpon the shore of the creek of (r) *Baie*, lies the Lake (as *Virgil* saith) of the foule stinking *Auernus*. This Lake is a naturall Hauē, but is not vsed, because the Hauē of *Lacrimus* is betweene it and the sea. It is compassed with high hills on all sides, but onely where the Sea enters on the South-side at a passage fifty paces broad, and the forme of it is round, and the hills that compass it now seeme pleasant, but of old were all couered with a thicke wood, which shutting vp the aire, and by the shadow drawing many birds to it, was thought to be the cause that these birds stifled with the smell of brimstone, fell suddenly dead, till the Emperour *Augustus* caused the wood to be destroyed. And of the birds thus killed, the Lake was called *Auernus*. For this smell of brimstone, and the shadow of the foresaid wood, darkening the Lake, and the blacke colour of the water, and because the sunne is shut out from the Lake by the hills, this Lake was feined by the Poets to be one of the Lakes of hell. *Leander* writes of a fountaine here; the water whereof no man would drinke, because they thought it came from hell, deriued by the heat of *Phlegiton*, whereupon an Oracle was built here, as in a place consecrated to *Pluto*, and the Cymenians liuing here in a Caue, entered this place when they had sacrificed to the Gods for the soules of the dead. *Leander* also saith, that they vsed to sacrifice men in this place, and nameth *Elpenor* sacrificed by *Vlisses* (for he vnderstands *Homert* to meane this place,) and also *Misenus* sacrificed by *Æneas*, though *Virgil* write that he died here. Some will haue this Lake to be the famous Fen of *Acheron*, of which *Virgil* writes;

Tenebrosa palus Acheronte refusa.

The darke Fen of *Acheron* powred out.

This also *Seruius* affirms, and shewes that this Lake comes from the infernal Riuer *Acheron*, so called as without ioy. But *Leander* shewes that *Acheron* faigned by the Poets to be a riuer of hell, is a riuer of *Calabria*, and that there is another riuer of that name in *Greece*. They say that the water of this Lake *Auernus* seemes blacke, because it hath no bottome: but *Leander* affirms that some by a long rope found the bottome to be three hundred and sixty fathome deepe. The hills that compass *Auernus* are very steepe, with a headlong fall, whereupon *Virgil* saith;

Facilis discensus Auerni.

The discent of *Auernus* is easie.

Vnder the hill towards the West side, is a Caue, which they call the caue of *Sybilla* of *Cuma*; and among many roomes there is one, in which shee is said to haue attended her deuotion, but *Leander* thinkes this place to haue been a sweating Bath. Of this caue *Virgil* thus writes:

Horrendaque procul Secreta Sybilla:

Antrum immane petit.

& inferius:

Excisum Euboica latus ingens rupis in Antrum, &c.

Vnde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibilla.

Of dreadfull *Sibill* the farre distant rites

To the vast caue he goes.

And after

An huge den cut out in the *Euboyan* rockes vast side, &c.

Whence rush so many voyces, *Sybilla* answering.

From these hills to the neighbour Citie *Baie*, they say the earth is all hollow with caues vnder it, and that the Cimerians of old dwelled vnder an hill towards the sea-shore. And *Leander* thinkes that caue to haue belonged to them; and surely whether it belonged to them, or any old Prophets, or to the Prophetesse *Sibilla*, or whose worke soeuer it was, the wonderfull Art and huge expence therein do plainly appeare. These Cimerians of old did leade strangers vnder the earth to the Oracle, and were diggers in mines, and reputed to haue the spirit of diuination; whereupon the King gaue them pensions for reuealing secrets vnto him. These men neuer saw the Sunne, but came abroad onely in the night; whence is the prouerb of Cimerian darkenesse, and the fiction of the Poets, that they did leade strangers to the Court of *Pluto*. They write, that these hauing deceiued the King by false diuination, were by him destroyed. Vpon the Hills of *Auernus*, they shew the ruined Temple of *Mercurie*, and another Temple of *Apollo*,

Apollo, little broken downe. *Nero* began a ditch to be made from the Lake *Auernus* to *Ostia*, to auoide the trouble of going by sea. From the said Lake there was a sluice of old into the Lake *Lucrinus*, by which when there was any flood of the sea, the water passed out of *Lucrinus* into *Auernus* Lake: but this is now stopped since the foresaid Earthquake of *Trepergula*. The Lake *Lucrinus* is so called in Latin, of the gaine made by fishes sold. *Suetonius* writes, that *Julius Caesar* let in the Sea to this Lake as also into the other. For the Senate of *Rome* making great gaine of the fish sold here, (till the Sea did once breake in with such force, as the fish went out of these Lakes at the ebbing of the Sea) did thereupon commaund *Caesar* to giue remedie thereunto, which he did, raising bankes against the Sea, at which time he made a passage for the fish out of one Lake into another. Wee gaue a Clowne three poli for leading vs through the Caue of *Sybilla*.

Vpon the Sea shore lies the bath, commonly called of *Cicero*, which the Phisitians call the bath of *Tritoli*, of a Latin word for rubbing, the letter F being changed into T, and this Bath lieth neere the ruines of the Village of *Cicero*, called his Academy. I know not whether this Village (or rather Pallace) had the name of Academy or no; for I finde in my notes a Village of *Cicero* in the way from *Naples* to *Pozzoli*, and likewise the mention of this bath of *Cicero*, and his Academy, neere the Lake of *Auernus*. And *Leander* mentions a village of his, in both places: but *Villamont* speakes of a Village neere *Pozzoli*, and of a Pallace in this place called *Accademy*; and these differ not much from my notes: but others confound the Village and the Bath, putting both together, so as writing of these intricate caues vnder the earth, my selfe am fallen into a Labyrinth, wherein I had much rather die, then goe backe to *Naples* for searching the truth. We entered this Bath *Tritoli*, and gaue a Clowne one *Pealo* for conducting vs. The passage to enter was straite, and extendeth farre vnder the Mountaine, and there is a marke set, which they say no man euer passed. We did sweate extreame, yet I desired to come to that marke, till at last feeling my spirits begin to faile me, I was glad to returne, and to creepe vpon the earth, where the aire was more cold then aboue. They say that this bath is very healthfull, and much frequented in the spring time, and that *Nero* had of old a Pallace built ouer it.

Neere this lie the ruines of *Baulos* or *Boaulia*, named of the oxen stolen, by *Gerion*, for here was the Temple of *Hercules*, and *Seruius*, expounding *Virgil*, saith that *Enneas* did here speake with *Hercules*. *Leander* writes that *Hortensius* did here make cesterne, wherein hee kept his so much prised Lampreyes. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*, make mention of this place. For *Agripina* mother of *Nero*, passing by water from the Village of *Piso* to this *Baulos*, was of purpose and by the commaund of *Nero* put into a rotten boate, that she might be drowned, which boate splitting in the midst of the passage, *Agripina* perceiued the intent, and silently (the night being darke) slipped into another boate, and so for that time escaped: but her waiting-maide being in great danger, and crying out that shee was Mother to *Nero*, found death by that name, by which she hoped to saue her life, being presently struck into the water by one of the conspiratours. At last when wicked *Nero* resolved to kill his Mother, he inuited her to a feast, entertaining her louingly on the Sea shore, and when she returned, out of shew of duty attending her to this *Baulos*, lying betweene the *Misene* Promontory, and the Lake of *Baie*; but at the same time he commaunded that she should be killed, and here vnder the earth we did see her sepulcher in a caue, curiously carued, and one of the finest old monuments I did euer see.

Hence we passed to (s) *Baie*, an ancient Citie, and for the sweetenesse preferred to *Rome* by *Horace*:

Nullus in vrbe locus Baijs praelucet amans.

No place of *Rome* sweete *Baie* doth excell.

The situation of this Citie is most sweete: but all the houses neere the shoare are drowned, except the Baths, and the houses vpon the mountaine are all ruined, neither doe any dwel here, but some few poore and miserable people (such as the husbandmen of *Italy* are commonly) yet these ruines shew the pride and magnificence of that old time

time. This Citie is said to haue the name of a friend of *Ulysses* there buried. Here bee the foresaid ruines of *Caligula* his Bridge, which I said doe lie on this side the Creeke. Here we did see the stately ruines of two Senators houses, where the excellent pictures did yet remaine vpon the highest rooffe. They shewed vs a tree (as they said) turned into a stone and the ruines of the Temples of *Diana* and *Venus*.

From hence we walked towards the Mountaine *Misenus*, and neere the dead sea; first, wee came to (t) a hill, made hollow by the building vnder it, which is vulgarly called of the number of the roomes *Cento camerelle*, that is, One hundred little chambers. *Leander* saith, that it was a Cesterne to keepe fresh-water, whereof the Romans had great store in these parts, whether they came certaine seasons of the yeere to recreate themselves; and all this Territorie on both sides neere this Creeke or Bay of the Sea, are so full of ruined Palaces, Temples, and Sepulchers, as a man would say, they were not seuerall Villages, but one great Citie. This said building is large, and foure square, and sustained by foure rankes of foure square pillars, into which wee were let down at a hole in the earth. Round about the entrance there were many Celles, almost foure square, and of an vnequall bignesse, parted with enteries winding about, and because the building is intricate, some thinke it was a Laberinth.

(v) The ruines of a stately building are opposite to this, into which wee descended by fortie staires; it hath no windowes, but all the light comes in at crannies, and it hath foure rankes of foure square pillars to beare vp the arched rooffe. Euery ranke hath twelue pillars, and in all they be fortie eight, and each one is twelue foote distant from the other, and twelue foote high; to which if you ad the high rooffe of the building, the roome is twenty five foot high, which I beheld not without being amazed at the magnificence of the Romans in these buildings. This house is little broken downe, and the plaister of the wall is so hard, as I could not pierce it with my dagger, and it is vulgarly called *la piscina mirabile*. It is certaine, that the Romans of old bestowed great charge in building places for the keeping of fish, and some thinke this was built to that purpose by *Antonia*, the wife of *Drusus*; others say by *Hortensius*: but *Leander* saith, that it was built to keepe fresh water, and he (with other Writers) doth iudge it a stately monumēt of the Pallace of *Lucullus* built neere *Baie*, which he proueth out of *Plutarch*, who mentions one Pallace of *Lucullus* in his foresaid village for his Summer dwelling, and another here neere *Baie* for his Winter abode. And *Tacitus* saith, that the Emperour *Tiberius* foreseeing his death, and often changing places, at last came to this place, and here died. It were an infinite worke if I should seuerally describe the Pallaces of *Marius*, *Cesar*, and *Lucullus*.

I will not omit, that our Guides (I know not how credibly) shewed vs certaine round (w) fields, compassed round with Mountaines, and at this time plowed, which they said were the Elisian fields.

We are now come to the (x) *Misene Promontary*, which hath the name of *Misenus*, friend to *Eneus*, buried here, or rather by him sacrificed to the gods at the Lake *Auernus* as is aforesaid. Vpon the top of this Mountaine was a Tower, of old called *Faro*, vpon which a light was hung for a sea-marke. Vnder the Mountaine (especially where it growes narrow, and vpon three sides is washed by the Sea) there be so many houses vnder the earth, as the pillars thereof seeme onely to beare vp the Mountaine, and among them there is one called *Grotta Tratonara*, of the winding passages therein, which by the ruines now remaining, seemes to haue been a magnificent worke, and this *Leander* thinke to haue been built to keepe fresh water.

Right opposite to this mountaine, is the (Y) Cape of *Minerva*, and neere that lies the Iland (K) *Caprea*, or *Capre*, easie to be seene by the white and high cliffes, and famous by the cruelty, and more then goatish lusts of the Emperour *Tiberius*, when he with-drew himselfe out of the sight of the Senate and people of *Rome*, to liue there in solitude. This Iland hath no Hauē, neither can little boates land there; whereupon being safe from Pirates, it was held a place of pleasure in the time of *Augustus*. The creeke of the sea, comming in betweene these two foresaid Promontories, was of old called *Sinus Cratera*. Vpon the side of the mountaine *Misene*, lying towards *Cuma*, is a lake of salt water

water, called the dead sea, into which, water falls out of the creeke of *Pozzoli*, and it was of old more large. For *Suetonius* writes that *Augustus* kept one Navy in this Lake, and another at *Ravenna*, to guard the vpper and lower sea. And *Tacitus* writes that his successour *Tiberius* kept two Nauies in those places. At this day the Lake is parted from the Sea, with a banke some fifty paces broad, and it is almost round in forme, and some two miles broad; and *Plutarke* writes that *Lucullus* made this Lake to keepe fishes therein.

From this mountaine *Misene*, we walked vpon the Sea shore five very short miles, and came to the ruines of the old City (*Z*) *Cuma*, built by the Calcedons of the Greek Iland *Euboia*, & the oldest City in all *Italy*, and it is said to haue had the name of a good presage from the Captaines of the Navy, or a woman great with child of that name. It was seated of old vpon a hill neere the sea shore, and yet on the side towards the land, the wals are standing, but the daughter hath deuoured the mother: for the increase of *Naples*, was the decrease of *Cuma*, yet the ruines still remaine, and vpon the top of the hill was the Temple of *Apollo*, of which *Virgil* writes;

At pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo, &c.

But good *Aeneas*, high *Apolloes* Towers, &c.

And there is yet an ancient Temple partly ruined. A triumphall Arch is yet vnbroken, but some say the foresaid Temple was consecrated to *Hercules*. Of old *Aristodamus* did lead the forces of *Cuma*, and after his victory they made him their Prince: and *Liuy* writes that *Tarquinius* the proud, being banished, came to him, and there died. Historians write that *Drusus* made a Ditch from this shore towards *Capua*. In the hill or mountaine of *Cuma*, there is a labyrinth vnder the earth, and from this hill we did see diuers Ilands neere the Land. The Poets fable that in one of them called (*F*) *Nisa*, the Witch *Calipso* dwelt. That in the second called (*G*) *Proetida*, the Gyant *Typhus* was buried, because of the flames that sometimes breake out of the earth. The third is called the (*H*) Iland of Saint *Martine*. The fourth is called (*I*) *Ischia*, wherein the Kings of *Naples* haue a strong Castle, to which the King fled for a time, when the French King *Charles* the eight tooke *Naples*.

We walked along this shore of the sea, to the Tower called (*R*) *della Patria*, being sixteene miles from *Naples*, eight miles from *Baie*, and five miles from *Cuma*. It is seated in a pleasant place, and vpon the West-side hath a Lake called by the name of the Tower, and the Riuer *Vulturnus* running into the sea. On the South-side the sea is neere, and vpon the East and North sides, it hath pleasant fields and hills. At this day there is no building standing, but the said Tower, and a poore miserable Inne to lodge passengers. But among the shrubs there be many ruines of houses, and of a bridge, and this place was of old called *Linternum*, whether *Scipio* the Affrican retired into voluntary banishment, to flie the enuy of the vngratefull Romans, and there he built him a stately Pallace, and a sepulcher in which he would be buried; saying, that the vngratefull Romans should not haue so much as his bones. *Liuy* in his twenty two Booke calls *Linternum* a sandy soyle, beyond *Vulturnus* from *Rome*: but *Leander* thinks that hee spake this of the territory, not of the place it selfe; and that the rather, because in his twenty three Booke, he writes, that *Sempronius* the Consull, did lead the forces to *Linternum* beyond *Vulturnus*, and there doth agree in the situation thereof with all writers; and the sharpe fountaine like vineger, whereof *Pliny* writes, is found among these ruines, which water he saith makes them drunken that drinke thereof, though others write that they haue taken it moderately without any such effect. *Pliny* also writes, that this water moderately taken, hath the vertue to cure the head-ach. While *Scipio* liued here in solitude, *Liuy* and *Plutarke* write, that certaine bold and valiant Pirats, vpon the fame of his vertue, came to see the face, & heare the words of so great a Captaine. *Liuy* in his thirty eight Booke, writes that he did see two sepulchers of *Scipio*, this at *Linternum*, and the other at *Rome*, neere the gate *Capena*, both decked with carued Images; and that these verses were written vpon his Tombe at *Linternum*;

Deuicto Annibale, capta Carthagine, & aucto

Imperio, hoc cineres marmore tectus habes.

*Cui non Europa, non obstitit Africa quondam,
Respice res hominum, quam brevis orna premat.
Hannibal foild, Carthage lack'd, and th' Empire
Inlarg'd, thine ashes in this marble lie,
Whom Europe or Afrique, nere made retire
How short a chest holds? see mans vanity.*

Leander thinks that *Scipio* was buried in this place, as well because *Livy* writes it, as for the words of *Scipio* related by *Valerius Maximus*, that his vngratefull Countrey should not haue so much as his bones. And he thinks that the monument at *Rome* was either built by *Scipio* in the time of his prosperity, or by his friends long after, in memory of so worthy a kinse-man. As we walked from *Cuma* to *Linternum*, we did see no memorable thing, but tooke this iourney onely out of desire to see the monument of this famous man, neither did we know the danger from banished men in this place, who often resort to this poore Inne; yet for that cause this way from *Naples* to *Rome*, more commodious then the other, and therefore hauing post-masters appointed there for publike affaires, had long beene forsaken by passengers. This way to *Rome* is thus distinguished into miles. From *Naples* to *la Patria* sixteene miles, to *la Rocca* foureteene, to *la Fratta* eighteene, to *Ponte Curto*, ten, to *Capetano* eight, to *Frusalone* eighteen, to *Piedauani* three, to *val di Montone* twenty two, to *la Fica* foureteene, to *Rome* eight. There is no house at *Linternum* but the foresaid base Inne, and there we lodged, and found not our supper answerable to the fruitfulness of *Campania*, neither had we any beds, and could hardly get cleane straw, which inconueniences were accompanied with the feare to be surpris'd by the banished men, so as we slept not one winke that night. Here we did see two Towers, one compassed with water, and neere the Tower *della Patria*, we did see the ruines of a stately Pallace, which they said was the Pallace of *Scipio*, and that he was buried there. Also we did see a pillar, vpon which were the Armes engrauen of the Kings of *Spain* and *Naples*, and we did see the ruines of a bridge, which shewed the old magnificence thereof. But there was nothing to be seene, that might counteruaile the danger we had runne. Our iourney the day before from *Naples* to *Baie* was very pleasant, through most fruitfull hils of corne and vines. But from *Cuma* to this Tower, the way vpon the sea shore was wild and barren, yet not farre distant within land we might see most pleasant and fruitfull hils.

When we had passed a night without sleepe at *Linternum*, we returned early in the morning to *Naples*, by the same way we came, but with a more right line. And there I made no stay, because *England* then had warres with *Spain*, but tooke the next opportunity to returne to *Rome* with the Carrier, after the same fashion I came hither; and I paid to my Vetturine fifty two poli for my horse and horse-meat, and my owne diet from *Naples* to *Rome*, and beyond my couenant (to gratifie him) I was content to pay for my diet the first and last meale, which I promised of my owne free will, yet should haue beene forced thereunto, for otherwise he would haue carried me fasting to *Rome*, and haue giuen me slender diet at *Capua*, being a plentiful place; and I obserued the other passengers to doe the like in these places, where they were out of danger.

I passe ouer the iournies, (which I haue discribed before, and wil only say in a word, that we returned to *Rome*, where that I might stay with more security, to see the antiquities thereof, it hapned very fitly, that the Cardinall *Allan* an Englishman, hauing vsed to persecute the English comming thither, and therefore being ill spoken of by them, had changed his mind, since the English had ouerthrowne the Spanish Nauy, in the yeere 1588. and there was now small hope of reducing *England* to papistry, and therefore to gaine his Country-mens loue, did not onely mislike that they should be intrapped at *Rome*, but did himselfe protect them, though suspected for religion, so they would seeke his fauour: whereof I being aduertised by the experience of others, when I had in silence, and through many dangers seene *Naples* subiect to the King of *Spain*, and was now returned to *Rome*, I presently went to the said Cardinall, and after the fashion, hauing kissed the hemme of his vesture, I humbly desired, that according to this his curtesie, for which hee was much honoured in *England*,

hee would receiue mee into his protection, till I might view the antiquities of *Rome*. He being of a goodly stature and countenance with a graue looke and pleasant speech bad me rest secure, so I could commaund my tongue, and should abstaine from offence. Onely for his duties sake, hee said, that he must aduise me, and for the loue of his Countrey intreate me, that I would be willing to heare those instructions for religion here, which I could not heare in *England*. I submitted my selfe to these conditions, and when (after due reuerence made) I would haue gone away, the English Gentlemen and Priests there present, ouertooke me in the next roome. Among these was an Englishman, a Priest of *Calabria*, who in my iourney from *Naples* hither, had been my consort by the way, at the table, and euen in bed, whom I had often heard talking with the Italians of English affaires, but more modestly and honestly then any man would expect of a Priest. He taking my selfe and one Master *Warrington* an English Gentleman by the hands, with an astonished looke, did congratulate with me, that I, who had bin his companion at bed and boord, and whom he had taken rather for any countriman, was now become an English man. All the rest commended my iudgement, in comming to the Cardinall, and inquiring after my lodging, promised to be my guides in *Rome*, and for Countries sake, to doe me all good offices, and so after mutuall salutations, I went from them. I well knew, that such guides would be very troublesome to me, for they (according to the manner) disputing of Religion, I must either seeme to consent by silence, or maintaine arguments ful of danger in that place, besides that to gratifie them for their courtesie, I must needes haue runne into extraordinary expences. Therefore hauing told them my lodging, I presently changed it, and tooke a chamber in a vitling house, in the Market-place, close vnder the Popes Pallace, where I thought they, or any else would least seeke mee, and so being free from that burthen, and yet secure in the Cardinals promised protection, I began boldly, (yet with as much hast as I possibly could make) to view the Antiquities of *Rome*.

The description of Rome, drawne rudely, but so as may serue the Reader to vnderstand the situation of the Monuments.



I. Il Borgo. I. I. Trastevere. III. L'Isola. IIII. The Gate del popolo. V. The Gate

gate *Pinciana*. VI. The gate *Salara*. VII. The gate *Pia*. VIII. The gate *di San Lorenzo*. IX. g. *Maggiore*. X. g. *di S. Giovanni*. XI. g. *Latina*. XII. g. *di S. Sebastiano*. XIII. g. *di S. Paolo*. XIV. g. *di Ripa*. XV. g. *di S. Pancratio*. XVI. g. *Settimiana*. XVII. g. *di S. Spirito*. XVIII. g. *Fornac*. XIX. g. *la portusa*. XX. g. *di Belvedere*. XXI. g. *di S. Angelo*. XXII. *Monte Capitolino*. XXIII. *M. Palatino*. XXIV. *M. Aventino*. XXV. *M. Celio*. XXVI. *M. Esquilino*. XXVII. *M. Viminale*. XXVIII. *M. Quirinale*. XXIX. *M. Vaticano*. XXX. *M. Ianicolo*. XXXI. *M. Pincio*. XXXII. *M. Citorio*. XXXIII. *M. Iordano*. XXXIV. *M. Testaceo*. XXXV. The bridge *di S. Angelo*. XXXVI. *b. Vaticano*. XXXVII. *b. Sisto*. XXXVIII. *b. di quattro Capi*. XXXIX. *b. di S. Maria*. XL. *b. di S. Bartolomeo*. XLI. *b. Sublicio*. A. The Church of *S. Giovanni Lateran*. B. C. of *S. Pietro*. C. C. of *S. Maria Maggiore*. D. C. of *S. Croce in Hierosolyma*. Q. The Pallace of the Pope. 3. *Belvedere*. 4. *Castel di S. Angelo*. 5. *l'obelisco di Giulio Cesare*. 6. The sepulcher *di Cestio*. 7. *Circus Maximus*. 8. The Church of *S. Stefano rotondo*. 9. *Trofei di Mario*. 10. *la colonna di Traiano*. 11. *la colonna d' Antonio*. 12. The Church of *S. Maria sopra la Minerva*. 13. *C. di S. Maria rotonda*. 14. The Market-place *Nauona*. 15. *C. di S. Maria della consolatione*. 16. The Market place *di Fiori*. 17. *C. de la Trinita*. 18. *C. di S. Rocco*. 19. The Bath of *Dioclesian*. 20. *le sette sale*. 21. The Arch of *Constantine*. 22. The Arch of *Vespasian*. 23. The Arch of *Septimius Severus*. 24. The Theater of *Marcellus*. 25. The Pallace of the Cardinall *di Farnese*.

Rome being situated on the East side of *Tiber*, may further bee distinguished into three parts seated on the West side of *Tiber*, whereof the first is called (I) *Il Borgo*, and it containeth the Popes Pallace, compassed with high walles by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, and the Garden thereof, which of the faire prospect is called *Belvedere*, and the *Librerie*, and the Church of Saint *Peter In vaticano*, and the field or Market-place lying before the Church, and the strong Castle Saint *Angelo*, all which were compassed with walles by Pope *Leo* the fourth, and for a time this part was of him called *Leonina*, but now it is called *Il Borgo*. The second part is called (II) *Trastevere* that is beyond the *Tiber*, and was called of old *Ianicolo*, of the Mountaine included therein; and also was called the Citie of the men of *Rauenna*, of the Souldiers which *Augustus* kept at *Rauenna* against *Anthony*, and after placed them here. And because the aire is vnwholesome, as the winde is that blowes heere from the South, it is onely inhabited by Artisans and poore people. And at this day it is compassed with walles, which seeme ancient, saue that it lies open towards the *Tiber* and *Rome*, and it is adorned with Churches and buildings, but much seuered one from the other. The third part is called (III) *l' Isola*, that is an Iland of *Tiber*, which of old was called *Licaonia*, of the Temple of *Iupiter* of *Licaonia*. When *Tarquinius* the proud was of old banished from *Rome*, the people abhorring to conuert the goods of such a wicked man to priuate vses, did make his ground a field for training of souldiers, and called it *Campus Martius*, and the Senate commanded the great store of his corne, chaffe, and straw, to bee cast into the *Tyber*, of which matter growing together, they say this Iland first came. After a Temple was built in this Iland, to *Esculapius*, brought hither from *Epidaurus* in the shape of a Serpent; and the Ile being consecrated to him, was then made in the forme of the ship that brought that serpent, whereof there is a monument in the Garden of Saint *Bartholmew*, namely a stone in the forme of a ship with a Serpent grauen vpon it. It is a quarter of a mile in length, and some fiftie paces in bredth, and it is full of stately Churches and houses.

If you draw a line from the East-side of the Mountaine *Capitolino* (XXII) to the Gate *del popolo*, (III) lying towards the North; and from the said Mountaine draw a line to the furthest part of the Bridge vpon the West side of the Iland of *Tyber*, this compasse may truly be called *Rome*, as at this day it is inhabited; for the rest lies wilde, hauing only ruines, and some scattered Churches and houses, and towards the South, fieldes of corne within the walles. They say, that *Romulus* did onely build vpon three Mountaines, the *Palatine*, the *Capitoline*, and the *Celian*, yet others adde the *Esquiline*, and that he compassed them with walles, and that he built the Gate *Carmentalis*, so called of the mother of *Euander*, which lies vnder the Capitoll vpon the right hand betwene the rock *Tarpeius* and the Riuer *Tiber*, and was also called the cursed Gate, of the 300 *Fabij*, which went out of the same to fight, and were all killed in one day. And

that he built the *Roman* Gate lying neere the Mount *Pallatine*, towards the Amphitheater, called *Obelisco*, and the Gate *Pandana*, so called, because it was alwaies open. After, seven Mountaines being inclosed, *Rome* had eight Gates, and after thirtie foure (as *Livy* writes); and at last thirtie seven Gates.

At this day the first Gate is called (III) *del popolo*, lying on the East-side of *Tiber*, towards the North, which of the Riuer was of old called *Flumentana*, and of the way of *Flaminius*, to which it did leade, was called *Flaminia*. The second Gate is called (V) *Pinciana*, of a Senator of that name; and of old was called *Collatina* of a Pallace adioyning; and it is a mile distant from the former Gate. The third Gate is called (VI) *la Salaria*, of salt brought in that way, and was of old called *Quirinalis*, of the Temple, or the Mountaine adioyning of the same name, and also called *Agona* of a Mountaine, or as hauing no corner; and also called *Collina* of a Hill, and it is lesse then a mile distant from the last named Gate. The fourth Gate is called (VII) *la Pia*, of Pope *Pius* the fourth, who repaired it, and the way without it, and it is more then halfe a mile distant from the last named Gate. At this day it is many times called Saint *Agnese* of a Church lying neere it. And it was of old called *Quirinalis* of Oseyres growing there, and also called *Figulensis* of Potters dwelling there; and also called of old *Numantina* of a Castle. I will omit the Gate, of old called *Inter Aggeres*, because almost no ruines thereof remaine at this day. The fifth Gate is called (VIII) *di S. Lorenzo* of the Church neere it. It was of old called *Tiburtina* (though others think that Gate was neerer to *Tyber* on this side) and *Esquilina* of a place neere it, and *Taurina* of a bulles head which still is grauen vpon it; and it is a mile and a halfe distant from the last named Gate. The sixth Gate is called (IX) *Maggiore*, and was of old called *Neuia*, and *Labicana*, and *Pranestina*. The seventh is called (X) *di S. Giovanni*; and it was of old called *Calimontana* of a Mountaine; and *Quercotulana* of an Oake, and *Settimia*, and *Asinaria*. The eighth is called (XI) *Latina* of *Latium* to which it leades, and was of old called *Firentina*, and is more then a mile distant from the seventh Gate. The ninth from the eighth more then halfe a mile distant, is called (XII) *di S. Sebastiano*, of the Church to which it leades, and was of old called *Capena* of the Citie or Riuer of that name; and also *Camena* of a Church, and *Appia* of the way which *Appius* the Censor pauered, and *Fontinale* of the Fountaines; and some write it was called *Trionfale* for part of the Triumphes that did enter there. And the brother of the *Horatij* escaping in the fight against the brothers *Curiatij*, did returne at this Gate: without the same is the Sepulcher of *Scipio* the Africane, whereof I spake describing *Linternum* neere *Naples* (where he would be buried, farre from his vngratefull Countrey). The tenth Gate is called (XIII) *di S. Paolo* of the Church whither it leades, and was of old called *Trigemina* of the 3 *Horatij* going out there, and called *Ostiensis*, as leading to *Ostia* where *Tyber* runs into the Sea, and it is a mile from the twelfth Gate, and as much distant from the Riuer *Tyber*. The eleuenth Gate lies on the West side of *Tyber*, in that part of the Citie which I said is called (I) *Trastevere*, and is distant from *Tyber* halfe a quarter of a mile, being called (XIII) *diripa*, and was of old called *Portuensis*, as leading to the Hauen of *Rome*, made by the Emperour *Claudius*. The twelfth Gate almost a mile distant from the former, is called (XV) *di S. Pancratio*, and of old was called *Aurelia* of *Aurelius* the Emperour, or of the way *Aurelia*, and of others called *Pancratiana*, and it lieth neere the Mountaine *Ianiculo*. The thirteenth Gate halfe a mile distant from the former, is called (XVI) *Settimiana*, of the Emperour *Settimius*, whose name is engrauen vpon it, & it was repaired by Pope *Alexander* the sixth. Some think this Gate was called *Fontinale*, others *Festinale*, and it is the last Gate in *Trastevere*. The fourteenth Gate is called (XVII) *di S. Spirito* and it is the first in that part of the Citie called (I) *Borgo*. The fifteenth gate is called in the map (XVII) *Fornacum*, but I find it called by Writers *del Torrione*, and *Posterula*, and to be repaired by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth. The sixteenth Gate is called (XIX) *la Portusa*, being neere to the Popes stables. The seventeenth is called (XX) *di Belvedere*, lying neere the Popes Pallace and (3) Garden, and it is called in some Mapps *Angelica*, and by others *Giulia*, of the Pope *Giulius*. The eighteenth is called (XXI) *di S. Angelo*, and *del Castello*, of the Castle *S. Angelo*, and it was of old called *Enea*, and more lately *di Cenello*. I passe ouer the Gate called of old *la Trionfante*, where the greatest triumphs did enter, because no ruines remaine thereof,

thereof, but onely it is said to haue bin seated neere the Triumphall Bridge. (XXXVI)

It remaines to speake of the waies leading to *Rome*, which I will note with the letters of the Gates leading to them. And first I will onely name the wayes that are within the walles.

The first *la Suburra* begins at the Amphitheater, called *Coliseo* (20), and leades to the Church Saint *Lucia* in *Orfia*. The second *la Sacra*, lies from the Arch of *Constantine* (21) to the Arch of *Vespasian* (22), through *Forum Romanum* (23), to the Capitol (XXII). The third *la Nuova*, did leade from the greater Pallace in Mount Palatine (XXIII) to the Bath of *Antonius* in Mount *Auentine* (XXIII). The fourth *la Trionfale*, did leade from the Mount *Vaticano* (XXIX), to the Capitol in the Mount (XXII). *Capitolino*. The fifth *la via retta*, was in the *Campiis Martiis*, where is *la colonna di Traiano* (10).

The Frier *Leander* describing *Rome*, nameth twentie nine waies within and without the walles, namely, 1. *Appia*. 2. *Latina*. 3. *Labicana*. 4. *Campana*. 5. *Pranestina*. 6. *Cumana*. 7. *Flaminia*. 8. *Cassia*. 9. *Tiburtina*. 10. *Collatina*. 11. *Nomentana*. 12. *Salaria*. 13. *Emilia*. 14. *Portuesen*. 15. *Cornelia*. 16. *Claudia*. 17. *Valeria*. 18. *Ostiensis*. 19. *Laurentina*. 20. *Ardeatina*. 21. *Gallica*. 22. *Tiberina*. 23. *Settimia*. 24. *Quintia*. 25. *Gallicana*. 26. *Triumphalis*. 27. *Prætoriana*. 28. *Laticulefen*. 29. *Aureliana*. And vpon these waies hee relates many stately Pallaces built out of the Citie. Now I will note the waies without the Gates by the same letters, by which I haue noted the Gates leading to them. Among these the most famous is the way of *Appius*, called the Queene of waies, most part of the chiefe Triumphes entring that way. It begins at the Gate of Saint (XII) *Sebastian*, and is pauered to *Capua*, and then deuided into two waies, that on the left hand leading to *Brun- dusium*, and that on the right hand leading to *Pozzoli* and to *Cuma*, hauing stately Pal- laces on all sides, and it hath the name of *Appius Claudius* the Cenfor. In this way two miles from the Citie the Romans built a Temple, in memory of *Hannibal*, who in- camping there, was forced to raise his siege with disgrace. The way of *Flaminius* is no lesse famous, which lies from the Pillar of *Antoninus* (11) to the Gate (III) *del popolo*, and did leade to *Kimini* vpon the *Adriatique* Sea, and part of it was called *Quincia*, and it was ioyned with the way called *Claudia*, and of old was called the large way. Where the way of *Flaminius* endes, there begins the way *Emilia*, made by his fellow Consul *Emilius, Lepidus*, leading to *Bologna*, and pauered to the very *Alpes*. Yet there is another way of the same name neere *Pisa*. The way *Collatina* is without the Gate (V) *Pinciana*; the way *Salaria* without the Gate (VI) *Salaria*; the way *Tiburtina* without the Gate (VII) Saint *Lorenzo*; the way *Pranestina* without the Gate (IX) *Maggiore*, on the left hand or East-side; and the way *Labicana* on the right hand or South-side of the same Gate. In the way *Pranestina* is the stately Conduit, or Aqueduct of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, extending it selfe many miles vpon the next Plaine, where lie the ruines no lesse wonderfull, whereof I spake in my iourney from *Rome* to *Naples*. To conclude, the way *Latina* is without the Gate (XI) *Latina*; the way *Ostiensis* without the Gate Saint (XIII) *Paolo*; the way *Aurelia* without the Gate (XV) Saint *Pancratio*; which (if I be not deceiued) was called also the way *Vitelia*, pauered from the Mount *Ianiculo* to the Sea. But who would not wonder, that from the Gate (XIX) *Portusa*, the way should leade into the Valley of Hell (for so it is called), close to the holy Seate of the Popes.

Rome was of old called *Septicollis*, of seven Hilles, or little Mountaines contained within the walles, namely *Capitolinus*, *Palatinus*, *Auentinus*, *Celius*, *Esquilinus*, *Viminalis*, and *Quirinalis*. Hereof the first and chiefe is (XXII) *Capitolinus*, of old called *Satur- nius*, of the Citie *Saturnia*, and *Tarpeius* of the Virgin *Terpeia*, which betraying her Countrey to the Sabines, giuing them entrance at that place, was for reward there kil- led by them. And at last in the raigne of *Tarquinius* the proud, it was called *Capitolinus* of a head digged out of the ground. At this day it is vulgarly called *il Capidoglio*. It is diuided into two parts, namely, the *Capitolium*, and the Rocke *Tarpeius*, lying on the Northside of the hil. And it had sixty Churches, wherof the chiefe was of old dedicated *Ioni Optimo Maximo*, where the Triumphers vsed to giue thanks for victory, and to

offer rich spoiles to *Iupiter*. And it was adorned with the stately building of the Capitolium, and with many stately Palaces of noble men. The second Mount is called (XXIII) *Palatinus*, of *Palantus*, Grand-father to *Euander*, (among many diuers opinions following *Virgil*). At this day it is vulgarly called *Palazzo Maggiore*, and it is a mile in circuit, but is not at all inhabited. And vpon the side lying towards the *Circus*, they shew a little house in the place where *Romulus* dwelt, onely preserued in memory of him. And vpon this Mount *Catilina* and *Catullus* and *Cicero* did dwell. The third mountaine was called (XXIII) *Auentinus*, of birds, by whose flight they vsed to prophecy, or of the King *Auentinus*. And it was of old called *Romorio*, of a place in the top, where they obserued the flight of the birds, and it hath two miles in compasse. The fourth Mount is (XXV) *Celius*, of *Celius* King of *Hetruria*, and was of old called *Querquetulanus*, of a Wood of Oakes. And a little Mountaine being part of it, is vulgarly called *Celsolus*, where I shall shew the Church of Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist to bee seated. Vpon this Mountaine was the house of *Scipio* the Africane, neere the Church of Saint *George*. The fifth Mountaine was called (XXVI) *Esquilinus*, or *Esquilia*, of the guard of the Pretorian souldiers, or of the fragments of meate cast there to feede hawkes. It reacheth from the Market-place of *Traian*, to the Baths of *Dioclesian*, and the Gate of *S. Lorenzo*, and the monument of *Marius*, vulgarly called *I Trofei*. And at this day it is called *Cespius*, and they say, that *Virgil* dwelt vpon this Mountaine. The sixth Mount was called (XXVII) *Viminalis*, being long and narrow, and some say it is part of the Mount *Esquiline*, but all writers generally reckon it among the seuen hills, and it had the name of the Church of *Iupiter Viminus*, so called of the Oseyers growing there, and they say *Marcus Crassus* dwelt vpon this Mountaine. The seuenth Mount was called (XXVIII) *Quirinalis* of the *Quirites*, or Senators dwelling there, or of the Speare of *Iuno*, and it was also called *Egonus*. At this day it is vulgarly called *Monte Cauallo*. There be two other Mountaines beyond the *Tyber*, which are seated in *Toscany*, not in *Latium*; for *Leander* makes all the places most neere to *Rome* on this side to belong to *Hetruria*. The first of these Mountes is called (XXIX) *Vaticanus*, of the crying of an infant, or of a god of that name, as *Gellius* writes, which god was the god of prophecies. Pope *Leo* the fourth compassed this Hill and the next field with walles, and called it *Leonina*, but at this day it is called *Il Borgo*. The other Mount beyond *Tyber* was called (XXX) *Ianiculus* of *Ianus* dwelling and buried there, and is now vulgarly called *Mortorio*. Within the walls of *Rome* there bee some other Hills or little Mountaines, but lesse famous. The first is called (XXXI) *Pincius*, and vulgarly *deli hortuli*, reaching to the Gate *Salaria*. The second was called (XXXII) *Citorius*, and of old *Citatorius* of the Tribes descending from thence to chuse Magistrates, as those that were sutors to be Magistrates descended from the Mount *Pincius*, and went into *Campus Martius*. The third Mount lesse and more obscure, is called (XXXIII) *Iordanus*, of the family *Orsini*, who at this day haue their Pallaces vpon it. The fourth Mount lesse and obscure is called (XXXIII) *Testaceus*, of earthen pots, for the Potters of old dwelt there, and the images and vessels of the Temples were for the most part of earth. And when the dead bodies were burned, the ashes were laied vp in these vessels, whereupon a heape grew to a Hill, and a Hill to a Mount. Many doe falsely thinke, that it had the name of such vessels, in which tribute was brought to *Rome*, and then the vessels were broken here.

Of old eight bridges were built ouer *Tyber*, among which is reckoned *Pons Miluius*, vulgarly *Ponte Mole*, without the gate (III) *Del popolo* more then a mile distant from *Rome*, and neere this bridge *Constantine* the Great, vnder the signe of the Crosse did overcome the tyrant *Maxentius*. Also this bridge was famous for the night lusts of *Nero*. The second bridge is called (XXXV) *di Castel' Sant' Angelo*, and it was of old called *Elius*, of the Emperour *Elius Adrianus*, who built it; but Pope *Nicholas* the fifth built it as now it stands, and set vpon it the Image of Saint *Peter* with his keyes, and of Saint *Paul* with his sword. The third bridge is called (XXXVI) *Vaticanus*, as leading to that Mount, and was also of old called *Triumphalis*, of the Triumphes passing vpon it, and it was not lawfull for the Countrey people to enter that way, but at this day onely

onely the ruines thereof are scene. The fourth bridge is called (XXXVII) *Ponte-Sisto* of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who repaired it. It was of old called *Ianiculensis* of that Mount, and *Aurelius* of the way of that name, and it was built of marble by *Antoninus Pius*, and after being decayed, was long called *Ponte Rotto*, that is, the broken bridge, till the said Pope repaired it in the yeere 1475. and it is two hundred and fiftene foote broad, and is built vpon three Arches of stone. The fifth bridge ioining *Rome* and the Iland, and next to the *Capitolium*, is called (XXXVIII) *Ponte di quattro Capi*, and was of old called *Tarpeius*, of the Rocke *Tarpeia*, which is in the Mount *Capitolino*, and was called *Fabricius* of the repairer, and it is seuentie foot long, and hath but one Arch of stone. The sixth bridge of a Church neere it is called (XXXIX) *di S. Maria Egiziaca*, and was of old called *Senatorius* and *Palatinus*, and it is somewhat longer then the bridge *Sisto*. The seuenth bridge of a Church neere it is called (XL) *di S. Bartolomeo*, and it is opposite to the fifth bridge, and ioineth the Iland with that part of *Rome* called *Trastevere*, and of old it was called *Esquilinus*, and *Cestius*, and it is sixty foot long, hauing but one Arch of stone. The eight bridge at the foot of the Mount *Auentine*, was of old called (XLI) *Sublicius*, because it was built of wood, in the warre with the *Tuscanes*, that it might be more easily broken and repaired. And we read that the *Tuscanes* being Victors, had taken *Rome*, if *Horatius Cocles* had not defended the bridge, till it was broken downe behind him, which done, he saued himselfe by swimming. After that *Emilius Lepidus* built this bridge of stone, and called it *Emilius*; and when it was broken with floods, first the Emperour *Tyberius* repaired it, and then *Antoninus Pius* built it very high of marble, & condemned men were cast from it into the water. This bridge being the first that was built ouer *Tyber*, now is not to be scene by any ruines.

Rome by the great power of the Emperours, and since of the Popes, hath beene long most famous, and was first built in *Latium* vpon *Tyber*, fiftene miles from the *Tyrrhene* sea, (as the Greekes write) by *Ascanius*, *Eurilantes*, *Romulus*, and *Remus*, Nephewes to *Aeneas*, or (as other Greekes write) by the *Achiui*, or (as other Greekes write) by the sonnes of *Roma*, a woman of *Troy*, married to the Latine King of the *Aborigenes*, which sonnes were *Romulus* and *Remus*, or (as *Xenagoras* writes) by the sonne of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, to omit many other opinions of the Greekes. The Latine Historians doe no lesse vary. Some say it was built by the sonnes of *Aeneas*, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. Others say that *Ascanius* built *Alba*, and *Remus* built *Capua*, and *Romulus* built *Ianiculum*, after called *Rome*. But I omit these diuers opinions, and will follow *Leander* the Fryar, who saith that *Roma* the daughter of the King in *Italy*, built *Rome* the same yeere that *Moses* was borne. And when the City had beene long forsaken, for the vnwholsome ayre of the Fennes adioining, that *Euander* comming from *Arcadia* into *Italy*, seated himselfe vpon the Mount *Palatine*, and built a City called *Palantium*, of his City in *Arcadia*, and he being dead, that *Hercules* comming with an Army, left some of his consorts here, who built vpon the Mount of *Saturnius*, after called *Capitolinus*. Before the destruction of *Troy*, for the vnwholsome aire, *Rome* being againe forsaken, that the *Albani* began to dwell therein Cottages, and feed their flockes there. For by the continuall ouerflowings of *Tyber*, the field was made fenney, and the aire vnwholsome; but Historians write that vpon sacrifices made to God *Vertuno*, these Fennes by little and little were dried vp. Hee addes that *Amulius* tooke the Kingdome of the *Albani* from his brother *Numitor*, whose daughter *Rhea* a Vestall Virgin being great with child by *Amulius*, *Mars*, or any other, brought forth *Romulus* and *Remus*, and *Amulius* left them by *Tyber* to perish in the waters, but a shee wolfe fed them, and after *Fausulus* ouerseer of al the flockes and cattell of *Amulius*, tooke them home, who comming to ripe yeeres killed *Amulius*, and restored their Grand-father *Numitor* to his Kingdome: but themselues being desirous to build a City vpon the Mount *Palatine*, at the foote whereof they had been cast out, *Romulus* drew with a plow the circuit of the Citie, of a quadrangular forme, in the 430. yeere after the destruction of *Troy*, and in the yeere of the World 3211. He gaue Mount *Celius* to be inhabited by *Celius* King of *Toscany*, aiding him against the *Sabines*, and then taking by force

the Sabine women, and they making peace betweene them, he gaue to *Tatius* and his Sabines for their dwelling the Mountaines *Capitolinus* and *Quirinalis*, and to his brother *Remus* the Mount *Auentinus*, and kept for himselfe and his men the Mountaines *Palatinus* and *Esquilinus*, till the rest being dead, himselfe alone became Lord of all. The seven rockes were of old called seven hills, hauing a pleasant plaine betweene them and *Tyber*: and this circuit is in forme of a bent bowe, the *Tyber* standing for the string. *Romulus* made the City foure square, but he being dead, *Ancus Martius* inclosed the Mount *Ianiculus* beyond *Tyber*, and *Seruius* inclosed other Mounts on this side of the *Tyber*. Six Kings raigned two hundred forty three yeeres in *Rome*, and *Torquius* being banished, it became a popular State, wherein Consuls yeerely chosen did gouerne; and eight hundred eighty seven Consuls, in foure hundred sixty foure yeeres, by forty three battels obtained the Empire almost of the whole world. In the meane time the *Decemviri* (that is tenn men) ruled for two yeeres, and the Tribunes for Military affaires, hauing Consular power, ruled forty three yeeres, and in the time of any difficult warre, a Dictator was chosen, who with absolute power ruled till that businesse was ended, and there were no Magistrates for foure yeeres. At last *Julius Caesar* with the title of perpetuall Dictator, inuaded the Empire, which being after diuided into the Orientall and Occidentall Empire, and the Occidentall being destroied by the incursions of barbarous Nations, the Bishops of *Rome* by little and little cast their Orientall Lords out of *Italy*, and erected a new Occidentall Empire in *France*, that they might inuade the power of the Roman Emperors, and of the heavenly iurisdiction vpon earth, vnder pretext of Religion, by a new monster of a Roman wit, drawne from the supremacy of the Apostle Saint *Peter*.

Pliny in his time makes the circuit of *Rome* twenty miles, and *Vopiscus* in the time of the Emperour *Aurelius*, makes the circuit fifty miles, but he ioyned to *Rome* all the neighbour villages. At this day if you adde to *Rome* the two parts beyond *Tyber*, called *Traстеuere* and *Borgo*, the circuit at the most is fiftene miles, for others say thirteene or fouteene, besides that a very great part of this circuit within the walles is not inhabited: and the walles notwithstanding lie not vpon their old foundations, neither are built of that matter, but as it pleased those who repaired them. Among which *Belisarius* gouernour of *Italy*, vnder the Emperour *Iustinian*, built *Rome* demolished by the *Gothes*, and made the circuit of the walles lesse; and Pope *Adrian* the first, a Roman, the wals being fallen, built them as now they stand, and many of his successors haue since added new ornaments to decayed *Rome*. But the old wals (as appeares by some ruines) were built of foure square stone, the rest are of diuers building, as it pleased the repairers, and haue a bricke gallery to walke vpon, vnder which men may stand dry when it raines; and they being ready to fall with age, haue many round Towers, which in like sort are ready to fall. *Rome* at this day is troubled with the old ouerflowings of *Tyber*, by reason of the *Tyber*s narrow bed, not able to receiue the waters, falling suddenly from neere mountaines, after great raine or melting of snow. For memory whereof, these inscriptions are vpon the wals of the Church of Saint *Mary sopra Minerua*. In the yere 1530. (if I be not deceiued; for the first words are rased out) the Ides of *October*, *Clement* the seventh being Pope.

Huc Tyber ascendit, iamq; obruta tota fuisse

Roma, nisi celerem virgo tulisset opem:

Thus farre came *Tyber*, and all *Rome* had drown'd;

Had we not from the *Virgin*, swift helpe found.

And there in another place this verse is written, in the yere M V D.

Extulit huc tumidas turbidas Amnis aquas.

Thus farre this muddy brookes water did swell.

In each place is a red marke vpon the wals how high the water ascended, by which it appeares, marking the seat of the Church, that all the plaine was ouerflowed betweene it and the *Tyber*. By reason of these floods, and for that the City is built vpon the caues of old *Rome*, (which makes the foundations to be laid with great charge) and also by reason of the vapours rising from the Baths, the aire of *Rome* is

at this day vnwholsome. The Romans drinke raine water, and the troubled waters of *Tyber*, kept in Cesternes, and they bragge that it is proper to the water of *Tyber*, the longer it is kept to grow more pure. Surely strangers doe not like that water, how soeuer the Romans (making a vertue of necessity) doe say that it was onely made good to drinke at *Rome*, and no where els, by the blessing of Pope *Gregory* the Great.

Now being to describe the antiquities of *Rome*, I will first set downe out of order the seuen Churches, famous for the indulgences of Popes, which they say were built by the Emperour *Constantine* the Great. Then I will set downe the rest in due order, as they are seated. And because I finished in hast the view of *Rome* in foure daies, I will distinguish the Antiquities into foure daies iournies.

The first day being to visit these seuen Churches, by reason of their distance, and the hast we made, I and my comforts hired each of vs a mule, each man for two poli, and we neuer found our errour till the euening, when we demanding the way of a man of meane sort, he replied thus with some anger; What doe you ride to heaven, and we poore wretches goe on foote without shooes to visit these holy Churches. By this we found our errour, and were glad that we had passed that day without further danger. In generall these Churches are bare on the Inside, without any pictures, except some few about the Altars. This day we first rode to the chiefe Church, (A) *di S. Giouanni Laterano*, seated vpon Mount *Celius*, and built by *Constantine* the Great, in his Pallace, and it hath a stately Font, in which that Emperour was baptized; and in the Church there be foure most faire pillars of brasse. The Church is sustained by foure rowes of bricke pillars, and there hang certaine banners taken from the French; and neere the doore the Popes, *Sergius* the fourth, and *Siluester* the second, are buried in low monuments. In the Church yard are old sepulchers, and little pillars of marble. Neere to this Church lie those holy staires, whereof I spake in my iourney from *Rome* to *Naples*, when our Italian comforts went to pray for a happy iourney, kneeling without the grates. But they that will haue the grates opened, to pray there, vse to creepe vpon their knees from staire to staire, and vpon each staire to say a pater noster, and *Aue Maria*. These staires are twenty six in number, diuided into three rowes, and they be of marble, vulgarly called *Scale Sante*, and were brought from the house of *Pilate* in *Hierusalem*. It is not safe for him to inquire after relikes, who will not worship them: yet to satisfie the curious, I will set downe the chiefe by heare-say. Here they shew a tooth of *Saint Peter*; a Cup in which *Saint Iohn* dranke poyson at the command of *Domitian*, and had no hurt. The cloth with which *Christ* dried his Disciples feet, the heads of *Peter* and *Paul*, the rodde of *Aaron*, the Arke of the couenant, the table at which *Christ* supped; three marble gates of *Pilates* house, the Image of *Christ* being twelue yeeres old, with the like. Part of these (they say) were brought from *Hierusalem* by the Emperour *Titus*; yet he was no Christian; nor like to regard the monuments of *Christ*. One Chappell of this Church is called, *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and is thought to haue beene the Chamber of *Constantine*, neither may any woman enter it. To conclude, the place is shewed here, in which many counsels haue beene held, and the Popes long dwelt here, before the Pallace in the Vaticane was built.

The Church of (B) *Saint Peter* in the Mount *Vaticano*, ioines to the Popes Pallace, they say it was built by *Constantine* the Great. The Popes haue giuen full remission of finnes to them that pray here vpon certaine daies, and like remission for certaine yeeres finnes, praying on other daies; and the remission of the third part of all finnes, praying there vpon *Saint Peters* euen. And you must vnderstand that all these Churches haue some like indulgences. Here they shew the bodies of *Saint Simeon*, and *Saint Iude* the Apostle, and *Saint Iohn Chrysostome*, and of Pope *Saint Gregory* the Great: and the head of *Saint Andrew* and of *Saint Luke* the Euangelist, and halfe the bodies of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, and *Christ*s face printed vpon the hand-kercher of *Veronica*, and the head of the speare thrust into the side of *Christ*; and among many pillars brought from *Hierusalem*, one vpon which *Christ* leaned, when he did preach and cast out Diuels, which yet hath power (as they say) to cast out Diuels. Alwaies vnderstand that in *Italy* Priests that cast out Diuels; are
most

most frequent, neither are they wanting in any place where the Papists can hide their impostures. Great part of these relikes they say were sent by the Turkish Emperour to Pope *Innocent* the eight. But I omit these things, into which none but Papists may safely inquire, and returne to the monuments which lie open to every mans view. The Chappell is most rich in which *Gregory* the xiiij. lies, and the stately sepulcher of Pope *Paul* the third hath most faire statuaes. The statua of Saint *Peter* of brasfe placed vnder the Organs, was of old erected to *Iupiter Capitolinus*. In the Court of the Church (for I cannot call it a Church-yard) the Emperour *Otho* the second lies buried, in a low sepulcher of Porphry. There is a most faire Pine apple of brasfe, gilded; more then five cubites high, which they say was brought hither from the monument of the Emperour *Adrian*, in the place where the Castle of Saint *Angelo* now stands, (as likewise the Peacockes were brought from the Monument of *Scipio*.)

The third Church of *S^t Paul* is without the (XIII) gate of *S^t Paul*, about a mile from the City, in the way to *Ostia*, and they say it was built by *Constantine*, and it stands vpon eighty eight pillars of marble, in foure rowes, each pillar being but one stone, and it is adorned with marble staires, and pictures *Alla Mosaica*, as if they were engraue, which are onely in the chancell and neere the doore. The Popes haue giuen great indulgences to these Churches, as well as to others. They shew here the bodies of Saint *Timothy*, Saint *Celsus*, and Saint *Julian*, Disciples to Saint *Paul*, and halfe the bodies of Saint *Peter* and *S^t Paul*, and a Crucifix which of old spake to Saint *Briget*, the Queene of *Sueuia*, and many armes and fingers of Saints. Neere this Church is that of Saint *Anastatius*, where the head of Saint *Paul* being cut off, made three leapes, and in the place where it fell, they say there sprang vp three fountaines, which are there to bee seene.

The fourth Church of Saint (C) *Mary Maggiore*, is vpon the Mount *Esquiline*: I will omit hence forward the indulgences and relikes, lest I be tedious. This Church is adorned with forty pillars of Marble. The rich Chappell *di prasepio*, (so called of the cratch in which Christ was borne, being kept here) is stately adorned with the pavement engraue, the arched roofe gilded, pictures *Alla Mosaica* as if they were engraue, the stately sepulcher of Pope *Nicholas*, and his statua of white marble. The Chappell of *Pius Quintus*, built for him after his death by *Sixtus* the fifth, is adorned with the Victory painted in golden letters, which he and his confederates had by sea against *Selimus* Emperour of the Turkes, and is adorned with statuaes gilded, with foure Angels gilded, and precious stones, together with the rare Art of engrauers and Painters.

The fifth Church *S. Lorenzo*, is without the (VIII) gate of that name, in the way to *Tiburtina*, something more then a mile from the City, and it is said to be built by *Constantine* the Great. He that goes to this Church every wednesday in a whole yeere, shall deliuer a soule from Purgatory, if the Pope keepe his promise. It is adorned with a Pulpit of white marble, and most faire ophite stones, and at the doore, with a sepulcher of Saint *Eustacius*, of white marble curiously carued, and another sepulcher opposite to that.

The sixth Church *S. Sebastiano*, is without the (XI I) gate of that name, more then a mile out of the City, in the way of *Appius*. Here is a place called *Catacombe*, and there is a well, in which they say the bodies of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* did lie vnknowne a long time, and here is a way vnder earth to the Church yard of *Calixtus*, where they say the Christians lay hid, in the times of persecution; and that there were found 174. thousand which had beene made Martyres, and that eight of these were Bishops of *Rome*. Here on all sides with amazement I beheld the ruines of old buildings, and the sepulcher of the Emperour *Aurelius* is not farre from this Church.

The seuenth Church (D) *di S. Croce* in *Gierusalem*, is seated between the gate *Maggiore*, & the gate *S. Giouanni*, vpon the Mount *Celins* or rather *Celiolus*, being part of it, and it is said that *Constantine* the Great built it. Here they shew a little vessell filled with the blood of Christ, and the sponge which they gaue him with vineger vpon the crosse, and the title which *Pilate* writ vpon the Crosse, and one of the thirty pence which

Iudas tooke for betraying Christ. And no woman may enter into the Chappell wherein *Helena* is said to haue praied, but once onely in the yeere vpon the twelfth of March. And this Church giues the title to a Cardinall.

The second day we began the view of *Rome* with the (Q) Popes Pallace, seated in the part of the Citie, called *Il Borgo*; which Pallace Pope *Nicholas* the third built, and *Nicholas* the fifth compassed with walles, and the Pallace is of great circuit, and the staires are so easie, that Horses and Mules may goe vp to the top of the Mountaine, and with easie ascent and descent beare the Popes carriage. At the enterance there be three galleries one aboue the other, whereof the two first were built by *Leo* the tenth, and *Paul* the third, and the third and highest by *Sixtus Quintus*, and they are all fairely painted and gilded. Vpon these lie two large chambers, and beyond them is a vast and long gallery of foure hundred seuentie and one walking paces, in the midst whereof is the famous Librarie of the Popes *In vaticano*; and therein are many inscriptions of the Pope *Sixtus Quintus* who repaired it, and it is adorned with many faire pictures gilded all ouer. I did see the seuerall roomes thereof. The first one hundred fortie and seuen walking paces long, had three rowes of Cubbards filled with bookes: the second was thirtie nine paces long; and the third containing the bookes of greatest price locked vp, was twentie paces long. Pope *Sixtus* the fourth built this Librarie, with the Chappell of the Pallace, and the Conclau. The wall of the Chappell shineth like a glasse with precious stones: where the Pope *Sixtus Quintus* commanded *Michael Angelo* to paint the day of Iudgement, and the common report is, that this Pope promised this famous Painter, that he would not come into the Chappell, till he had finished his worke; yet by some Cardinals perswasions that he broke his promise, and that the Painter thereupon made the pictures of the Pope and the Cardinals in hell amongst the Diuels, so liuely as euery man might know them. Betweene this Chappell and the Conclau, (where they chuse the Popes) lies a Kingly Gallery, not vnworthily called vulgarly *Sala Regia*, (which others call *Sala del Conclau*). The wall of this Gallery in like sort shineth with pretious stones, and the pauement is of pretious marble, the arched rooffe all gilded, and at the vpper end I wondred to see the Massacre of *Paris* painted vpon the wall, with the Popes inscription greatly commending that detestable cruelty. At the same vpper end the foresaid Chappell (as you come vp) lies one the left hand, and the Conclau on the right hand; in which Conclau the Cardinals meete to chuse the Pope, deuided into seuerall roomes, but meeting at a common table, and when they haue chosen him, they leade him into a Chappell at the lower end, and neere the dore of the said Kingly Gallery, and place him there vpon a hollow seate of Marble. I know not whether this be the chaire, in which the sex of the Pope is tried, but I am sure it is hollow, with a hole in the bottom. After they put a Banner out of a high window, and there make knowne to the people the name that the Pope hath chosen, and then his armes are hung vp round about. This Chappell at the lower end of the said Gallery, hath the name of Pope *Paul* the third, of the Family of *Farnese*, and it is little, and of a round forme (as I remember), but it is beautifull beyond imagination. The images of the Apostles seeme to bee of siluer, and Paradice painted vpon the arched rooffe, with Angels flying, being the worke of *Michael Angelo*, seemed to me admirable. Vpon the other side of the said Library is the priuate Gallery of the Pope, looking into the Garden (3) *Belvedere*, which is seated vpon the side of the Mount *Vatican*, where Pope *Innocent* the eighth built part of the Pallace, and called it *Belvedere*, of the faire prospect of all *Rome* subiect to the eye. And Pope *Iulius* the second placed in this Garden many very faire statuaes, namely, of the Riuer *Nilus*, of the Riuer *Tyber*, of *Romulus* and *Remus* playing with the papps of a shee-Wolfe, all being placed in the open Garden, and a most faire statua of *Apollo*, another admirable statua of *Lycaon* with his children, another of the boy *Antoninus*, whom the Emperour *Adrian* loued, another of *Hercules*, another of *Cupid*, another of *Venus*, another of *Cleopatra* sleeping with her arme ouer her face, and bearing a Serpent, being a wonderfull faire statua. And these are all locked vp, and not to be seene without fauour.

Hence we went to the Castle (4) of Saint *Angelo* of old called *Moles Adriani*, for it
was

was the Sepulcher of the Emperour *Adrian*, vpon the top whereof was the Pine apple of brasse, which before I said was since placed in the open Court-yard of Saint *Peter's* Church. This Sepulcher of *Adrian* called *Moles* (B) was demolished by *Belisarius*, in the warre of the Goathes, vpon the ruines whereof Pope *Boniface* the eight built this Castle, and Pope *Alexander* the sixth compassed it with walles and ditches, and placed therein a guard of Souldiers, and built from this Castle to the Popes Pallace an open and a close gallery, by which vpon any tumult, the Pope may passe safely from his Pallace to the Castle. And after Pope *Paul* the third built very faire chambers in this Castle. On the outside is the statua of Pope *Pius* the fourth, and within is the statua of *Paul* the third, vpon which these verses are written of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth comming to *Rome*.

E Lybia venit Romanas victor ad arces

Cesar, & in nineis aureis iuit Equis.

Ille triumphauit, sed tu plus Paule triumphas,

Victor namq; tuis oscula dat pedibus.

With victory to *Rome* from *Affrick* came

Cesar, on milke white Horses, golden all.

He Triumph'd, *Paul* thy triumph hath more fame,

This Conquerour to kisse thy feete did fall.

In this Castle they shew the head of *Adrian*, the statua of Saint *Peter*, a bunch of Grapes of brasse, the place where the Cardinall *Caietan* escaped out of prison, and a Trap-doore where prisoners are let downe into a dungeon. The chambers are built in a circle round about the great chamber in the middest, which is called *Sala regia*, and without is a round Garden within the walles, and vpon the top of the Castle, in the place of the said Pine apple, is the statua of the Angell *Michael*, of which the Castle hath the name. The medowes of *Quintus Cincinnatus* lie neere this Castle.

In the (5) Market place or field before the Church of Saint *Peter*, (where of old was *Metonians Circus*), *Sixtus Quintus* adorning *Rome* with many ornaments, erected an Obeliske seuentie two foote high, vpon the top whereof the ashes of *Iulius Caesar* were put of old: but in the yeere 1586 this Pope consecrated the same to the Crosse, and put vpon the top of it a Crosse gilded, and beneath foure Lions gilded. This Obeliske is vulgarly called *La Guglia di S. Pietro*. The globe, in which the ashes of *Iulius Caesar* were put, is now shewed in the *Capitoll*, and in the place thereof stands the said Crosse, with the Armes of the said Pope.

In this part of the Citie called *Il Borgo*, and in the very Market-place before Saint *Peters* Church, is another Church called Saint *Marie In Campo Santo*, because the yard thereof is all of earth brought from *Hierusalem*, wherein all strangers are buried, and they say, there bodies are consumed in three dayes. Neere that lies the Church of Saint *Spirito* (called also *Sassia* of the Saxons that of old dwelled there), and this is an Hospitall for the sicke, and for Orphanes, the rent whereof is said to haue been each day seuen thousand Crownes, till Pope *Sixtus Quintus* did alien great part thereof to other vses, and still of the surplufage at the yeeres ende, many Orphen Virgins are married. The Chappell of Saint *Angelo* lies close to the Castle, and was built by the Pope, who singing the Leteny therein the time of a great plague, made the Romans beleue, that he did see *Michael* the Angell putting vp a bloody sword in the sheath, and hereof the Castle hath the name. And it is a Schoole, or Fraternitie of Gentlemen, like to our Companies in *London*. The Church of Saint *Egidius* the Abbot, hath great concourse to it in the moneth of September, when Agues raigne in *Rome*; for this Saint is the Patron for Agues.

From hence we went out of (II) *Borgo* by the Gate Saint *Spirito*, and entered the second part of *Rome* *Trasleuere*, by the Gate (XVI) *Settimana*, where vnder the Church of Saint *Peter Montorio*, is the *Naumachia* of *Nero*, that is a place to represent Natall fights, and neere it is the like of *Iulius Caesar*. From this Church, to the Church Saint *Honorio*, is a Plaine, wherein was the large and long *Circus* or Theater of *Iulius Caesar*. In this part of the Citie the Church of Saint *Cecilia* giues the title of a Cardinall, and so doth

doth the Church of Saint *Grifogona*. The said Church of Saint *Mary* in this part of the City, is the same which the old Romans called *Taberna Meritoria*, where they shew a Fountaine, whence (they say) that oyle did flow abundantly, and runne towards *Tiber*, the same night when Christ was borne; and this Church also giues the title of a Cardinall, and the old Romans called it *Taberna Meritoria*; of the souldiers nourished there, after they were past seruice by age or wounds. This Church of Saint *Peter* is seated vpon the Mount *Ianiculus*, in which there is a stately Monument erected by Pope *Iulius* the third, to his vncle the Cardinall *di Monte*. The Church of Saint *Pan- cratius* hath many stones of porphry, and giues the title of a Cardinall, and the Friars of Saint *Ambrose* dwell in this Monastery. The Church Saint *Honorio* is a Monastery, and giues the title of a Cardinall. Neere the gate called *Ripa*, was of old the Romans Armory, of great circuit, lying vpon the *Tyber*, the vast ruines whereof yet remaine, and the people of *Rome* seruing for more then two hundred yeeres in the warres without any pay, was wont here to take Armes at their going forth; and here to lay them vp at their returne. And neere this place lie the meadowes, giuen by the people of *Rome* to *Mucius Scauola*, for his valiant behauiour with King *Porfena*.

Hence turning to the left hand, we came to the (I I I) Island of *Tyber*, in which the Church of S. *Bartholmew* (of old consecrated to *Aesculapius*) is adorned with 4 stately pillars of porphry, it giues the title to a Cardinall. At the foot of the bridge (XXXIX) *S. Maria*, as you come out of the Island and enter into *Rome*, is the ruined house of *Pontius Pilate*, and opposite to that is the most ancient Church consecrated to the Moone, and vpon the other side another to the Sunne. Here also is the Theater of *Marcellus*, and the porch of *Mercury*.

Not farre thence is a marble head, called *Bocca della verita*, that is, the mouth of truth, of a woman (as I remember) falsifying her oath, and bewraied thereby; but others say it is the Idoll of *Rhea*. Here also is the Church of Saint *Mary*, called the Greeke Schoole, in which Saint *Augustine* is said to haue taught, but it is shut vp. At the foot of Mount *Auentine*, (where the Iewes vse to fish) if you looke backe, you shall see the ruines of the old bridge *Sublicius* (XLI). Thence going to the gate of Saint *Paul*, among vines, you shall see the ruines of one hundred and forty garners for corne, built of old by the Romans. In the pleasant meadow wherein the (XXXIII) mount *Tesaccus* lies, the Romans were wont of old to keepe their Olimpike games. The sepulcher of (6) *Caius Cestus* is most ancient; rising in a pyramis, and the inscription shewes it was built in three hundred and thirty daies, which the common sort falsly thinkes to be the Monument of *Romulus*. This monument of stone is compassed with wals, and it hath an inscription in great letters, but raced out. Some also thinke that it is the monument of *Publius Sestius*. From the gate of Saint *Paul* we returned into the City, and vnder the Church of Saint *Gregory*, where Laundresses continually wash, they say that of old the (7) *Circus Maximus*, of greatest Theater did lie betweene the Mount *Palatine* and the Mount *Auentine*, being more then a quarter of a mile long, and halfe a quarter broad, which was built by *Tarquinius Priscus* for the hunting of Bulls; and running of Horses, and after was enlarged by *Iulius Caesar* and other Emperours, so as it receiued 260 thousand beholders, being adorned with pillars and commodious seates, and at this day the place is called *Cerchi*. Neere this place were of late three rowes of pillars, one aboue the other; and this monument is called *il Setti Zonio di Seuerus*, of seuen souldiers engraued thereupon, and is thought to be the sepulcher of *Septimius Seuerus*, but the Pope *Sixtus* the fifth pulled it downe. Neere this place vpon (XXIII) Mount *Auentine* lie the Bathes halfe ruined of *Antonius Caracalla*, built of bricke, the large chambers whereof, almost innumerable, are of exceeding height, hauing many stones and pillars of marble, whereby it appeares to haue beene a most stately work. The (8) church of *S. Stephano Orotando*, seated in mount *Celius*, giues the title of a Cardinall, and is possessed by Fryars of *Hungary*, and it was a Heathen Church of *Faunus*. There lie old and high wals, said to haue beene part of the conduit bringing water to the Capitoll. I haue before spoken of the Church of (A) Saint *Iohn Lateran*, being one of the seuen Churches, and of *Constantines* Font therein, and of the Chappel called Holy of Holies, and of the holy staires. I wil adde that here is an Obeliske, called *la Guglia*; of old consecrated to the Sunne, and brought out of *Egypt*.

which *Julius Caesar*, or *Augustus*, did direct in the *Circus Maximus*, but Pope *Sixtus* the fifth brought it hither, in the fourth yeere of his Popedom, and the yeere of our Lord 1588. and consecrating it to the Crosse, set a gilded crosse vpon the top of it. This Obeliske, if it were of one stone, were to be preferred to that of Saint *Peter*, neere the Popes Pallace, for otherwise it is higher and more curiously carued. I haue spoken before of the Church (D) *S. Croce* in *Gerusalem*, being one of the seuen Churches, seated neere the gate *Maggiore*. At the gate of this Church they shew a place where the whores keepe a feast vpon the twenty of *August*, and there of old was the Temple of *Venus*. The Theater of bricke which is in this Church, they say was built by *Statilius Taurus*. Hence returning into the City, we passed by a place, where of old was a monument called *Trofei di Mario*, erected to *Caius Marius*, triumphing vpon *Ingraha* and the *Cymbri*, and they say that the ruines thereof were admirable, but now it is all defaced. Neere the staires of the Capitoll, they shew a ruinous heape, which some say, was this monument of *Marius*. Passing towards the Capitoll, we did see a Triumphall Arch erected to *Galienus*, which of the Church adioining is called the Arch of Saint *Vito*, and it is little perished with age.

Concerning the Churches lying from the Capitoll to the south parts of *Rome*: The Church of Saint *Anastasia*, that of Saint *Mary in portico* (of old dedicated by the Heathens to *Pudicitia*), that of Saint *Iohn*, that of Saint *Paul* vpon mount *Celius*, that of Saint *Mary In Dominica*, that of Saint *Sissus*, that of Saint *Sabina* vpon Mount *Auentine* (in which they shew a stone cast by the Diuell at the head of Saint *Dominicke*, and broken by miracle,) that of Saint *Prisca* (of old dedicated to *Hercules*) that of Saint *Balbina* vpon Mount *Auentine*, that of Saint *Iohn* at the gate *Latina* (where it is said *Domitian* cast Saint *Iohn* into boyling oyle, but he escaped without hurt) that of Saint *Mary in Via*, without the gate of Saint *Paul*, towards *Ostia*, all these Churches giue titles to Cardinals. Neere the Church of Saint *Alexius*, is a palme tree, whereof I remember not to haue seene any other at *Rome*. In the Church of Saint *Sana* the Abbot, neere the other vpon Mount *Auentine*, be the sepulchers of the Emperours *Vespasian* and *Titus* his son, of white marble, and the Altar hath two pillars of porphery.

The third day we began our view of *Rome*, at the (10) pillar of the Emperor *Traian*, erected to him making warre against the Parthians, which he neuer saw, dying in his returne. It is seated in a little market place, and was consecrated by Pope *Sixtus* the fifth to Saint *Peter*, whose Image of brasse gilded ouer, is set vpon the top thereof, with this inscription in Latin; *Sixtus the fifth dedicated it to Saint Peter, the third yeere of his Popedom*. The victories and actions of *Traian* are ingrauen vpon it, and his ashes were of old placed in the top, and here also was the horse of *Traian*. This pillar is said to be one hundred twenty three foote high, and it hath within, two hundred twenty three staires to the top, and forty foure windowes to let in light. Hence we turned towards the City, and came to (11) *Campus Martius*, neere the hill *Citorius*, which now is called *piazza Colonna*, of the pillar of *Antoninus Pius* there erected, which Pope *Sixtus* the fifth dedicated to Saint *Paul*, setting his Image on the top, and it hath about one hundred and seuenty staires to ascend, and fifty sixe windowes, and the outside is curiously engrauen with the actions of *Antoninus*. The foresaid *Campus Martius* was the field of *Tarquin* the proud, which the people of *Rome* dedicated to *Mars*, for military exercises. Neere the Church of Saint *Mary liberatrice dalle pene d'Inferno*, seated in *Forum Romanum*, and neere the (12) Arch of *Settimius* was of old the Temple of *Vesta*, where her Virgines kept the sacred hier, and the Image of *Minerua*, and being conuicted of vnchastity, were led out of the gate *Saliria* with silence, and were buried aliue, in a place there called *Campus Sceleratus*, being left or buried in a caue with a candle lighted, and water and milke. Neere this Church are most high pillars of the ruines of a marble gallery, which *Caligula* built from the Capitoll to the Mount *Palatine*. The (12) Church of *S. Mary Sopra la Minerua*, is so called, for being of old consecrated to *Minerua*, and it giues the title of a Cardinall. Behind the Altar, is the statua of Pope *Leo* the tenth, and neere it another of *Clement* the seuenth, both of white marble; and another of *Paul* the fourth of brasse. In this Church I did see the most proud procession of the Pope, and there was such a presse to kisse his feet, as I had almost beene carried by force to kisse them, or vndergoe capitall danger by refusall. The Church of (13) Saint *Mary Ro-*
tunda,

tonda; was of old called *Pantheon*, and the building is most ancient and magnificent, being round in forme, & hauing no window, but all the light coming from the open rooffe, whence the water falling is conuayed vnder the pauement, and it is about seuen-ty walking paces large euery way. The porch is borne vp with fiftene marble pillars, each pillar being of one stone, and all of admirable beauty and bignes. The doore is of brasfe, the wals of brick, with the inside couered with precious stones, and the pauement is of marble and porphery. *Marcus Agrippa* sonne in law to *Augustus* built this Church, and dedicated it to *Iupiter* the Reuenger, and to *Ceres*, and to all the gods; whereupon it was called *Pantheon*. Not farre thence are the ruines of the Bath of *Agrippa*, in a place called *Giambella*, and neere the Church of Saint *Eustace*, great ruines of the Baths of *Nero* are yet remaining. The place of old called (14) *Circus Agonius*, is now called *la piazza Nauona*, and it is the largest market place of *Rome*, wherein markets are kept euery wednesday. The Romans vsed it to see plaies and games of old, being a large place, yet of greater length then bredth. Here lies the Spaniards Church Saint *Iacobo*, and many of that Nation dwell there; who vpon Easter euen, and vpon festiuall times of their owne Nation, vse to make fier-workes there, with many other solemne games. It hath three fountaines, but the building is poore. At one end of this market place, in a corner of a street opposite to a publike Pallace, is the statua of *Pasquin*, vpon a wall of a priuate house, which hath neither armes nor feet, they being cut off by passengers in the night. For all libels, euen against the Pope himselte, vse to be made in forme of a dialogue, and fastened vpon this statua of *Pasquin*, and another of *Marforio* (whereof I shall speake after) they two bearing the persons one of the question maker, the other of the answerer. Neere the Church of (15) Saint *Mary de la Consolatione*, as we came backe into the City, our guide shewed vs a place, where the house of *Ouid* did stand. Concerning the Churches lying about the Mount *Capitoline*; that of Saint *Mary In Acquiro*, seated in the market place vulgarly *piazza Crapanella*, giues the title of a Cardinall. In the same market place is the monastery and Church of the Iesuites. The Church of Saint *Mauro* hath a little Obeliske erected. That of Saint *Eustace* giues the title to a Cardinall. Neere it lies the Church of Saint *Lewis* proper to the French, (for all Kingdomes and Prouinces haue their peculiar Churches at *Rome*.) The Church of Saint *Apollinaris*, and that of Saint *Thomas In parione*, and that of Saint *Laurence In Damaso*, and that of Saint *Angelo In piscaria* (which of old was consecrated to *Iuno*) and that of Saint *Nicholas In Carcere*, doe all giue the titles of Cardinals. The Church and Hospitall called Saint *Mary del Anima*, is proper to the Dutch Nation. The Church and Hospitall of Saint *Thomas*, vulgarly *di S. Tomaso*, is built for the English, and is seated neere the (25) Pallace of *Farnesi*.

The fourth day we began the view of *Rome* at the Market-place, called (16) *la piazza di Fiori*, lying in the way from the Iland of *Tyber*, as you goe to the Bridge of *S. Angelo*. Here was the house of the harlot *Flora*, who made the people of *Rome* her heire, wherupon the Romans to couer her shame, made her the goddesse of flowers, and yeerely kept her birth day vpon the third of April, of which feast I shal speake after. This Marketplace is seated in the most inhabited place of *Rome*, among all the chiefe shops of Merchants. And therein the family of *Orsini* haue a Pallace, and neere the same was the Theater of *Pompey*, & his court or publike house, pulled down because *Caesar* was therein killed. And from this Market place towards the Iland of *Tyber*, lyes the streete of the Iewes. In the way from the Church of the Trinitie, to the Mount *Quirinalis*, vulgarly called (17) *Monte Canallo*, were the famous Gardens of *Salustius*; and neere that Church was the *Naumachia* (that is the place to represent Nauall fights) called of *Augustus*. Neere to the Church Saint *Rocco*, lies the (18) Sepulcher of *Augustus* called *Mausoleum*, the ruines whereof yet remaine. He built it for himselte and other Emperours, of a round forme, and adorned it with stones of Marble and Porphery, and like pillars and Obeliskes, placing his owne statua of brasfe vpon the top, so as they daily dig vp goodly Images out of the Caue and Garden neere it. The Pinacle of this Monument Pope *Sixtus* the fifth remoued to the Church Saint *Marie Maggiore*, and this monument with the Groue planted about it, reached from the Church Saint *Rocco*, to Saint *Marie del popolo*. Neere to the Gate (III) *del Popolo* lies the said Church of that name, vnder the Altar whereof the bones of *Nero* were laid; which, they say, were kept by spirits,

till Pope *Pascall* by reuelation from the blessed Virgin had warning to cast the bones into *Tiber*. Whensoever the Plague is in *Rome*, this Church is made one of the seven in the place of Saint *Sebastian*, with all the indulgences to it belonging, and it alwaies carries that title. Here bee two faire Sepulchers, whereof one is for a Chauncelor of *Millan*, the other for Pope *Sixtus* the fifth sisters sonne, both the worke of *Andrew Sansouine*. The yard of this Church hath an Obeliske, almost as faire as that neere Saint *John Lateran*, which Pope *Sixtus* the fifth also erected. Concerning the Churches from this Gate *del popolo*, to the (XXII) Mount *Capitolino*, the Church of Saint *Laurence* in *Lucinia*, that of Saint *Siluester*, that of the holy Apostles, that of Saint *Marcello*, and that of Saint *Marke*, doe all giue titles to Cardinals. Neere the Church Saint *Siluester* is the Monastery *delle Conuertite*, that is, of Harlots repenting, and becomming Nunnes. The Church *S. Mary de Rione della pigna*, is a Monastery *di Sante Donne miserabili*, that is, of holy miserable women, and neere that is another Monastery *delle mal' Maritate*, that is, of women vnfortunately married and left in want by their husbands. The foresaid Gate *del popolo*, was repaired and beautified by Pope *Pius* the fourth. Neere it lies the most sweete Vineyard of Pope *Iulius* the third, and his pleasant Fountaine, casting vp water two elles high. Not farre thence is a triumphal Arch erected to *Domitian*, vulgarly called *Portogallo*. From this gate *Del popolo*, towards the (V) gate *Pinciana*, and neere the (17) Church *della Trinita*, we did see the Pallace of the Florentine Cardinall *de Medicis* (who from a Cardinal became the Duke of *Florence* by right of succession).

And this Pallace was rich & stately, the staires winding so artificially, as it was a beautiful sight to look in a perpendicular line from the top to the foot, and vpon the staires was a faire statua of *Apollo*. Hence there was a Gallery open on the sides towards the Garden, full of beautifull Images, of Lions, a shee-Wolfe, a Ramme, all of white Marble, with other Images, and very faire pillars. And the first Garden had onely flowers; the second in the vpper part, had a sweete Groue, and the lower part was full of fruit trees. There was a Fountaine with a brasen Image of *Mercurie* vpon it. Vpon a Mount called *Pernasso*, were many Images of white Marble, of *Pegasus*, of the Muses, and one of *Cleopatra*, fairer then that I saw in the Popes Garden, with two Images of *Cerberus*, and another monster. There were two large Cesternes of Porphery. And in a Chamber were the Images, of a Satyr, a Nimph, and a Gryphon. Lastly, in the Groue were staires paved with carued Marble, with figures of fishes, and there was a most faire statua of *Europa* sitting vpon a Bulles backe. The outside of the Groue was all of Firre trees, which are greene in winter, but the inside had most pleasant walkes among rowes of many other kindes of trees. In this Groue was a most sweete Arbour, hauing foure roofes, and as it were chambers, one aboue the other, the first whereof is twentie staires from the ground, whence lay a most large and most faire Gallery of stone, vnder which was a most pleasant solitarie walke, betweene two walles, all set with Orangetrees, and like fruit.

The large way leading to the Cities Gate *Pia*, was paved by Pope *Pius* the fourth, and hath on each side a pleasant walke, and is also called *Pia* of the same Pope, as the (VII) Gate is which hee built. Betweene this Gate and the next of (VIII) Saint *Laurence* was of old a large Park, in which the people of *Rome* kept beasts to be hunted. Hence we went towards the Mount *Quirinalis*, vulgarly (XXVIII) *Monte Cauallo*, and vnder the most pleasant Vineyard of the Cardinall of *Ferraria*, were many Caues and old ruines, and there is a field, where in honour of (16) *Flora* (as I said formerly describing that Market-place) the harlots of *Rome* kept a yeerely feast, and dwelling in the foresaid Caues, vsed to runne from thence naked into this field, with vnspeakable libertie of speech and gesture.

From hence passing a little lane, we ascended to (XXVII) *Monte Cauallo* which is so called of two Horses of Marble set there, which they write to haue been giuen to *Nero* by *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, the one wrought by *Phydias*, the other by *Praxitiles*. The common people holdes one of them for *Bucephalus*, and thinkes that *Alexander* holdes his bridle, and that they were wrought by the foresaid engrauers in emulation one of the other. But the farre different age of *Alexander*, and the said engrauers makes this opinion vnprobable. Two men are ingrauen, who holde the bridles of the horses, as if they should leade them, and some thinke that they were made for two horses,

ses of *Diomedes*, which did eate mans flesh, and were tamed by *Hercules*. The Pallace of *Nero* was neere this Mount, and from thence they shew some ruines thereof. This Pallace (as histories doe witnesse) did reach from Mount *Celins* to Mount *Palatine*, and to the furthest part of Mount *Esquiline*, and it was compassed with a lake, hauing within the circuit thereof, Meadows, Vineyards, Woods, and Parkes, and all the house was guilded, and thereupon was called golden; it shined with Tuory, and pretious stones, and the great Hall thereof did moue round like the World, casting out flowers and odors. From hence *Nero* saw *Rome* burnt with ioy, and all this building was burnt in the time of *Traian* the Emperour; and when *Nero* had finished this house, he said, that he began then first to dwell like a man. Vpon this said Mountaine of the Horses, the Pope hath a stately Pallace, which a Cardinall of *Ferrara* built, and he being dead, Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth sealed vpon it. The staires are very faire, each hauing his pillar, and the ascent is most easie. I think a fairer Gallerie can hardly be seene, being one hundred and twentie walking paces long. There is a Chamber wherein Pope *Sixtus* the fifth died. A second wherein Ambassadours are heard. A third in which Cardinals are chosen. The Popes study is very pleasant, and so is the Garden, hauing many Fountaines, Groues, Labyrinthes, a Rocke artificially distilling water, and many most sweet Arbours. Moreouer, on this Mount is the most faire Fountaine of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, called the Happie; for hither is the water brought from the stately Conduit without the Gate *Maggiore*, in the way (IX) *Pranestina*, reaching many miles, which was built by Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, with Imperiall magnificence, in the yeere 1587. And this Fountaine casteth out waters from the mouthes of foure Lions of white Marble. Likewise vpon the same is the Image of *Moses*, striking the Rocke with his Rod; and there be two other mouthes lower to cast out water, and it is all engrauen with the said historie of *Moses*.

Descending from this Mount, we did see in a priuate Gentlemans house an Horse of brasse, esteemed at twenty five thousand pounds sterling, which *Henrie* the second had placed at *Paris* (as they said), if death had not preuented him. Hence towards the East we went forward towards the Bathes of *Dioclesian*, and by the way at the foote of the Mount of the Horses, we did see the Bathes of *Constantine*. A man cannot sufficiently wonder at the ruines of *Dioclesians* Baths, by which it seemes they were of incredible greatnesse; and they report, that this Emperour compelled many thousands of Christians to worke vpon this building for many yeeres. Vnder the earth are gates and diuers passages of vnknowne extent. Vpon these Bathes Pope *Pius* the fourth in the yeere 1561 built the Church Saint *Mary* of the *Angels*, and with the consent of the people of *Rome*, gaue it to the Carthusian Friars. In the roomes of this Bath Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, in the yeere 1575 built a Granary for Corne, and the said Church of Saint *Marie* is beautified with faire pillars thirtie spannes compasse, and with exquisite pictures, especially those two neere the Altar, of the Emperour *Maximilian* and his Emperesse. Hence we went to the Church of Saint (C) *Marie Maggiore*, being one of the seven Churches, and vnder this Church, vpon a Hill neere Saint *Potentiana* (which giues the title to a Cardinall) of old were the *Nonatian* Bathes. And vpon Mount (XXVI) *Esquiline*, neere the Church Saint *Laurence In Palesterna*, (giuing title to a Cardinall) were of old the *Olimpique* Bathes. And the said Church of Saint *Marie* is built, where the Temple of *Isis* stood, highly honoured of the old Romans. Pope *Sixtus* the fifth brought hither in the yeere 1587 the foresaid *Obeliske*, from the Sepulcher of *Augustus* neere (18) Saint *Rocco* and it is the lowest and the least of all the *Obeliskes*. Vpon this Mount *Esquiline* was a place for burning dead bodies, but the Romans being offended with the smoke, *Augustus* gaue that field to *Mecenas*, who made most famous Gardens there. Hereabouts lies the Chappell of Saint *Luke*, peculiar to the Painters, and there was a groue consecrated to *Iuno*. The Church of Saint *Anthony* is little, but full of faire pictures, and in the Vineyard of the Hospitall, was the stately Church of *Diana*. And the famous Church of *Mars* was built, where that of Saint *Martin* now stands (which giues the title to a Cardinall). As we went from Mount *Esquiline* to the Theater of *Vespasian*, we saw by the way a rare Monument, built by the said Emperour, or

his sonne *Titus* vpon Mount *Esquiline*. It hath nine Cesternes vnder the ground, and is vulgarly called *Sette sale*, of seuen seuerall chambers, where of each is seuentene foote broad, twelue foote high, and one hundred thirtie seuen foote long, and hath foure doores, which so answer one another, as a man may see all the roomes at once. Neere the Church of Saint *Clement* is the wonderfull Theater of *Vespasian*, vulgarly called *Il Coliseo*, in which the people were wont to see the fighting of Fencers, the hunting of wilde beasts, and like games, and it receiued one hundred and nintie (others say eightie flue) thousand persons, and the outside was of old round, but the inside of Oual forme, and as high as the top of Mount *Celins*. I obserued the building now to be of bricke, and the foundation to be sixtie walking paces broad, and to haue foure rowes of seates one aboue the other, and the inside from the foundation of the seates to bee eight walking paces broad, and one hundred thirtie and fiue paces long. The ruines of the like Theater, but lesse, built by *Statilius*, lie neere the Church (D) *San' Croce*.

The foresaid Church of Saint *Clement* giues the title to a Cardinall, but the wals are all ruined, and this part is not inhabited, neither is the streete paued from thence to the Church (D) *S. Croce*, in memory (as they say) of Pope *Ioane*, which being great with childe, and hauing gone a solemne Procession from (A) Saint *Iohn Lateran*, to the said Church of the (D) holy *Grosse*, as she returned this way, amidst her pompe was deliuered of a Childe.

Neere to the said Theater of *Vespasian* lies the Triumphall Arch erected to *Constantine* the great, when he had ouercome *Maxentius*, and it is most faire and curiously carued. Neere that is the Church of Saint *Marie* the new, which giues the title to a Cardinall, and in the Garden is a monument of the idoll *Serapis*. The (22) Triumphall Arch erected to *Vespasian*, and *Titus* when hee came from the destruction of *Ierusalem*, hath but one Arch, and is lesse then the former erected to *Constantine*, but it is no lesse adorned with their actions engrauen. Neere the said Church of Saint *Marie* the new, lie the vast ruines of the famous Temple of Peace, the roose whereof is richly engrauen. Neere this is a kind of Gibet, which they called of old *Tygillum Sororium*, that is, the sisters rafter, because when the *Horatij* three brothers had killed the *Curiatij* three brothers, yet onely one of the *Horatij* remaining aliue, he returning into the Citie, and finding his sister weepe for her priuate losse in a day of publique ioy, killed her with his owne handes, and for shew of iustice, was condemned to passe vnder this rafter, without further punishment, in respect of his desert in that battell. Vpon mount *Palatine* of old was a Pallace, now called vulgarly (XXIII) *Il palazzo Maggiore*, in which most of the Emperours did dwell, and vpon the ruines thereof the deceased Cardinall *Faynese* had a pleasant Vineyard. And at the foote of this Mountaine, neere the Chappell of Saint *Theodor*, they say that *Romulus* and *Remus* were cast forth and nourished by a shee-Wolfe: for they say, that *Tyber* of old did runne this way, though now it hath changed the bed. The Church of Saint *Cosmo* giues the title of a Cardinall, and there the Temple of *Romulus* was of old seated. Also the Temple and Pallace of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Empreffe *Faustina*, daughter to *Antoninus Pius*, were in this place. In the same field of old called the (11) Roman Market-place. I said before, that the Temple of the Vestall Virgins was seated, neere the Church Saint *Marie Liberatrice*, which was also consecrated to *Venus*. There also in the field called *Vaccino*, three pillars are yet remaining of the ruines of the Marble Gallerie which *Caligula* built, and those pillars are very high, and not farre from them was the Lake or Gulfe, into which *Curtius* cast himselfe for his Countries sake. The Triumphall Arch erected to *L. Septimius Scaerus*, for his victory against the Parthians, is curiously engrauen with that warre, and it is the fairest Arch, next that of *Constantine*, and it is seated at the foote of the Mount *Capitoline*, in the Market place, called of old *Forum Romanum* (for it began at the foote of the (XXII) Mount *Capitoline*, and reached to the foote of (XXIII) Mount *Palatine*, where now is the Church of Saint *Cosmo*.) And therein was a Monument erected, called *la Ringhiera*, from whence Orations were made to the people, and it is probable, that this was the place called *Rostra*, where *Cicero* made his Orations to the people, for Antiquaries agree that it was in this Market-place. In which also

also at the foote of the Capitoll, of old was a Pillar, called *Miliare Aureum*, which shewed the way to all the Gates, and whether soeuer a man would goe. There also at this day is a Church with a brasen dore, where was the Treasurie of the people of *Rome*, the gates whereof *Iulius Caesar* broke, and tooke from thence infinite treasure. Neere this place is the statua of *Iupiter Panarius* (others say of the Riuer *Rheine*) vpon the head whereof stood one of the feete of *Domitians* Horse of brasse, and this statua is now called *Marforio*, and it is of Marble, lying at length as vpon a Tombe, as that (14) of *Pasquin* stands vpright against a wall, and vpon these two Images are fastened all the libels of *Rome*, framed in manner of dialogue. This statua of *Marforio* was of late taken vp by Pope *Clement* the eighth out of the valley, and placed vpon this Mount before the Capitoll, as appeareth by the inscription, besides that the place was to be seene whence it was taken.

Vpon this Mount (XXII) *Capitoline*, of old was seated the famous Capitoll; and now there is the Senate house, the building whereof hath no magnificence. Betweene two Senate houses is a yard, in which lies the Rock *Tarpeia*; from the top whereof condemned men were cast of old. In the fore-yard of the Capitoll, is a horsemans statua of brasse, gilded, which was erected to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, and for the engrauers art is held of inestimable price. Fro this place great part of *Rome* lies open to the eye in a sweete prospect: The foresaid statua was set in this place by Pope *Paul* the 3 in the yere 1538. Therby lies a foot statua of white Marble, & the fore said monument, (9) which Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, in the yeere 1590. remoued to this place from the old monumēt erected to *Gaius Marins*. There also is the foresaid statua of (23) *Marforio* which was taken away by the Consuls of *Rome* from the first place, and placed here by Pope *Clement* the eight. Here also is the pillar of Combat, and a most pleasant fountaine built by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, where lie two ancient Images of white marble of two riuers *Tygris* and *Nylus*. There be also three pillars brought from the Temple of Concord (where the old Senators of *Rome* did meete.) Within the Capitoll or Senate house it selfe, we did see many most faire antiquities; namely, statuacs erected to *Iulius Caesar*, to *Octauius*, to *Augustus*, and to *Marinus* seuen times Consull; the Image of *Heroules* of brasse, gilded ouer, which was digged out of the ruines of the Temple of *Hercules*, in the time of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, also the Images of *Hercules* his sonne, of *Iupiter*, of *Minerua*, and of *Ceres*, all of marble, a head of brasse vpon which was engrauen *Iunius M. Brutus*; two statuacs of yong men, whereof one standeth vpright in the habite of a seruant, the other being naked, hath one foot aboue the other knee, with a needle in his hand to pull a thorne out of it, and both are of brasse gilded ouer, and of admirable beauty. The Image of *Auentine* digged out of Mount *Auentine*, a brasen image of a shee-wolfe which gaue sucke to *Romulus* and *Remus*, and it was made of sinck imposed vpon vsurers, a brasen statua of *Aeneas*, a brasen statua erected to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, for repressing the banished men, another of marble erected to Pope *Leo* the tenth. We did see in the hall of Iudgement within this Capitoll, the statuacs of marble erected to Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth; to Pope *Paul* the third, and to King *Charles* made a Senator of *Rome*. Vpon the sight of these, a Gentleman told vs, that by a Law he was made infamous, who should make mention of erecting a statua to any Pope while he liued. In the foreyard of the Capitoll, we did see the fragments of an huge Colossus, and vpon the wall neere the staires, the Triumphs of *Marcus Aurelius*, engrauen in square marble stones. There we did also see marble fragments digged vp vnder the Arch of *Settimius*, vpon which were engrauen the names of Consuls, Dictators, and Censors, and vnder the very porch, the head of an Emperour, the pillar of Nauall fights, the sepulcher of *Settimius Alexander Seuerus*, and of his mother *Iulia Mammea*, brought hither from the field of *Fabricius*; the image of *Minerua*, certaine images of brasse of the Monster *Sphinx*; the bones intombed of *Agrippina* neece to *Augustus*, and wife to *Germanicus*; the Image of a Lyon deuouring another beast, and certaine ancient vessels to keepe wine. Vpon this Mountaine, of old were sixty Temples; but of all other the Temple of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* built by *Tarquine* the proud, was most esteemed by the old Romans. From this Mountaine

we ascended by 128. broad staires of marble (brought hither from the Temple of *Quirinus* vpon *Monte Cauallo*) to the Church of Saint *Maria Ara Celi*, built vpon the ruines of the Temple of *Iupiter Feretrius*, and of the Pallace of the Emperour *Augustus*. And vpon these staires were two statuaes erected to the Emperour *Constantine*, and the Church it selfe is adorned with many marble pillers and stones, and a Pulpit of porphery, and it hath the name of an Altar, which they shew there erected to the Son of the Virgin, by *Augustus*, who they say had read in the Oracles of *Sybilla*, that a Virgin should bring forth a sonne. The arched roofe of the Church is richly gilded, and here Pope *Pius* the fourth consecrated the spoiles taken from the Turkes in the nauall victory of him and his confederates; the memory whereof is there kept by an inscription vpon a pillar. Also the Senate and people of *Rome*; haue here erected a table to Pope *Paul* the third, vpon which is written in golden letters, that while he was Cardinall, he erected here many antient monuments digged vp in *Rome* at his owne charge. On the other side of the Mount *Capitoline*, (towards the West as I remember) at the very foot of the mountaine, is the *Tullian* prison; appointed for that vse by the old Kings *Ancus Martius* and *Tullus*, in which they say the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* were imprisoned; and at this day there is a Church vnder the earth, called *Saint Peter In Carcere*.

The (24) Theater of *Marcellus* sonne to the sister of *Augustus*, is heere the Pallace of the Family *Sauilla*. Not farre thence towards the fish market, was the *Porticus* of *Octavia*, sister to *Augustus*, but no ruines now remaine thereof. The (25) pallace of the Cardinall *Farnese* is seated in a plain, being one of the fairest in *Rome*, which for the dignity of such a City, hath very few stately Pallaces. Here I did see an admirable statua, cut out in one stone, of a Bull treading a woman vnder his fecte, with the Images of two brothers standing vpright, and of a hunting dogge, with the figure of a high Rocke. Concerning the Churches which we did see in this daies iourney. The (23) Church of Saint *Adrian* in the market place called *Romanum*, or *Boiarium*. The Church of Saint *Peter* and *Marcellanus* (betweene the (20) Theater of *Vespasian* and the Church (A) *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, the Church of Saint *Matthew*, in the way towards (C) Saint *Mary Maggiore* the Church of Saint *Pietro in vincula* (vpon (XXV I) Mount *Esquiline*, (where is a sepulcher of white marble of Pope *Iulius* the second, adorned with faire statuaes, namely, one of *Moyes* of the rare worke of *Michael Angelo*,) the Church of *Agata*, vpon the same mountaine, the Church of Saint *Vito In Macello*, the Church of Saint *Ensebius* (neere the mounment called (9) *Trofei di Mario* the Church of Saint *Prasida*, seated neere (C) *S. Maria Maggiore* whose chappell called *Horto del Paradiso*, no woman may enter), the Church of Saint *Quirico*, the Church Saint *Susanna* vpon (XXVII I) *Monte Cauallo*, the Church Saint *Vitalis*: Al these Churches giue the titles of Cardinals. The Church Saint *Costanza*, is a long mile out of the (VI I) gate *Pia* and was of old dedicated to *Bacchus*, where is a most faire sepulcher and large, of porphry, ten ordinary spannes deepe, and fiteene long, curiously engrauen with boyes quaffing, and bearing cups of wine, as in a Feast of *Bacchus*, which some thinke to be the sepulcher of *Constantia* a Virgine, daughter to *Constantine*, but the engraving like a Feast of *Bacchus* seemes more ancient, and to be wrought by the Heathen Romans, and it is vulgarly called the sepulcher of *Bacchus*. This Church is of a round forme and little, but very faire, and borne vp with twelue rowes of marble pillars, set in a round compasse. Neere this lies the Church of Saint *Agnese*, hauing doores of brasse, where the Lambes are kept, whereof the Pals of Arch-bishops are made, which the Pope so dearly fels.

At my first comming to *Rome* I lodged in a publike Inne, and paid three giulij each meale, then as I haue written, I hastened my iourney to *Naples*, and after returning to *Rome*, I hired a chamber by the day, and bought my owne meat, but my haste to be gone, made me not to note my particular expences. Onely I remember that they who sold any thing in the market, vsed to look into the hands of the buyers to see whether they brought siluer or brasse coyne, and thereafter made their price; whereupon many shewed siluer, till they had bought, and then paid in copper, which the people durst
not

not refuse. And from hence it was, that in a solemne pompe, when the people fell on their knees before the Pope, and I thought they onely expected his blessing, they all cried out; Holy Father command that we may haue white bread, and that the Gentlemen may be forced to take our brasle quatrines: so as it seemes they refused to receiue them. I scarce bought my meat one or two daies in *Rome*: For after I had beene with Cardinall *Allen*, I formerly said, that to shun the company of his Englishmen, I changed my lodging, and my selfe and two Dutch Gentlemen my consorts, tooke a chamber in a victualling house, close vnder the Popes Pallace; and each of vs paid for our bed each night one or two baocchi, and bought our meat in that house, agreeing for the price before we did eat it, and so being ready vpon all euents of danger, and hauing no carriage to trouble vs, we hoped if need were to escape; yet still I rested much vpon the Cardinals promise, and being free from Englishmens company, and hauing two honest Dutch Gentlemen for my consorts, both borne in the Palatinate of *Rheme*, where they professe the same religion as in *England*, I did with more security set my selfe freely to satisfie my curiosity in the view of *Rome*.

After being desirous to see the mouth of *Tyber*, where it falls into the sea, I went out of the gate of Saint *Paul*, and hauing the narrow bed of *Tyber* on my right hand, passed twelue miles to *Ostia*, through fruitfull hills of corne, and a vast wood at my iournies end. Here is a strong Castle seated in *Latium*, and belonging to the Popes of *Rome*, which Pope *Martin* the fifth built, and Pope *Iulius* the second did more strongly fortifie, but nothing remaines of the stately buildings of that City, but some poore houses. *Strabo* writes, that King *Ancus Martius* first built this City, in a soile to which the Riuer brought much dirt. It is certaine that of old the ships did cast Anchor without the Hauen of the City, and sent their goods to *Rome* in Gallies and Barkes drawne vp by a rope, the Hauen being not so deepe to beare them. The Citizens were free from Tribute, to make them dwell there, the aire being then (as also at this time) very vnwholsome. Now the *Tyber* seemes to end here in a Lake, and the waters runne in little channels vnder the paved high waies. The Hauen of *Traian* is a mile and a halfe from the Towne, being broad enough, but so barred with sand and like matter, as no ships can come to it; and onely small Barkes sometimes passe from *Naples* and neere places to *Rome*, and that very seldome. The foresaid Hauen was first built by *Claudius*, then repaired by *Traian*, and called of his name, of which *Suetonius* writes thus in the life of *Claudius*; He made the Hauen of *Hostia*, drawing an arme on the right and left side, and making a barre at the entery, where it was deepe, which barre, that he might make more stable, by Art, he sunke the ship wherein the great Obeliske was brought from *Egypt*, and vpon piles heaped vp, placed a most high Tower, like to the *Pharo* of *Alexandria*, out of which light was hung out by night, to direct the ships, &c.

When *Traian* repaired this Hauen, the Citie *Portuensis* was built on the other side of *Tyber*, towards the South-East, in the soile of *Toscany*, the Bishop whereof is one of the seuen Cardinals assistant to the Pope. The branch of *Tyber* falling from *Hostia* and diuiding it selfe, maketh an Iland compassed with the sea, on the other side, in which are many ruines of stately houses and great stones of Marble. This Hauen seeming of no vse, and barred vp for the securitie of *Rome* from any Nauall siege, the onely Port that *Rome* hath, is called *Citta' vecchia*, seated vpon the shoare of *Tuscany* betweene the foresaid *Hostia* and *Ligorno*, the chiefe Hauen of the Duke of *Florence*. In this hauen of *Rome*, of old called *Centum Celle*, and after ruined by the *Saracens*, and after built againe, the Popes of *Rome* (possessing many places in the neighbour soile of *Toscany*) did build a strong Castle, and called it *Citta Vecchia*. I returned from *Ostia* to *Rome* the same day, and paid five giulij for my Mule, and two for my dinner.

I had purposed to see the famous Garden of the Cardinall of *Ferraria* at *Tinoli*, (whereof I spake in my iourney to *Naples*;) but Easter was now at hand, and the Priests came to take our names in our lodging, and when wee demaunded the cause, they told vs, that it was to no other end, but to know if any receiued not the Communion at that holy time, which when we heard, wee needed no spurres to make haste from *Rome* into the state of *Florence*.

Onely

Onely I had an obstinate purpose to see *Bellarmino*. To which end hauing first hired a horse, and prouided all things necessary for my iourney to *Sienna*; and hauing sent away my consorts to stay for me, with my horse and boots at an Inne in the Suburbs, that I might more speedily escape, if my purpose succeeded not: I boldly went to the Iesuites Colledge, and *Bellarmino* then walking in the fields, I expected his returne at the gate, the Students telling me that he would presently come backe; which falling out as they said; I followed him into the Colledge (being attired like an Italian, and carefull not to vse any strange gestures; yea, forbearing to view the Colledge, or to looke vpon any man fully, lest I should draw his eyes vpon me). Thus I came into *Bellarmino's* charaber, that I might see this man so famous for his learning, and so great a Champion of the Popes: who seemed to me not aboue forty yeeres old, being leane of body, and something low of stature, with a long visage and a little sharpe beard vpon the chin, of a browne colour, and a countenance not very graue, and for his middle age, wanting the authority of grey heires. Being come into his chamber, and hauing made profession of my great respect to him, I told him that I was a French man, and came to *Rome* for performance of some religious vowes, and to see the monuments, especially those which were liuing, and among them him selfe most especially, earnestly intreating, to the end I might from his side returne better instructed into my Countrey, that he would admit me at vacant houres to enioy his graue conuersation. He gently answering, and with grauity not so much swallowing the praises I gaue him, as shewing that my company should be most pleasing to him, commanded his Nouice, that he should presently bring me in, when I should come to visit him, and so after some speeches of cirtesie, he dismissed me, who meant nothing lesse then to come againe to him.

The very same hower at ten in the morning, vpon the Tuseday before Easter, I came to my consorts in the Suburbs, and presently we tooke horse after a short breakefast. The way from *Rome* to *Sienna* is thus vulgarly noted: *A Borgetto*, sixe miles, *a l' Isola*, one; *a Bacchano*, sixe; *a Monterose*, fiue; *a Sutri*, foure; *a Ronciglione*, thre; *a Lago di vigo*, one; *a viterbo*, seuen; *a Monte fiaschoni*, seuen; *a Bolsena*, seuen; *a San Lorenzo*, foure; *a Acquapendente*, sixe; *a Recorseto a la Paglia*, twelue; *a Scancetricho*, foure; *a Buon Conuento*, seuen; *a Saraualle*, foure; *a San Michaele de la Scala*, sixe; *a Sienna*, sixe; In all from *Rome* to *Sienna* ninetie sixe miles. I will follow my Italian consorts in describing this iourney, who doe not much differ from this vulgar number of miles, each of vs paid fiftene paoli for his horse from *Rome* to *Sienna*, and we had but one Vetturine, who went with vs on foote, for the Italians vse to ride a slow pace, and he was to bring back our horses, and to pay for their meat and for his owne. The first day after breakfast we rode twentie two miles to *Monterose*, through fruitfull hilles of Corne, and some wilde barren fields, and Woods at our iournies ende: After wee had rode fiue miles, we came to a monument lying vpon the high way, and called the Sepulcher of *Nero*, in the place where hee killed himselfe, when the Senate had condemned him. And when we came to the little Towne *Bacchano*, I obserued the mountaines to compass it in the forme of a Theater with a Lake in the midst, like the mountaine *Astrumone* neere *Naples*. Out of this Lake comes a Brooke called *Cremera*, vpon the banke whereof three hundred *Fabij* with fiue thousand of their followers, of old were killed in one day. *Bacchano* of old called *Campagnano*, hath the name of *Bacchus*. And it giues the name to the Territory, and to the Wood neere it, which is infamous for robberies. *Monterose* is subiect to Pope *Clement* the eighth (then liuing) his Nephew (so they call their bastards;) and though it be seated within the old confines of *Ettruria*, yet now it is vnder the Popes dominion. Here we supped at an Ordinarie (vulgarly *Al pasto*) and each man paid foure giulij, and all the company complaining that so much was demaunded for our supper, the Hoste so thundred among vs like the bragging souldier, as he soone made both strangers and Italians glad to be quiet. The second day in the morning we rode eight miles to *Lago di Vigo*, where we broke our fast, vpon reckoning (vulgarly *al conto*) and each man paid eight baocchi. After breakfast wee rode foureteene miles to a little Citie *Monte fiaschoni*, hauing passed by the way the Ci-

tie *Viterbo*, where Pope *Celestine* the third placed a Bishop, and made it a Citie. Of old it was gouerned by Princes borne in the Towne; till vpon ciuill dissention betweene the Family of *Gatti* (aided by the Roman Family *Colonna*) and the Family *Magancefi* (aided by the Roman Family *Orsini*), the Pope brought the Citie into his subiection; about the yeere 1446. A most high Mountaine lies neere *Viterbo*, bearing Chesnuts, and a great Wood of Oaks, infamous for robberies, where we did see many quarters of theeues hanging vpon the trees. The way to *Viterbo* was through a fruitfull Plaine of corne, and beyond this Mountaine were store of *Oliue* trees & Vines. *Viterbo* was of old called *Faliscum*, and it hath 3 Cities within the wals: but we passing suddenly through it, I obserued nothing markeable but a faire Fountaine in the Market-place. The way from thence was through a fruitfull Plaine of Corne to the said little Citie *Montefaschoni*, seated vpon a high Hill, at the foote whereof begins the Lake of *Bolsena*, and it is subiect to the Pope, hauing no singular thing in it, but the white and red Muskedine, one of the most famous Wines in *Italy*. Here we three Consorts had two beds for ten baochi, and we supped vpon reckoning, and each man paid two giulij. The third day in the morning we rode eight miles by the Lake *Bolsena*, through a Plaine of Corne hauing woody Hilles of Oakes, not farre distant, with store of Chessnut and Oliue trees. In this Lake there is an Iland, which the Queene *Amalasuenta*, famous for her wisdom, was killed by the commaund of the King of the *Ostrogothes*. And in the Castle of *Balsena* they shew a piece of bread consecrated for the Lords Supper, which being in the hand of a Priest not beleeuing that it was the very body of Christ, did shed bloud, (as they say, who haue many such lying Miracles). Then we rode sixe miles to the Castle *Acquapendente*, through a plaine of Corne, where each man paid one giulio for his dinner vpon reckoning. After dinner we rode through wilde Mountaines bearing little Corne, twelue miles to the Brooke *Paglia*, running vnder the Castle *Redicofani*, and diuiding the States of the Pope, and the Duke of *Florence*, and we rode further in the State of *Florence* foure miles to a Country Inne, (as I thinke called *Scancicricho*), where each man paid three poali and a half for his supper at an Ordinarie (vulgarly *Al pasto*), hauing almost nothing but red Herrings and Sallets to supper. The fourth day in the morning, vpon the last day of Aprill after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, wee Anno rode thirteene miles to a Countrey Inne, through high Hilles of Corne, and for the 1594. greater part very fertile, where each man paid seuen baochi for his breakfast.

The same day we rode eightene miles to *Sienna*, through most pleasant Hilles, and a fertile Plaine of Corne, with store of Vines on each side, and many Pallaces of Gentlemen, (so they call their houses, built of Free-stone, with a low roose, and small magnificence), and most frequent dwellings of husbandmen. We came to *Sienna* the Friday before Easter day, and in a publike Inne each man paid three reali for his Supper.

The next day I went to *Fiorenza* for money, and rode through Woods and fruitful Hills to the Castle *Poggio* (walled townes being called Castles) and after through stony Mountaines bearing Corne and Oliues, till I came to the Village *Tauernelle*, being seuenteen miles from *Sienna*, where I paid two reali for my dinner vpon reckoning. After dinner I rode fifteene miles to *Fiorenza*, through stony little Mountaines, bearing great store of Oliues, Almonds, and Chessnuts, and many Poplar trees, and towards our iourneyes end, store of Cedar trees; and wee passed by innumerable Pallaces of Gentlemen, and a most faire Monastery called *la Certosa*, and a desert Rocke, vpon the top whereof an Heremite dwelt all alone. This Territorie yeeldes great store of Pine-trees, the boughes whereof are thicke and round at the top, but the rest of the tree hath neither boughes nor leaues, and it yeelds a very great Nut, with very many kernels in one shell, which are pleasant in taste, and much vsed here in Banquets. By the way I did meete a Dutch Lady, with her Gentlewomen, and men-servants all in the habit of Franciscan Friers, and not onely going on foote, but also bare-footed, through these stonie waies; and because they were all (as well men as women) in Friers weeds, though I looked on them with some suspicion, yet I knew not their sexe or qualitie, till vpon inquirie at *Florence*, I vnderstood that the Dutchesse of *Fiorenza* (or *Florence*) hearing that

that some women were passed by in Friers apparrell, and thinking they were Nunnes stolne out of their Cloisters, did cause them to bee brought backe vnto her, and so vnderstood that vpon pennance imposed on them by their Confessour for the satisfaction of their sinnes, they were enioyned to goe in that Friers habit bare-footed to *Rome*; whereupon she dismissed them with honour.

I forgot to note what I paid for my horse from *Sienna* to *Florence*, whether we came vpon Easter day, and there I lodged in the Dutch Inne, and paid three reali each meale. But I did not at this time view the Citie, deferring it till my returne.

The next morning I tooke my iourney to *Pisa*, that by often remouing, I might shun all question of my religion, into which they vse more strictly to inquire at this time of the yeere, when they vse to obserue who receiues not the Sacrament: for howsoeuer there be lesse danger of the Inquisition in this State, yet the Duke vsing not, and scarce being able to protect those that rashly giue open offence, I thought good thus warily to auoide these snares. I went this iourney on foot, meaning leisurely to see the next Cities, so little distant one from the other, as they were pleasant iourneys on foot, especially in so pleasant a COUNTRY. The first day in the morning I walked ten miles to the Castle *Prato*, through the pleasant Valley of the Riuer *Arno*. This pleasant Castle (or walled Towne) is of a round forme, hauing (at the very enterance) a large Market place, wherein stands a faire Cathedrall Church, adorned with many stones of marble: and here I paid twelue creitzers for my dinner.

Pistoia.

In the afternoone I walked ten Italian short miles to the City *Pistoia*, through a most pleasant plaine called the Valley of *Arno*, tilled after the manner of *Lombardy*, bearing Corne and Wine in the same field, all the Furrowes being planted with Elmes, vpon which the Vines grow. This Citie is seated in a Plaine, and compassed with Mountaines, which on other sides are somewhat distant, but on the North-side hang ouer the same, and here (as likewise at *Prato* and *Florence*) the streetes are paved with broad free stone, most easie to walke vpon. And the Cathedrall Church is stately built, and the pauement is of Marble curiously wrought, like the Church of *Sienna*. The Citie hath the name (in the Latin tongue, as also in the Italian) of a plague which inuaded the Citie, when the Troopes of the Rebell *Catiline* being overcome, fled thither, whose posteritie being seated there, hath nourished a greater plague by perpetual factions, shewing thereby of what race they came. *Desiderius* King of *Lombardy* compassed the Citie with a wall. After the Florentines about the yeere 1150 subdued this chiefe Citie of *Ettruria*, vnder whose gouernement, first the faction of the *Neri* and the *Bianchi* brake out, and defiled the Citie with murthers, which being extinct, the faction of the *Cancellieri* and the *Panzaditi* began, which lasted almost to our time, with incredible hatred and murther. But of late times, the Duke of *Florence* published an Ediſt, that vpon great penaltie, no man should weare any Roses, or other signes of faction, which till that time they did beare vpon the parts of their body, where they might most easily be seene. From hence I walked three miles through little Mountaines to *Saranale*, and two miles to *Pouanni*, where the Plaine begins to open; and three miles to the Brooke *Pescha*, where I paid a Creitzer for my passage by boate, and fiue miles to *Porgo nouo*, through Mountaines full of Chess-nuts and other nut trees, and eight miles in the territorie of *Lucca*, through a large plaine, to a solitarie Inne, called *La Moretta*. By the way I paid (vpon reckoning) on reale and a halfe for my breakefast, and in this Inne I lodged, and paid (at an ordinarie) three reali for my Supper.

Lucca.

The next morning I walked one mile to *Lucca*; the Emperour *Charles* the fourth made this Citie free, which hath kept the Libertie to this day, gouerned by Senators, but liues in perpetuall feare of practises against this libertie from the great Duke of *Florence*. It is seated in a plaine, and strongly fortified, and compassed with Mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and onely lies open on the side towards *Pistoia*, being two miles in compasse, and hauing about thirtie foure thousand Inhabitants. The streetes are narrow, and paved with broad free stone, most easie to walke vpon. The Pallaces of the chiefe Gentlemen are built of free stone, with a low rooffe after the Italian fashion, and they haue many pleasant Gardens within the walles. In the corner to-
wards

wards North-west by North is a strong castle, neere which lies the Cathedrall Church, stately paved with Marble, but very darke, as most of the Papists Churches are built, either because they think darkenesse increaseth Religion, or to make it an excuse for their burning candles in the day. There also lies the Senate house; and all the Innes are in one street, that they may more easily look into strangers, for any practise against their liberty; for which cause no man may weare any weapons in the city, nor so much as a knife, except the point be blunt. These Citizens first spread through *Italy* the Art of making filke, and weauing it into clothes; and by this traficke they haue very rich families. Here I paid (at an Ordinarie) 6 reali for my dinner and supper. From *Lucca* I walked 5 miles through a pleasant Plaine, to the Mountaine of *Pisa*, which diuides the Territories of those two Cities, and it is very high & stoney, yet is full of Rosemary, Time, and sweet smelling hearbs, & the passage of it is 2 miles long. After I went 3 miles through fenny ground, often ouerflowed with the Riuer *Arno*, and came to *Pisa*. *Arno* is a little Riuer falling from the *Apenine* Mountaines neere *Florence*, through which City it runs, and so passeth through a most pleasant and fruitful Plaine to *Pisa*, through which Citie it also runs; and by reason of the narrow bed, and the neere Mountaine of *Pisa*, is subiect to ouerflow vpon any great raine, so as with great hurt it drowneth the fields of *Pisa*, and those that lie fro thence to the Sea. *Pisa* of old famous for nauigation, was made free by the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, about the yeere 1369. But long after it was the second time sold to the Florentines by *Galeacius* Vicount of *Millan*. Then they practised with the French to recouer their liberty, when *Charles* the eight passed that way to conquer *Naples*, til they were the third time subdued by the Florentines; since which time the family of *Medici* innaded the liberty of *Florence*, together with that of *Pisa*, vnder the title of Great Duke of *Florence*, which they hold to this day. But when *Pisa* was thus brought in subiection to *Florence*, many of the chiefe Citizens chose rather to liue at *Venice*, and other places, in perpetual banishment with their posterity, then to be subiect to the Florentines. *Pisa* was of old called *Alpheo*, of the builders comming from their dwellings neere *Alpheus* a Riuer in *Greece*. The brook *Arno* runs from the East to the west through *Pisa*, seated in a Plaine, and towards the North-West by North is a Gate, and a most faire Cathedral Church, paved with Marble curiously wrought, & hauing a most faire pulpit. In which Church, neere the high Alter, is the Sepulcher of the Emperor *Henric* the seuenth, whom *Platina* and many German Writers affirme, to haue been poisoned by a wicked Monk of the Order of the Predicants, at the Communion of our blessed Lords Supper. Vpon this monument these words are written in Latin.

In this tombe not to be dispised, are contained the bones of Henry the seuenth, Count of Luceburg, and after the seuenth Emperour of that name, which the second yeere after his death; namely 1315. the twenty five day of the Sextiles, &c were brought to Pisa, and with great honour of funerall laid in this Church, where they remaine to this day.

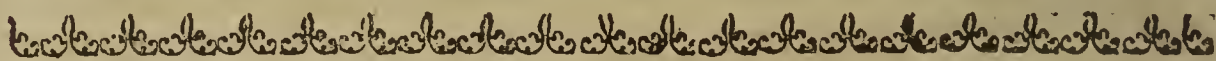
The steeple is neere the Church but seuered from it, which seemes to threaten the falling from the top to the bottome, but that is done by the great Art of the workemen, deceiuing the eye; for it is as strongly built as the Church. I ascended the same by two hundred and forty staires of marble, in which ascent it hath seuen galleries on the outside. Not farre thence is a yard vsed for common buriall, called the holy field, vulgarly *Campo Santo*. In which the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, returning from *Hierusalem*, did lay great store of that earth, which he had vsed for ballast of his ships; and they say, that dead bodics laid there, doe consume in a most short time. This yard is compassed with a building all of Marble, which lies open like a Cloyster, (we call it a terras) and the same is couered with lead very sumptuously, hauing in bredth, 56 pillars, and in length 189. each distant from the other thirteene walking paces. So as (in my opinion) this yard for buriall is much more stately; then that most faire yard for the same purpose, which I formerly discribed at *Leipzig* in *Germany*, called in Dutch *Gotsaker*. In this place is a sepulcher stately built of marble of diuers colors, with this inscriptiō in Latin; *Pope Gregory the thirteenth, borne at Bologna, commanded this to be made, to the most worthy ciuill Lawyer Iohn Buon' Compagno, his brother by the Fathers side, deceased in the yeere 1544. at Pisa, where he was chiefe Professour of that Law.*

N

Here

Here I did see another sepulcher with this inscription in Latin ; *To Mathew Curtius Physitian. Duke Cosmo made this at his owne charge, in the yeere 1544.*

At the West corner of the City, is the Armory, vulgarly called *L' Arsenalo*, where they build and keepe the Dukes Gallies, which were there at this time no more then seven in number ; for the Duke vsed to send out in summer time some two or three Gallies, (and seldome any more) to spoile the Turkes, which he might doe more boldly, because the Florentines haue no cause to feare the Turkes, since they vse no traffick by sea, but send out their silkes and other commodities by strange ships, and onely take care to entertaine those Merchants well, who bring them corne and victuals by sea. At the same West corner of the City, is a bridge of bricke ouer the Riuer *Arno*, built high in the midst, with three Arches, vnder which the boates passe. And towards the East there be three other like bridges. Neere the first bridge is another gate of the City, leading towards the sea, and neere the same, is the most sweete walke, that euer I beheld. It hath in bredth some fiewerowes of trees, on each side, and a like distance of greene grasse betweene those trees, but it reacheth in length many miles ; and out of the Riuer *Arno* are drawne two ditches, which runne all the length of it, one vpon each side : so as the Citizens in summer time, vse to take boat in *Arno*, at their doores, with a basket of victuals ; and so many Families of them, passing by the ditches on both sides the walke, sit downe a good distance the one from the other, and there sup and conuerse with great pleasure. On the South side of the City a strong Fort lies neere the wall, and there is the third gate of the City. In the midst of the City vpon the banke of *Arno*, is the Pallace of the Duke of *Florence*, and there is a statua erected to *Ferdinando* the Duke then liuing, who much fauoured this City, in which he was borne. Not farre thence is a little, but most faire Chappell, all of marble, built in the forme of a Thorne, vulgarly called *La Capella Iesu di Spina*. The pleasant seat of the City, the curtesie of the Citizens, and my desire to conuerse with the Professors of the Vniuersity, made me spend some daies in this City, where I paid by the day for my chamber and bed three creitzers, and my Host was tied to buy and dresse such meat for me as I desired, wherein I spent some three Giulij by the day, and if I had purposed to stay long, I might haue liued well at a more easie rate.



CHAP. III.

Of my iourney to Ligorno, my returne to Florence, and to Sienna, and the description of these Cities. Of my iourney by Land to Lirigi, (in which againe I passed by Lucca and Pisa,) and by sea to Genoa, with the discription of that City, and my iourney by Land to Pavia, to Milano, to Cremona, and to Mantoua, with the discription of the Cities, and of my returne to Padoua.



Hired a horse for three Giulij from *Pisa* to *Ligorna*, an Hauen of this state, which *Ptolomy* of old called *Liburnum*, (of which name there is another Hauen betweene *Istria* and *Dalmatia*), and *Cicero* called *Labro*. Not farre from *Pisa* I passed by boat the brooke *Serpe*, running from *Lucca*; and paid two creitzers for passing my horse; and one for my selfe. Then for three miles I rode vpon a patied way, and thirteene miles more through a plaine of pasture, full of many woods and Lakes, which lakes and fenny grounds, lying neere *Pisa*, make the aire vniwholsome some moneths of the yeere, and the Citizens much subiect to sickenes.

So after sixteene miles riding, I came to *Ligorno*, which was of old fortified by the *Pisans*, and those fortifications were demolished by the *Genoesi*, in the yeere 1297. but peace being made betweene them, this place returned vnder the command of the *Pisans*, and they being after subdued by the *Florentines*, this place came also into their hands

hands; and when the French King *Charles* the eight, in the yeere 1494. restored the Pisans to liberty, this place followed their fortune; till the Pisans againe being subdued by the Florentines in the yeere 1509. this place also returned to their subiection. It is said to haue the name of *Ligurnus* sonne to *Phaeton*. *Cosmo de Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, began to fortifie againe this ancient Towne; and to measure out the circuit and the streetes thereof. And Duke *Francis* tooke vpon him to goe forward with this vnperfected worke; and he being dead, Duke *Ferdinand* his brother, at that time liuing, brought it to the forme of a most strong Fort, and faire City. And at this time the streetes began to be replenished with houses, for the Duke made this place as it were a sanctuary to offenders, vpon whom he vsed to impose for punishment, either to dwell there for euer, or at least for some yeeres, and to adde one or more houses to the building: so as the City was now faire and populous, but it was filled with Citizens guilty of crimes; and of no ciuill conuersation. My selfe hearing that they were such men, perhaps out of preiudicate opinion, did thinke their lookes barbarous, which made me looke more warily to my selfe, and to those things I had with me. The City is seated in a plaine, somewhat longer from the North to the South, then it is broad from the East to the West; and the sea lies vpon it, partly on the North, and partly on the South, and altogether on the West side. And it hath one Tower on the North side, and another one the South side, reaching into the sea, out of which they hang lights by night to direct saylers: and betweene these Towers, full on the West side, there is a Haven for great ships further out into the sea, and also neere the City and compassed with the wals thereof, are two Hauens for Gallies and small Barkes. The Riuer *Arno* running from the East to the West, passeth by the City on the North side, and there falls into the sea; and at the corner on the North side is a strong Fort. Here I paid (vpon reckoning) two giulij for my supper; and as much next day for my dinner; and returning to *Pisa* by water, I paid seuen creitzers for my passage.

Two weekes being thus spent, I thought good to returne to *Florence*, that I might receiue my money; which I had not receiued before; because for feare of the inquisition, I onely staid there Easter day in the Dutch Inne. Therefore hiring a horse for foure giulij, I rode forty miles to *Florence*, through the pleasant valley of *Arno*, partly tilled after the manner of *Lombardy*, where the same field yeelds corne, wine, & wood, partly diuided into sweet pastures. By the way it hapened that I brake a bough of a mulberry tree, to shade me from the sunne, and falling into the company of an honest Gentleman; he told me I seemed a stranger, because I carried that bough, since those trees planted in the high waies, belonged to the Duke, who preserved them for silke-wormes, and had imposed a great penalty vpon any that should breake a bough thereof; so as if I passed with this bough through any village, I should be sure to be taken & kept prisoner, till I should pay a great fine: whereupon I presently cast away this bough, with many thanks to him for his gentle warning.

How *Florence* came to be subiect to the House of *Medici*, with the title of Great Duke, I must hereafter shew in the discourse of the Florentine Common-wealth. At this time I will set downe (as briefly as I can) the discription of the City, and fields adjoining. It is a most sweet City, and abounding with wealth, the Citizens are much commended for their curtesie, modesty, grauity, purity of language, and many virtues. The City is innobled with the Dukes Court, and with stately Pallaces, built within and without the wals, and for the stately buildings & sweet situation, it is worthily called *Florence* the beautifull, vulgarly *Fiorenza la bella*. It is said to haue had the name *Florentia* in Latin; either of the *Fluentini*, (a neighbour people of whom they come) or of the perpetuall happines into which it grew like a flower, or of the Citizens wealth, and the Cities beauty flourishing like a flower. The pauement of the City is not of flint (as at *Rome*) nor of bricke (as at *Sienna*) but of very broad and faire free stone. The houses after the manner of *Italy*, are built with a low roose, excepting the Pallaces, which are stately built of free stone engrauen. The windowes (as in all the Cities of *Italy* (excepting *Venice* alone) are not glased, but either lie altogether open, to take aire, or are couered with oyled paper and linnen cloth. The streetes are most broad, and haue an open aire. In discribing the Citie, I will begin without the walles.

Florence
vulgarly
Fioren-
za.

And first towards the North and East, it is compassed with pleasant Hills, planted with excellent fruit trees, and lying in the forme of an Amphitheater, and behind them the high Mountaines of the *Apenine*, somewhat remoued, are in stead of strong walles to the Citie. Also on the South side, it hath like Hilles, and distant Mountaines, but towards the West it lies open to the most pleasant Valy of *Arno*, which Valy continueth as farre as *Pisa*, and to the sea-side. On all sides without the walles, Pallaces of Gentlemen are most frequent, and houses of Citizens, not distant aboue three or foure closes one from the other, whereupon the Emperour *Charles* the fifth beholding the Citie and the Countrey from a high steeple, affirmed, that *Florence* was the greatest Citie in the whole world; and when hee perceiued that the standers by were doubtfull of his meaning, he added, that in good earnest he reputed all the Pallaces without the walles, compassed with Hilles and Mountaines as with walles, to bee within the circuit of the Citie. It is seated (as it were) in the Center of *Italy*, betweene the aire of *Arezzo*, producing quick wits (where *Peter Aretine* the Poet was borne, of a sharp wit, though hee abused it wantonly), and the aire of *Pisa* lesse pure, and yeelding men of strong memory, so as it hath had by this temperature of aire, many Citizens atwell sharpe to learne sciences, as strong to retaine them. The Riuer *Arno* running from East to West diuides the Citie, but into vnequall parts, the farre greater part lying on the North-side, and the lesse on the South-side; and the bridge to passe from one to the other, is almost in the very middest of the City, which is fairely built, yet is more magnified by strangers then it deserues. It hath little houses vpon it, wherewith it is couered, and vpon each side are Gold-smithes shops, which make small or no shew at ordinarie times: but when the Duke *Ferdinando* brought his Dutchesse (the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine*) to the Citie, at her enterance, those shops were furnished with vessels of silver, and many rich Iewels, yet borrowed of the Citizens to that purpose. And howsoeuer some strangers may wonder at it, yet they who compare that bridge with the bridge of *London*, or those Gold-smiths shops with the daily shew of the Gold-smiths in Cheape-side, shall finde no cause to wonder thereat. The bridge hath two hundred twentie eight walking paces in length, and is built vpon seuen Arches. There bee three other bridges ouer *Arno*, but farre lesse in bignesse and magnificence then the former; for the Riuer is shallow, scarce couering the sand or stones, though beyond the Citie it be increased with other waters, and is subiect to ouer-flowing vpon any great raine. The Citie is of a round forme, and vpon the walles thereof lie eight Fortes, whereof the greatest and strongest lies towards the South. And the farre greater part of the Citie on the North-side of the Riuer, lies in a Plaine, but in the lesse part on the South side of the Riuer, the houses towards the North-East are built vpon the sides of Mountaines, and the dwellings are more scattered, hauing many and large Gardens; and in that part there is a place vulgarly called *le Ruinate*, that is, the ruinous, because the houses haue been often ruined by Earthquakes, and there you shall find this inscription in Latin: *Duke Cosmo in the yeere 1533 forbade the houses of this Mountaine to be rebuilt, which thrice fell by the fault of the soyle.* Neere that place lies a lane vn timer, in memory of a Virgin that dwelt there, whom a yong man loued, who was borne of a Family of a contrarie faction to hers, betweene whom many cruelties had been exercised, and they mutually louing each other, & despairing to get their friends consent for marriage, and at last being impatient of delay, resolved with what danger soeuer to meet together. But it happened, that the yong man being to ascend into the Virgins Chamber by a ladder, was surprised, who to saue the reputation of the Virgin, confessed, that he came to rob the house, whereupon he was condemned to die, and being led to execution by the house where the Virgin dwelt, she laying aside all shame, came running out, with her loose haire about her eares, and embracing him, confessed the truth publikly, with which accident both their parents were so moued, as laying aside all former malice, they contracted affinity, and the young man deliuered from the bonds of the hangman, was tied to her in the sweet bond of marriage. And of this wonderfull euent, the Florentines thought good to keepe this memorie for posteritie. The Duke hath two Pallaces within the City, wherof one is called *Pallazzo di Pitti*, seated in this part of the City, which a Gentleman of *Florence* by name *Luca della Casa de Pitti*, began to build, but falling in-

to pouerty, and not able to finish it, was forced to sel the same to *Cosmo de Medicis*, beir g Great Duke of *Florence*, and shortly after conuicted of treason, was beheaded. This is the most stately Pallace in the Citie, in the Garden whereof, called *Belueder*, are many most sweete shades among pleasant Groues, together with a pleasant Caue and Fountaine. They say, that one Mule did bring all the matter to this building, in memorie whereof, these verses are written vpon the picture of the said Mule:

Lecticam, lapides, & marmora, ligna, Columnas

Vexit, conduxit, traxit, & ista tulit.

The Litter, these stones, marbles, pillers, wood,

Did carry, leade, draw, beare, this Mule so good.

The outward side of the Pallace is of Free-stone engrauen, and the Ornaments within are Regall. Betweene the two Chambers, wherein the Duke and the Dutchesse lie apart, is a very faire Gallery, and in the chamber of the Dutchesse, is a second bed most like her owne for the Duke when he pleaseth to lie there, and there is a Table wrought with siltier and pretious stones, valued at 3000 Crownes. In the dining roome are many faire statuaes, and the figure of thirty Cardinals chosen at one time by Pope *Leo* the tenth, being of the house of *Medici*. In the very Court are two great loadstones. The strong Fort called *Saint Meniato*, lies ouer this Pallace, and indeede ouer all the Citie, which was built by *Alexander de Medicis*, nephew to Pope *Clement* the seuenth, and had lately been kept by a Garison of two thousand Spaniards, as likewise another Fort on the other side of *Arno*, built in the time of the free State, was likewise kept by a Garison of 100 Spaniards: For the Dukes of *Medici* aduanced to their Dukedome by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, did at first admit these Garisons of Spaniards vnder an Italian Captaine, either to shew their confidence in *Spaine*, or to fortifie themselves against the Citizens, whose libertie they had inuaded; but Duke *Ferdinand* then liuing (the Families of Citizens being now extinct or suppressed; who had liued in the free state, and could not indure subiection) being now confirmed in his Dukedome, had lately effected, that these Spaniards should yeeld the Fortes to him, and depart the Countrey. Vpon the North-side of the Riuer *Arno*, and vpon the banke thereof, is a monument of a horse buried in the high way, with this inscription in Latin: *The bones of the horse of Charles Capelli Venetian Ambassador, when the Citie was besieged in the yere 1533.* And these verses were added:

Non ingratus herus, Sonopes memorande, sepulchrum

Hoc tibi, pro meritis hac monumenta dedit.

Praise worthy horse of warre thy thankfull Lord

Thee for thy merits doth this Tombe afford.

The Citie hath diuers Market-places, 1. *Mercato Vecchio*; 2. *S. Spirito*; 3. *Santa Croce*; 4. *S. Maria Nouella*; 5. *Piazza della Signoria*, which is the fairest and largest of all the rest, and therein is the Senators Pallace, and many stately statuas, one of a virgin taken by force, and of the rauisher beating her keeper, & treading him vnder his feet; another of *Hercules*, treading *Cacus* vnder his feet (for the Florentines beare *Hercules* in their great Seale); the third of *Dauid*, all which are of white Marble; the fourth of *Perseus*, carrying in one hand the head of *Medusa* vpon his Shield, and treading the bulk of her body vnder his feet, curiously wrought in brasfe. In the same Market-place is a most faire Fountaine set round about with faire statuaes of brasfe, and in the midst thereof, the statuaes of a Giant, and of three horses, almost couered with water, all wrought in white marble, do power the waters out of their mouthes into the Cesterne. In the corner of this market place is the Senators Pallace, so called, because the Senate was wont to meete there in time of the free State, but now it is the Dukes pallace, & the second that he hath within the Citie. Therein I saw a Cat of the Mountaine, not vnlike to a dog, with the head of a black colour, and the back like an hedghog, a light touch wherof gaue a very sweet sent to my gloues. Here they shewed vs (as they vse to shew to curious strangers) the Dukes Treasure (as they cal it) namely, vessels of gold and siluer, Roses hallowed by the Pope (which these Princes hold for rich presents); many chambers and galleries, hauing a sweet prospect vpon the *Arno*, and adorned with pictures and statuaes, notable for the

matter, art, and price; a most faire looking glasse; a Theater for Comedies; one table of Porphyry valued at five hundred Crownes; another of Iasper stone, valued at foure hundred Crownes, a table then in the workmans hands vnperfected, the Iewels whereof they valued at fiftie thousand Crownes, and the workmanship at twelue thousand Crownes. Morcouer, they shewed vs the pictures of the Popes of the house of *Medici*; rich swords and hats, and a lather of silver to mount into the Coach; and many notable antiquities; and certaine birds of *India*, with many other beautifull things, which they vse to shew to curious strangers, and for the same expect some reward of them in curtesie. Among other things, I wondered to see there the picture of *Elizabeth* our famous Queene: but the Duke of *Florence* much esteemed her picture, for the admiration of her vertues, howsoeuer the malicious Papists had long endeououred to obscure her fame, especially in those remote parts, whose slaunders God turned to her greater glory. Here they did shew vs the great Dukes study, called *Il studiolo del gran Duca*, in which wee did see most faire pictures; two chests of Christall gilded ouer; diuers statuaes, not of brasse, but of mixt mettals, shining here like silver, there like gold; a cup of Amber, a little Mountaine of pearles, wrought together by the hands of Duke *Francis*; a Pyramis of Pearles as they grow in oyster-shells; two kniues set with Iewels, and a third Indian knife; a naile halfe turned into gold by *Tornefer* an Alchumist, the other part still remaining Iron; a piece of gold vnpolished, as it was digged out of the Mines; two pictures of Flemings, whereof one was valued at five hundred, the other at eight hundred Crownes; a clock of Amber; a piece of Amber falling vpon a Lizard, and retaining the liuely forme thereof; a stone called *Vergoara* that cureth poyson; the head of a Turke all of pure gold; a most beautifull head of a Turkish woman; a Table of gold, and of Iasper stone, and other Iewells, among which one Emerald of a perfect Greene colour, was highly valued, being round, and almost as big as an egge, for they that kept it, reputed it worth one hundred thousand Crownes.

Not farre thence is a Pallace of the noble Family of *Strozzi*, and another of *Alexander* great Duke of *Florence*, wherein is a ruined chamber, in which certaine conspirators killed him. In the stately Church of *S. Marta del Fioren*, are many most faire statuaes, and the pauement and outward parts of the walles, aswell of the Church, as of the steeple, are of carued Marble. And here are kept three triple Crownes of three Popes of the Family of *Medici*. The tower or steeple is very high, & in the ascent are 3 galleries round about the outside, and it is all stately built of Marble, hauing foure hundred fortie and nine staires to the first gallerie. In which being most faire, and all of Marble, the Emperor *Charles* the fifth supped, when hee came to *Florence*. And from this gallery to the second are fifty nine staires, and from thence to the third sixty eight staires, where at the very top is a wonderfull hollow Globe of Brasse, wherein 30 men may stand together, and vpright; for it is higher then any man, and is vulgarly called *la Cupula*. Another most ancient Church lieth close to this, which was of old dedicated to *Mars*, and now is dedicated to *S. John Baptist*, and it is of a round forme, and hath a most stately Font, with the dores of mixt mettall, much richer then Brasse, and curiously carued, the like whereof, they say, the World yeeldeth not. And therein are to be seene the monument of Pope *John* the twenty three, deposed at the Councell of *Constantia*, who before his Popedome was named *Balthassar Cossa*: the Statua of the same Pope of mixt mettall; and diuers other statuaes of the same mettall shining like gold. To conclude, in this little, but most faire Church, are kept the monuments of the Pisanes subdued, namely, a Pillar, a Basket, and a chaine, and other notable things. Not farre thence is the faire Church, called *S. Maria Nouella*, vpon the wall whereof this verse is written;

Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo,
I will giue Fatlings, not leane Sacrifice.

Which verse they obserue may, by beginning with the words backward, bee a true verse, and of direct contrary sense, in this manner;

Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue Sacrum:
Sacrifice leane, not Fatlings giue will I.

But

But the Monkes will not haue it vnderstood in the last sense, vnprofitable to their profession, but rather in the first, as if men were bound now to giue the Clergy their best goods, as they were of old to giue the fattest sacrifice to God. In the Church called *L' Annonciata* of the Angels Annuntiation to the Virgin, the wals are round about hung with Images of men, and of mens feet and Armes, some of wood; some of met-
tals, which were offered to our Lady vpon vow, by those that had recouered health of body, or had beene cured of diseases in those parts. And as it cannot be expressed how much the Italians do attribute to the virgin, so there is more concourse to this Church; then to any other. In the Church of Saint *Laurence*, they keepe many relikes, with vn-
credible reuerence; and shew them to the people to be adored. In a Chappell of this Church are many faire statuaes of Marble, and one most faire erected to Duke *Alexan-
der* killed by treason, by which he is made sitting with a sad countenance, his right hand laid to his mouth, and his left hand resting vpon his knee. And there be two sta-
tuaes of *Giuliano Angelo*, and *Michael Angelo*, two famous Painters and Engrauers. In another Chappell are low monuments erected to Duke *Cosmo* of *Medici*, and to *Laurence* his sonne, who built this Church; and to the Dutchesse of *Cosmo*, and to Duke *Francis*, and to his lawfull sonne deceased (for he had a base sonne yet liuing af-
ter his brother *Ferdinando* had succeeded him) and also to *Paulus Iouius*, the Historian dying in the yeere 1574. (as I remember.) The Monument of *Cosmo* had this in-
scription in Latin; *By publike consent to the Father of his Countrey*. In a stately Chappell of this Church is the Library of Pope *Clement* the seuenth *de Medici*, full of rare greeke and latin bookes, but especially they shew the Commentaries of *Iulius Caesar*, a writ-
ten bible, Maps of *Ptolomy* drawne with lines of gold, the *Hieroglyphica* (an old man-
ner of writing) of the Egyptians, and the Pandects in written hand, brought from *Pisa* subdued. I dare not say that this is the same Library, which was gathered by *Lorenzo* of *Medici*, in the yeere 1484. but I am most sure that I did see these bookes in one of them. In this Church & the foresaid Chappell, was also a monument erected to Duke *Ferdinando* then liuing. Neer that is a garden, in which we did see two Ostrages, & flax of India, making most strong threed, and the hearbe that yeeldeth this flax, much like an Artichoke, but farre greater. In the monastery of Saint *Marke*, which Duke *Cosmo* built for Dominican Friars, is a Chappell proper to the Family *Saluiati* for buriall, which is very rich with diuers coloured marbles, images of brasse, and pictures, espe-
cially one rare picture of a red vale, which seemed two fingers distant from the wall: And in this monastery is another Library of rare Bookes. The Hospitall of *S. Maria Nona*, is said to passe all others in *Italy*, for all necessaries to cure and nourish the sicke, and for orderly attendance, where to that purpose are ninety six beds in one roome. Not farre thence are two stables of the Dukes, and in both of them were some thirty two horses of price.

The Duke kept fierce wilde beasts in a little round house, namely, five Lyons, five Wolues, three Eagles, three Tygers (of black and gray colour, not vnlike Cats, but much greater) one wilde Cat (like a Tyger) Beares, Leopards (spotted with white, black and red, and vsed sometimes for hunting), an Indian Mouſe (with a head like our Mice, but a long hairie taile, so fierce and big, that it would easily kill one of our Cats), and wilde Boares. And the Keeper told vs, that the Duke and Dutchesse, with many Gentle-
men, came lately to behold them, (sitting in a gallery built round about the yard) at which time certaine men were put into little frames of wood, running vpon wheelles, to prouoke these beasts to anger; which being let loose in the Court-yard, walked with-
out offending one the other, and to this ende these men had many fire-workes, from which the most fierce of them did runne away, onely the wilde Boare rushed vpon one of these frames wheeling towards him, and not only turned it ouer, but rent out a board with his Tuske, so as all the company were affraid lest the man who lay therein should perish.

Vpon the wals of the Church *S. Croce*, is a monument of *Arno* ouerflowing, with this inscription in the Italian tongue: *In the yeere 1333. the water of Arno ouerflowed to this height, and in the yeere 1557. to this, yet higher.* In this Church is the sepulcher of

Michael Angelo Bonoritia, a most famous Engrauer, Painter, and Builder, whose bones were brought from *Rome*, at the instance of Duke *Cosmo*, in the yeere 1570, and laid here. It is most certaine that he was most skillfull in those Arts, and of him the Italians greatly boast, and with all tell much of his fantasticke humours: namely, that when he painted the Popes Chappell, (whereof I spake in discribing the Popes Pallace) that he first obtained the Popes promise, that no man should come in, till the worke were finished; and vnderstanding that the Pope had broken this promise, comming in himselfe with some Cardinals at the backe doore of the vestery, that he being then to paint the last Iudgement, did so liuely figure the Pope and the Cardinall (that tempted him) amongst the Diuels, as euery man might easily know them. But that is abhominable, which the Romans of the better sort seriously tell of him, that he being to paint a crucifix for the Pope, when he came to expresse the liuely actions of the passion, hired a Porter to be fastned vpon a Crosse, and at that very time stabbed him with a penknife, and while he was dying, made a rare peece of worke for the Art, but infamous for the murther: and that hereupon he was banished *Rome*, and went to the Court of the Duke of *Vrbino*, where he was entertained with much honour. And they report also that when he was recalled to *Rome* with pardon of that fault, the Dutchesse of *Vrbino* being bold vpon her former acquaintance, should entreat him at his leasure to paint all the Saints for her: and that he to shew that so great a taske should not be imposed vpon a workman of his sort, should satisfie this request, or rather put it off with a rude & vnciuilliest, sending her the picture of a mans priuy part, most artificially painted, and praying her to take in good part the Father of all the Saints, till he could at leasure send their pictures.

Pratoline.

In the house of *Iohn Bolea* a Flemming, and an excellent engrauer, I did see yet vnto perfected a horse-mans statua of brasse, fifteen els high, the belly of the horse being capable of 24. men, whereof foure might lie in the throat; and this horse was made as going in the high way, putting forward the neere foot before, & the farre foot behind, & standing vpon the other two, which statua was to be erected to Duke *Cosmo*, being valued at 18. thousand crownes. Also another foot statua of white marble, which was to be erected to Duke *Ferdinand* then liuing. When I had seene these things within the wals, & about the same, I went out to neere places, to view other rarities; and I and my two Dutch consorts, each of vs hired a horse for a giulio & a halfe by the day. Early in the morning we went out by the plaine lying on the west side, & came to *Pratoline*, the Dukes famous garden, seuen miles from the City, the conduits whereof for water if a man well consider, he may iustly say of the gardens of *Italy*, as *Mounster* saith of the Towns of *Valesia*, that their water costs them more then their wine. This garden is diuided into two inclosures, compassed with stone wals. In the vpper inclosure is a statua of a Giant, with a curled beard, like a Monster, some forty sixe els high, whose great belly will receiue many men at once, and by the same are the Images of many Nymphes, all which cast out water abundantly. Neere the same are many pleasant fishponds, and there is a Caue vnder the earth leading three miles to the Fountaine of water, from whence by many pipes the waters are brought to serue the workes of these Gardens. There is a Fountaine which hath the name of a Labyrinth close by it. And a Fountaine of *Iupiter* & *Iris* distilling water; the Fountaine of the Beare; the Fountaine of *Aesculapius*; and the Fountaine of *Bersia*. I call these by the name of Fountains, vulgarly called *Fontana*, which are buildings of stone, adorned with many carued Images distilling water, and such are placed in most parts of *Italy* in the marketplaces, open and vncouered: but in this and like Gardens, these Fountains are wroght within little houses, which house is vulgarly called *grotta*, that is, Caue (or Den), yet are they not built vnder the earth, but aboue in the manner of a Caue. It remaines I should speak of the lower Garden, which is much more beautiful the vpper: for at the first entrance, there is a Pallace of little compasse, but stately building, being of a round forme, the midst wherof containeth the great chamber, larger then the other rooms, which round about the same are little, but beautifull, and richly furnished for priuate retreat. From vnder all the staires of the Pallace, and the pauements round about, with the turning of

of a cocke, spoutes of water rise vp in great force. For in respect of the heat of the Country, they take great pleasure to wet the passengers in this sort. Vnder the Pallace there is a Caue, vulgarly called *la grotta Maggiore*, (which and like Conduits made as is abouesaid, I will hereafter call fountaines, because they are so vulgarly called.) In the said Caue, a head of marble distilleth water; and two trees by the turning of a cocke shed waters abundantly, and a little globe is turned about by *Cupid*, where the Images of Duckes dabble in the water, and then looke round about them; and in the midst of a marble table is an instrument, which with great art and force, driueth water into any furthest part of the Caue. So many and so diuers are the castings of the water, as the most wary man cannot escape wetting, where they make sport to betray all lookers on in that kind. Neere this, and vnder the Pallace, is a Bath, the wals whereof shine with glistering stones, and therein is a table of Alabaster. Neere this is a caue strongly built, yet by Art so made, as you would feare to enter it, lest great stones should fall vpon your head: and here by the turning of a pipe, certaine images of Nymphes are carried by the water out of the Caue, and in againe, as if they had life, no water being seene: and in this Caue seeming ruinous, are the most curious Images of many beasts that euer I did see. In the next fountaine, with the turning of a Cocke, the vnseene waters cause a noise like thunder, and presently a great shower of raine falls. But among all the Caues or Fountaines vnder the Pallace, one is most faire and large, at the one end whereof, vpon the turning of a cocke, by the same motion of water vnseene, the Image of Fame doth loudly sound a Trumpet, while the image of a Clowne putteth a dish into the water, and taking vp water, presents it to the Image of a Tyger, which dringeth the same vp, and then moues his head, and lookes round about with his eyes, which is as often done as they please; who haue the skill to order the Cocke. At the other end of that Caue, is the Image of *Syrinx* with her fingers halfe turned into reedes; and right against that, is the Image of *Pan* sitting vpon a stoole, with a wreathed pipe in his hand, and *Syrinx* beckening to *Pan*, to play vpon the pipe, *Pan* puts away his stoole with one hand, then standing on foot, plaies vpon his pipe, and this done, lookes vpon his mistresse, as if he desired thanks or a kisse for his paines: and then takes his stoole againe, and sits downe with a sad countenance. I know not that any place in the World affords such rare sights in this kind; but lest I should be tedious, it shall suffice onely to name the other Images and Caues. As you goe downe from the Pallace, you shall first see the Caue of *Aeolus*, another of *Parnassus*, where, with the turning of a cocke, a paire of Organs doth make sweet musicke; and there is a head which together with the eyes is moued to and fro by the vnseene water, and there is a pleasant shade with many statuaes (or Images) curiously carued, and there the Duke doth many times eat. The third fountaine is called *Il villano*, that is, the Clowne. The fourth *la pescaria*, that is, the fish-pond, where a Ducke of *India* hauing foure wings, did swimme in the water. The fifth *La laundara*, the Laundresse, where the statua of a woman with the turning of a Cocke, beats a bucke, turning the clothes vp and downe with her hand and the bartledor, wherewith shee beateth them in the water. The sixth vulgarly *Caccioli*, containes vessels to keepe the water cold. The seventh *Del Rosso*. The eight *Grotta Copito*, and in this Caue on all sides are marble chaires, whereupon passengers willingly sit after their walking: but as soone as they lightly presse some of the seats, a pail of water falls vpon his head that sits vpon it; besides the pauement is of marble, and therein many stones are so placed, as lightly touched with a mans foot, they cast vp water into his very face and eies. There be also well wrought Images, of a Serpent biting the finger of a Man, and of a Toade creeping to and fro, and of a Dragons head bowing downe to drinke water, which presently it vomits vp againe. The ninth *Il satiro*, the Satire. The tenth *La mascara*, a woman with a vizard. To conclude, there is a large cage of birds, made of wier, and open to the aire, in which are birds of all kindes and many Countries; not onely singing to delight the care, but of most pleasant and diuers colours, to delight the eye.

Returning from this garden, we rode to the Dukes Pallace, called *La Petraia*, where at that time he held his Court, (such as I shall in due place relate) and there we did see

Duke

Duke *Ferdinando*, and his Dutchesse, daughter to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the young Princes and Princesses of the house of *Medici* walking into the Garden.

Thence we rode in our returne to *Florence*, to another Pallace of the Dukes, called *Il Castello*, being two miles distant from *Florence*: in the Garden whereof wee did see a faire Oke, called *la Quercetta*, to the top whereof we ascended by staires, and there with the turning of a cock, the water sprung vp on all sides. There is a Fountaine, or a statua of a woman, made of mixt mettall (richer then brasle, called vulgarly *di Bronzo*;) and this statua shed water from all the haire of the head, and there be seates which cast out water when they are set vpon. Here in another Caue are diuers Images of beasts of Marble, curiously wrought, namely, of Elephants, Camels, Sheepe, Harts, Wolves, and many other beasts, admirable for the engrauers worke. Here our guide slipped into a corner, which was only free from the fall of waters, and presently turning a cock powdered vpon vs a shower of raine, and therewith did wet those that had most warily kept themselves from wetting at all the other fountains. This Garden was full of pleasant hills and shades of Cipresse trees, and had three Cesternes of Marble to keepe water. Hauing now spoken of all the Dukes Pallaces within and neere the Citie, giue me leaue to relate by others report, that the Duke hath another Pallace ten miles distant from *Florence*, called *Il Poggio*, which he built for the pleasure of hunting.

This day being thus spent, we returned to *Florence*; and the next day wee went out on foote by the South Gate, to the stately Monastery of the Carthusians, called *la Certosa*, hauing in our company Italian Gentlemen, who caused vs to bee well entertained there, and inuited to dinner in their publique Refectory, where we had great cheare of fish, Pastry, and Sallats, but no flesh, which those Friers neuer eate, at least not publickly. I made mention of this Monastery in my iourney from *Sienna* to *Florence*, at which time those that did pennance about Easter, flocked thither in great troopes, and now our Italian Consorts gaue vs the meanes to view the same. The Church is stately built, and the seates of the Chauncell are of Nut tree. They did shew vs the statua of Saint *Chrisostome* to the middle of siluer, whose relikes also they keepe, and they shewed vs one of the pors in which they said Christ turned water into Wine in *Cana* of *Galilee*, (whereof the Papists shew many.) Also a statua of Saint *Dennis Arcopagita*, of siluer, and like relikes kept there. These Friers professe great austeritie in Religion, and are tied to keepe silence, not *Pithagoricall* for some yeeres, but perpetuall. The lay-brethren excepted, who doe the manuell workes of the house. They neuer eate flesh, for such is their rule, which if they breake, yet they doe it not in the publique place of eating. The Priest hauing sung Masse, doth after it many times bow downe his head, and then falles prostrate on his face, praying. Each Frier hath foure cells or chambers, and his priuate Garden planted with fruit trees, and therein a priuate well. They haue no beds, but sleep vpon straw, and eat priuately in their owne Celles, only eating together in the publique roomes on the feast dayes, so as they may easily in priuate breake this vow of not eating flesh, if they list. To conclude, they giue large almes to the poore, and thus by shew of helines, getting great riches from Lay-mens gift, they think to deserue heauen, by giuing them (as the prouerb is) a pig of their owne tow. The state of this Monastery is very pleasant, vpon a Hill or little Mountaine. Hence wee returned to *Florence*.

All the Cities of *Italy* haue many houses wherein strangers may hire Chambers, called *Camere locanti*; and in *Florence* there be only three or foure publique Innes, all in one streete for daily passengers, and three huoses like Colledges, called *Albergi*, for those that make long stay in the Citie, wherein they may hire Chambers for ten giulij the month, the host being tied, after the manner of *Italy*, besides their Chamber and bed, to dresse their meate, and finde them linnen. I liuing after this fashion, remember these rates of things bought: for a pound of Almons vulgarly *una lira di Mandole*, one giulio: a pound of great grapes dried, and called *susini* fixe creitzers, two pigeons one giulio, that is eight creitzers; two Apricotts a quatraine; a pound of Mutton, foureene fifteene or sixteene quatrines; a pound of Lambe twelue quatrines; two egges five or sixe quatrines; a pound of Raisons or lesse grapes dried two baelli; and of another kind

kinde, called *Passere*, sixe baelli; two Hennes fortie or fiftie sols; two Capons sixtie sols; two Apples one quatraine, and seven Apples, one baello; an Orangetwo quatrines; two Citrones one baello; a pound of drie figges seven or tenne quatrines; a pound of the greatest reasons, or dried Grapes called *Sebibi*, twelve quatrines, and the best kinde eighteene quatrines; a pound of Rice foureteene or fiftene quatrines; a vessel, called *borcale*, of Oyle, twelve crierzer or baelli (being all one); a pound of butter, containing twelve ounces, two giulij, each ounce being seven quatrines; two ounces and a halfe of sugar five baelli; an ounce of Nutmegs sixe baelli, a pound of Walnuts twelve quatrines; two little fresh cheeses, called *Recotti*, thirteene quatrines; a fit proportion of any herbe for sallats one quatraine; and little proportions of any spice one quatraine, which proportion you may increase as you list. And I being lodged in the *Albergo* of the golden keyes, called *Alle chianui d'oro nel chiaffo di Messer Benigliano*, paid for my chamber by the month twelve giulij or reali; and moreouer for salt at table five Crierzeri or baelli. And in these *Albergi*, he that desires to liue at an ordinary, without trouble to buy his meate, vulgarly *In dozzina*, shall pay for each meale two giulij, and if he stay long, shall pay no more for two meales. And they were wont to giue a stranger his chamber and diet in these houses for tenne Crownes the moneth, each Crowne being ten giulij.

I being purposed to liue in the State of *Florence* this Summer, especially desired to spend my time in learning the Italian tongue, reputed the most pure in those parts; to which end I resolved to returne to *Sienna*, and liue in that Vniuersity: but because many Dutch and English Gentlemen liued there, which were of my acquaintance, and solitarie conuersing with the Italians best fitted my purpose, I rather chose to liue at the Castle *S. Casciano*, being a pleasant seate, and lying eight miles from *Florence*, in the way to *Sienna*. And because I liued in a publique Inne, and in a great high-way, and was shortly to passe through the Dutchie of *Millan*, subiect to the Spaniards, who then had warre with *England*, I did, for the auoiding of danger in that iourney, giue out that I was a Dutchman: but I staid here much longer then I purposed, for it happened at this time, that the Roman Inquisitors pursuing an English Gentleman, who had escaped their hands at *Rome*, did in stead of him cast another English Gentleman into prison, who then lay at *Sienna*, and was not much vnlike him. And howsoeuer the first Gentleman escaping, the second was shortly set free, yet this chance made mee make lesse haste to *Sienna*; besides that I had my diet here at an easie rate, spending not aboue on Giulio each meale, and yet hauing such meate as I most desired, neatly dressed, and being diligently attended: but especially the most pleasing conuersation of a Gentleman dwelling there, called *Nicolao della Rocca*, made me most vnwilling to leaue that Castle, and the rather because he had made me acquainted with a learned Kinsman of his *Raphaele Columbano* a Florentine. And I freely confesse, that the curtesie and manifold vertues of this Gentleman *Nicolao della Rocca*, then tooke such impression in me, as I shall not onely so long as I liue dearely loue him, and his memory, but bee glad to doe any pleasure to his least friend, or any Florentine, aswell for their generall good desert, as for his sake more specially. He was my companion in viewing the pleasures of this Territory, where among other things I did see many delightfull Groves (vulgarly *Boschetti*), Nets to catch birds (*Ragnay*), Gardens for that purpose (*Vcellari*), all belonging to the Noble Florentine Families of *Buondelmonte*, and *Guicciardini*, hauing Pallaces neere adioyning (of which sports I shall more largely speake in the due place, treating of the Italian exercises.) And to make the delights of my stay in this place more particularly iustified; and to explaine some euents therein mentioned, I will adde two Epistles, which I then writ of this subiect, the first from this place, the second from *Florence*, after I was departed from this Castle, and these being written in Italian, I will also turne into English.

San' Casciano.

All' Ill^{re} Sig^r Il Sig^r T. H. Nobile Inghlese mio oss^{mo}

A Pisa in Casa di Messier T. A.

MAndato ch' io hebbi le mie lettere a li vultà di vos^a Signoria, stetti di lane fin' hora sempre in su l'occhi & l'orecchie (non senza rincrescimento della tardanza) badando le sue. Queste benedette lettere tanto badate & hormai capitate, spieghai con tanta furia, non che fretta, che piu non hebbe mai l'affamato di mettersi a tavola. E loato sia Iddio, poi che s'è indugiato un pezzo, finalmente il parto s'è fatto maschio, che tanti & così varij sono i soggetti proposti da lei, che paiano richiedere risposta dijesa. Onde io che son scarico d'ogni impedimento, & sto sfacendato nella villa, come un Romito nel deserto, mi stenderò (con sopportatione però delle sue orecchie) nel rispondere a tutti i particolari d'esse. E prima le dirò raguaglio piu minutamente del caso Siennese. Sappia dunque che pochi giorni fa, il Sig^r G. M. con tutto che se fosse pubblicamente impacciato in fatti di Stato, nondimeno per cauarsi il capriccio, irauessito da Suizzero, & par troppo (come mi pareua) contrafatto, voise arrischiarsi d'andar da Fiorenza a Roma. Il viaggio gli riuscì commodamente, però non s'era piu prestotornato a Sienna, & dila (con sua buona ventura) senza punto di tardanza messosi in camino la volta di Fiorenza, che dal l'Inquisitori Romani sopraggiunse un mandato al Podestà di Sienna di farlo prigione. Hora auenne ch' il Sig^r G. L. stando a Sienna & essendo (come sa lei) grandone, d'acere allegro & hauendo altri contrasegni della sua barba & cera, fu preso da i birri, & per l'Inquisitori messo in prigione. Doue seppe con tal discretione portarsi, che loro auuedutosi d'hauerlo prig'iato con incambio, gli resero la libertà, laquale gode stando a Sienna fin' hora. Ma quel mandato passò io oltre, arrivò fin' a Fiorenza, doue il Sig^r G. M. per via d'un amico in Corte (non dico gia ch' il gran Duca ne fosse consapevole) essendone informato di sera in su l'Aue-Maria, diede subito a le gambe, tenendo la volta di Padua, in tal fretta che pareua proprio volar di la dell'Apennino senza ale. Ringraziato sia il cielo che sia fugito a saluamento, che con tutto che a n' altri Todefchi rileua nul'a, pure anch' io come un forestiero, m'attristo & ho viuorisentimento delle disgratie d'altri, che da suoi amici & dalla patria sono lontani. Non posso tenerle risa, quando m'imagino gli fieri salti ch'egli fa sopra le montose scoglie. I contadini deuono pensar ch'egli vada a la caccia d'i Caprioli, che forse non s'accorgeranno quante fiate egli risolge gli occhi sopra le spalle, & ad ogni passo guata, di paura che qualche Veluto Romano non se gli auentasse a dosso. L'importanza e, ch'egli non se faccia sicuro sotto qualche frasca, doue per ogni picciol vento che soffia, potrà essere tradito: che non sermandosi per strada vil' do saluo, inteso che gli bracci Romani per tracciar' in Stato d'i Veneti, poco, dila dell'Alpi, nulla vagliano. Hora che vada egli a buon viaggio, & vi dirò fuora di burla, ch'io a la prima senti gran' di spiacere di questa percossa, finche intese le dette nuoue, mi son' rihauuto. Del resto, buon' per loro, ch' questo gli sia accaduto nel Stato Fiorentino, che altramente i Preti l'archbino fatto un mal' scherzo. Tal sia di questo. Hora per ristorarci, ragionamo un poco d'Orlando. E quanto a la vostra gran' buona lingua Toscana (respondendoui capo per capo), vedete come non è mel senza Mische ne vostra lettera (per gratiosa che sia,) senza sue punture & fiancate. Può far il cielo, come si può capitar' male per essere frainteso. Ch'io burla di voi? Dio non voglia ch'io burla d'amici miei mai mai mai: Mi vallegro ben' con essi tal' volta, & che volete ch'io faccia poi? non conoscendo altro soggetto delle lettere di trattenimento, che Cortigiane O'haie. S'io pensassi che l'areste scritto da buon' senno, mi verrebbe talmente la Senapa al naso, che sarei per cozzar' col capo contra il muro. Ma son' chiarissimo, che con questa briglia m'habbitate vol'suto dar' la bota, per farmi montar' in bestia contra mi stesso. Dunque vi replico, che malgrado vostro mi stupisco ancora d'i vostri Toscanismi, non ch'io pensi ch'abbiate auanzato Petrarca Dante, Boccaccio, con quelli altri maestri della fauella volgare, ma che d'un Nouizo siate riuscito un gran' Dottore, hauendoui fatto gran' profitto senza ch'io me n' auedesse, se non in quel tratto che me ne deste saggio per le vostre tanto garbate & gentile lettere. Talmente ch' il torto e vostro, d'esserui apigliato alle parole non al senso mio. Doglietevi poi di voi stesso per quel disagio ch' il scriuere nella lingua Toscana vi possa recare, ch'io in sul ragionar' ho cauato da vostra bocca propria, che questo vi sarebbe caro, & da parte mia spero coglierne frutto, dandoui occasione di segnar' le mie scortessioni, & di farmi parte di quei vostri belli passi di Laico. Il che vi supplico far,

far' meco a la libera, & in cio mostrarmi quanto mi vogliate bene. Con questa risposta state cheto, sinon, fo giuro d' assassino, che vi lodero tanto in sul viso, che vi ne verrà rossore. Passo inanzi, doue mi motteggiate, d' hauer messo quel' Oime a bella posta per far mostra d' eloquenza, & fatte professione d' essere schiso de lo scriuere per vergogna del vostro rozzo stilo. Buon a fe: Riconosco l' Ironia. Contentatevi & godeteui nel seno senza trionfarnine, ch' io vi cedo volentieri in ogni fatto d' ingegno, pure che mi sia lecito di parreggiarui d' amore. Ma per vindicarui di vostre sferzate, & accioche non crediate ch' io cagliaffi affatto per vostre braverie Toscanesche, m' ingegnerò di riuolgere la colpa che m' imputate in su le spalle vostre. Et penso durarci poca fatica, poiche voi sopra quella medesima parolina, Oime, hauete fatto vn' sì bel' discorso, che vi debbano hauer' vna dolce inuidia gli valenti Teologi, i quali però hanno il grido, poter' d' ogni poco di soggetto ragionar' dall'aleuata infin' al tramontar' del sole. Mi pare poi ch' andate troppo animosamente a la volta d' i Ciarletani, non curando di farui nemice queste gentaccie, a che se si dia nell' unghie senza essere ben' prouisto di Copia verborum, miracomando, che in quanto al' menar' la lingua, non hanno pari. Dauanzo la confidenza della lingua sciolta, & della prontezza d' ingegno, vi trasporta a dir' molto male contra la cosa piu garbata che altra che si sia nel mondo, cioe lettere di trattenimento. Per lenarui questo errore, succintamente dirò. Le cose che piu s' adoperano ci deuono essere piu care. L' acce che ci nodrisce, sopra ogni cosa si pregia. Il pan' & il vino, senza chi non si puo essere, piu si procacciano, che fasiani, tordi, O quaglie! Tali sono le lettere sopradette, ch' in ogni gentil' brigata piu si ragiona di cortesia, d' Amore, di ciancie, che del piattire, o maneggiar' il stato. Et per non fastidirui con infiniti argomenti: l' Arte & l' ingegno del' Oratore, si mostrano nella rarità & sterilità della materia che si tratta, come nel' lodar' l' Asino, nel' dispregiar' le scientie, & cose simile. Ora per lettere di facende, non è huomo di sì grossa pasta, che non le spedisca destramente: la narratione del' bisogno, vn' Miracomando, & bello finito. Ma quelle altre, se non siano abellite con l' inuentione, & quasi lisceiate con certe stranaganze, riescono fracide & di poca lode al scrittore. E' vero, ch' i Secretarij, Notarij, & tali gente facendate, scorticandosi (per modo di dire) ne lo scriuere, & impazzandone gli cernelli, hanno qualche preteso di ragione, a lamentarsi d' i complementi amoreuoli. Ma voi scioperati, stando nelle città, & che piu importa nelli studi Toscani, doureste hor mai gridare: viuano le lettere di trattenimento, piene di parole gratiose. Hora fatte voi, andate, e si non vi pare ch' io v' habbia ben' acconciato, pigliateni spasso dell' eloquenza contadienesca. In su l' stringere, mi date delle Signorie per farmi piacere, & me n' auertite ancora. O questo sì. M' hauete tocco a punto doue mi duole. Et non vedete ch' in Italia c' ha carestia d' ogni cosa delle Signorie in fuora, che si danno a buona rata infino a i fachini. Tanto che si ben' io ne fosse ambitoso, tuttauia per il souerchio godere, ne restaria snogliato. Datemi allegramente del voi, senza parlar' in astratto con l' Idei, che non mi terrò per affronto, anzi per Arra d' Amore. Io per me, uedendo che le Signorie non vi sono a grado, non vi ne darò mai al' auuenire, si non in escambio di quelle, che mi mandarete a me, & in quel caso vile ronderò con l' interesse. Quanto a le vostre offerte sì calde d' amista, non mi basta l' animo spieghare, quanto mi son' ite a sangue. Ma forza m' e responderui in presente con l' animo, fino che m' occorre farlo con l' opere: pnre in quel mentre miui impegno, & miui dono per tutto quel che porta il mio valsente. Fatte di me cio che volete, tenetemiui per scbiauo, & si bisognasse, vendetemi a Turchi: che volete altro? Direte poi che son' baie anche queste, & non sapete ch' il Poeta sotto parole finte adombra il vero? Credetemi, se non volete ch' io usa di furiosi protestationi, percha in ogni modo voglio che mi si creda. Parlo da senno, comandatemi a fidanza, doue posio essere buono per vostro seruitio, come io mi seruirò liberamente di voi, il che vedrete in effetto per la brigha che vi da l' inclusa. Et cou questo vi bacio le mani, & anche le guancie (a la venetiana). Da San' Casciano a li vinti tre di Luglio. 1594.

Deſſo in guiſa di fratello,

Fines Moryſoni.

All' Ill^{re} Sig^r il Sig^r Nicolao Della Rocca mio off^{mo},
a casa sua in San' Casciano.

o sia consegnata a le mani, &c.

Che possino essere confinate nelli studioli d' i Mercatanti queste faccende, (per non dir' peggio): poi che m' hanno fatto, non dimenticarmi di V. S. (che questo non farebbono giamai), ma ben d' inangiar' troppo a farle fede della mia dolce rimembranza di lei. Hora essendo io in su la partenza per andar' la volta di Padua, mi son' mosso a scriuerle queste poche righe, con patto che non le manda al' Academia della Crusca per essere censurate, poiche essendo io (per dire) a Cavallo, forza e, che loro partecipano della confusione & del scompiglio in che io mi truouo. E pure possibile ch' vn' galant' huomo suo pare manca della promessa? Io staua a vedere con che sicurezza lei procedesse meco, per pigliarne qualche saggio di suo amore, & l' aspettua parechi giorni (dirò liberamente non senza mio scorcio) per darle l' ultimi Idij. Ma poiche, o per ismemoragine, o altra cagione che si sia, questo aboccamento non e' eruscito, ne manco ci resta mezzo a reuocerci per acconciar' a bocca questa brigha. Non e' ha altro remedio si non di far' pace a bell' agio per lettere. A che debito io mentre che starò a Padua non mancarò da parte mia, & tornato che sarò in paese mio, secondo l' occorrenze, raffazzonorò quel' poco della fauella Toscana, che d' vn' viaggio fra tante confusione di lingue m' auanzera, & le chiarirò, ch' il suo amore mi sarà assai piu cresciuto, che questa non mi sarà scemata. Due cose mi premano. La prima e' quel' carico delle sue cortesie usate verso di me, che m' ha messo in su l' dosso, di tanto peso quanto lei fa: loquale il Sig^r Raphaele Colombani di qua anche piu m' aggraua, chi m' ha inuitato amoreuolmente a casa sua, m' ha menato a la Certosa, & insomma trattomi con tanta amoreuolezza quanta non si può dire. Io lo receuo come fatto per amor' di V. S. (che non m' inganno delli miei pochi meriti) & tuttauia non lene ringratia altramente, perche in questi simili fatti non e' ha pagha di parole. Il secondo m' artello che lauora nel' mio ceruello s' e, ch' essendo io talmente tenuto a V. S. mi sento grauata la coscienza, d' hauerla ingannata in vn' certo particolare. Il che tanto piu mi pesa, quanto piu per quel' inganno mi si toglie affatto ogni speranza, di poter' mostrarlene gratitudine, se per caso mi se presentasse l' occasione, (dellaquale quanto io sia bramoso, Dio vel' dica.) Hora per sgrauar' l' vna & sgannar' l' altra a vn' tratto, per questa charta (priuilegiata come le maschere, di non arrossire per grande che sia la vergogna del' Patron) le fo fede, ch' io son' Inglese, e non mica Todesco, come l' ho dato ad intendere fin' hora. Et accieche non ne ritragga d' essere abbattuto in qualche Iuntatore, o personaggio indegno di quella sua accoglienza che m' ha fatta sopra modo gentile, sappia che per rispetti honoreuoli io m' habbia in tal' guisa mascarato. Non dubito punto, che l' e' gia hormai chiara l' inimicitia ch' abbiano i nostri con i spagnuoli, tanto che si l' vn' capitasse in man' dell' altro, di fatto restaria prigione infino che fosse riscattato. Hora hauendo io da passare fra pochi giorni pel' Ducato di Milano, mi pareua cosa sciocca di darmi a conoscere, spetialmente stando io in vn' hosteria nella strada maestra, per doue tutti di quelle bande giornalmente passano. Ho firma speranza, che lei sia per farmi buona l' iscusà, o vero al manco per perdonarmi l' errore. Si ricorda che le son' seruitore piu che mai, ne posso essere piu suo che mi sono, & mantenga l' Inglese nella sua buona gratia, per quella sua gentilezza propria, per laquale e stata acquistata al Todesco: che degnandosi di comandarmi in persona d' Inglese, mi rincuoro far' ogni gran' cosa per amor suo, che potrebbe far' qual si voglia Todesco. Et con questo, abbracciandola cosi da lontano, mi l' offero & racomando una volta per sempre. Et di nuouo le bacio le mani. Da Fiorenza a li dieci d' Aousto, l' An' 1594.

Di V. S. affett^{mo} seruitore,

F. M.

To

To the noble Gentleman M. T. H. a Gentleman of England
my most respected, at *Pisa* in the house of
Master T. A.

AFTER I had sent mine vnto you, mine eyes and eares were euer attentiuē to receiue your answer, not without some grieſe that it was ſo long delaied. Theſe bleſſed letters ſo much expected, are at laſt ariued, which I opened in as great haſte, as hungry men ſet downe to table. And faire is our fortune, after patient expecting, at laſt wee haue got a man-childe: for ſo many and ſo diuers are the ſubiects you propound, as they ſeemē to require a large answer. And therefore I that am as much at leaſure in the Countrey, as an Hermit in the Deſart, will enlarge my ſelfe (with your patience) to answer all the particulars. And firſt I will giue you an account of the chaunce at *Sienna*. Know then that of late Maſter W. M. howſoeuer hee had publiſhly imploied himſelfe here in matters of State, yet to ſatiſſie his owne humour, would needes venter to goe from *Florence* to *Rome*, apparelled like a Switzer, and (as it ſeemed to me) too much diſguiſed. His iourney fell out well, yet hee was no ſooner returned to *Sienna*, & from thence (by good aduenture) gone towards *Florence*, but a Mandate came from the Inquiſitors of *Rome* to put him in priſon at *Sienna*. Now it happened, that Maſter W. L. lying then at *Sienna*, and being (as you know) high of ſtature, and of chearefull countenance, and hauing other markes of his beard and face, was taken by the Sergiāts, and impriſoned by the Inquiſitors of *Sienna*. Where hee carried himſelfe with that diſcretion, as they perceiuing they had miſtaken him, ſet him at libertie, which hee now enioyes at *Sienna*. But the Mandate paſſing forward came to *Florence*, where Maſter W. M. hauing notice thereof in the euening about *Aue Marie* time, by a friend in Court (I ſay not with the Dukes priuitie,) preſently tooke him to his heeles towards *Padua*, in ſuch haſte, as hee ſeemed to flie ouer the *Apennine* without wings. And now (God be praized) hee is in ſafetie. For howſoeuer this chance importeth not vs that are Dutchmen, yet my ſelfe as a ſtranger, am ſorrie for any diſaduentures happening to others, who are farre from their friends and Countrey. I cannot hold from laughing, when I imagin with my ſelfe, what large ſteppes hee makes ouer the rocky Mountaines. The Countrey people will thinke that hee hunts for Kiddes, not marking how often hee looks backe, for ſeare leaſt ſome Roman Greyhound ſhould lay hold on him behind. The maine doubt is, that hee thinke not himſelfe ſafe, where hee may bee betraied; for if hee ſtay not by the way, I dare aſſure you of his ſafetie; the Roman Hounds hauing little ſkill to hunt in the State of *Venice*, and none at all beyond the Alpes. Now let him goe on his happie voyage, and I will tell you without ieſt, that I was much aſtoniſhed at this accident, till I was reſtored by vnderſtanding this happie cuent. It was well for them that this happened in the State of *Florence*, for otherwiſe the Priests would haue ſifted them like bran. So much for them. Now for paſtime, let vs talke a little of *Orlando*. And that I may answer you from point to point, firſt, concerning your excellent Tuſcan language; ſee how there is neuer hony without ſtinging Bees; neither are your louing letters without their exceptions. How ſoone a man may be blamed, being miſunderſtood. Should I ieſt at you? ſure I neuer ieſt at my friends; ſometimes I am merry with them, and what would you haue mee doe, knowing no other ſubiect of idle letters, but complement and mirth. If I thought you had written this in earneſt, I ſhould take ſuch pepper in the noſe, as I ſhould bee readie to run my head againſt the wall: but I am moſt certaine you haue picked this quarrell with mee, to make mee angrie with my ſelfe. Therefore I reſpōd howſoeuer you take it, that I am ſtill amaſed at your Tuſcan eloquence, not that I think you paſſe *Petrarch* *Dante*, and *Baccaccio*, and the other great Maſters of that language, but that of

Thus in
English.

a nouice, you are become a Doctor, before I could perceiue it, had you not giuen mee this taste thereof by your gentle letters. So as you are in the wrong, taking my words and not my meaning; and blame your selfe for the trouble you haue in answering mee in the Italian Tongue, since I vnderstood from your owne mouth, that you would willingly exchange such letters, which for my part will bee profitable to me, giuing you occasion to correct my errours, and to impart vnto mee the eloquent phrales of *Lasco*. And this I pray you doe freely with me, and therein shew me how much you loue me. Be content with this answer, otherwise (I sweare by no beggars) I will praise you so much to your face, as I will make you bluth. I goe forward, and come to your quip, that I began my letters with the word (*Alas*) to shew my eloquence, and that you were ashamed to write to mee for your rude stile. Very good, I finde the Irony: content your selfe that I gladly yeelde to you in all points of wit, so it may bee lawfull for me to equall you in loue. Yet to reuenge this frump, and that you may not thinke I am daunted with your Toscan brauery, I will attempt to cast that vpon your owne shoulders, which you impute to me, and this I thinke to doe with ease, since vpon this one little word (*Alas*) you haue made so faire a discourse, as you may iustly bee enuied by our great Diuines, who vpon the least subiect are held able to discourse from morning till night. Againe, me thinks you are somewhat too bold with the Mountibankes, not caring to make them your enemies, into whose hands if you fall, without being well stored with *Copia verborum*, woe be to you, for you know they are most skilfull Fencers with the tongue. Moreouer, the confidence of your skill in this tongue, transports you to speake ill of the most gentle and delightful thing in the world, namely, of complementing letters. And to cure you of this error, I will briefly remember you: That the things of greatest vse, are most deare vnto vs. The aire that nourisheth vs, is most of all deare. All men seeke more for bread and wine, without which they cannot liue, then for Pheasants, Black-birds or Quails: such are letters of complement: for in euery gentle company, there is more discourse of courtesie, loue, and toies, then of Law or State matters. And not to be tedious with many arguments. The art and wit of the Orator is most shewed in the barrennesse of the subiect whereof he speakes, as in praising the Asse, dispraising liberall sciences, and in like subiects. Now for letters of busines, no man is so blockish that cannot easily dispatch them; when he hath told the businesse, and bid farewell, all is done. But if letters of complement bee not beautified with inuention, they are dull, and the writer deserues small praise. It is true, that Secretaries, and Scriueners, tyred with writing of businesse, haue some reason to declame against letters of complement, but you being at leasure, and liuing in a Citie, yea, in an Vniuersitie of *Toscany*, should say with me, well fare letters of complement, full of gracious words. Goe too now, and if you thinke I haue not wel fitted you, heereafter make your selfe sport with our Country eloquence. Towards the conclusion, you giue me many Master-ships (or worships) to doe mee pleasure, and you remember me of it, least I should not see it. Indeed you haue now hit me iust where my paine lies, yet you know nothing is so cheape in *Italy* as masterships, which are plentifully giuen to very Porters, so as if I loued them well, yet the very plenty of them, would make them irkesome. Write you to me without any speaking of Masterships in the third person, which I wil take for no disgrace, but rather for a pledge of your loue. And for my part, since these titles are vnpleasing to you, I will hence forward send you no more of them, except it be in exchange of those you shall send me, in which case I will pay you with vsurie. Touching your affectionate offers of loue to me, I cannot expresse how I take them to heart, but for the present I can returne you nothing but words, till occasion serues to witnesse my loue in action, and in the meane time I leaue my selfe at the stake with you, yea, I giue my selfe to you, all that little I am worth, doe with me what you please, keepe me for your seruant, and if neede bee, sell me to the Turkes: what would you haue more? You will say also that this is written in ieast, yet you know that Poets vnder fained words shadow the truth. Beleue me, except you will haue me vse furious protestations, for I will and must be beleued.

I speake

I speake in good earnest, commaund me with securitie, where I am good for your service, for my selfe will freely make bold with you, as in effect you may see in the trouble I giue you by the inclosed. And so I kisse your hands, and also your cheekes after the manner of *Venice*. From Saint *Casiano* this 23 of Iuly, 1594.

The same, as your brother,

F. M.

To the noble Sig^r. the Sig^r. *Nicolao della Rocca* my most respected,
at his house in Saint *Casiano*; or to his hands.

LET this foolish businesse (not to say worse) bee confined to Merchants counting-houses, since it hath made me, not forget you (which it can neuer doe,) but to vse too great delay in giuing you testimony of my kind remembrance of you. Now being ready to take horse for my iourney to *Padua*, I thought good to write these few lines vnto you, with condition that you send them not to be censured in the Academy *della Crusca*, for my selfe being thus remouing, they must needs participate the confusion in which I am for the present. Is it possible that a braue Gentleman like your selfe should faile of his promise? I stood looking with what securitie you would proceede with mee, to take it for an euidence of your loue, and expected many daies (I will say freely not without some incontinence) to haue the happinesse to see you ere I went. But since either by your forgetfulnesse, or other reason best knowne to you, this our meeting hath not succeeded, and there is no more hope that wee should meete to reconcile this quarrell, there is no other remedie but to make our peace at leasure by exchange of letters. In which dutie (for my part) I will not faile, so long as I shall stay at *Padua*. And when I shall bee returned into my Country, I will vpon all occasions, scoure vp that little *Toscane* language, which after my long iourney through confusion of tongues shall be remaining vnto me, to make it appeare to you, that howsoeuer my language be decreased, yet my heartie loue towards you shall euermore increase. Two things lie heauie vpon me; first, the burthen of your curtesies, wherewith you haue loded me, as you best know, and wherewith Sig^r *Raphaele Colombani* hath newly charged me here, by inuiting me friendly to his house, by leading me to the Monastery *Certosa*, and by entartaining me with vnspeakable kindnes, which I take as done for your sake; (knowing my owne small desert), and yet I doe not so much as thanke you for it, because I know such fauours can not bee repaied with words. The second thing which lies heauie vpon me, is that being thus bound vnto you, I am ashamed to haue deceiued you in one point, which so much the more grieues mee, because this deceit hath vtterly taken from me all hope, to expresse my loue to you hereafter vpon any happie occasion, then which nothing should be more pleasing to me. Now at once to disburden my selfe, and to cleare you for being any longer deceiued, by this paper (hauing the priuiledge of Maskers vizards, which neuer blush, howsoeuer their Masters haue cause to bee ashamed), I let you know, that I am an Englishman, and not a Dutchman, as I haue hitherto caused my selfe to bee reputed. And lest you should thereby doubt, that you haue cast your loue vpon a Iugler, or a man vnworthy your so great fauours; know that for honourable respects I haue thus concealed my Countrey. I am sure you know, that the English haue warre with the Spaniards, so as either falling into the hands of the other, should bee lawfull prisoners vpon Ransome; and I being within few dayes to passe through the Dutchey of *Milan*, did therefore thinke it no wisdome to make my selfe knowne, especially lying in a publike Inne, vpon the beaten high-way, which all men of those parts daily passe. I am confident that you will make good my excuse, or at least pardon my error; remember that I am your seruant more then euere, neither can bee

more yours then I am; & maintaine the Englishman in your good fauour, by the same gentlenesse, in which you vouchsafed it to me as a Dutch-man: for in whatsoeuer you shall commaund me as an English-man, my heart serues mee to doe you as faithfull seruice, as any Dutch-man whatsoeuer. And so imbracing you thus farre off, I offer and recommend my selfe to you once for all. And againe I kisse your hands. From Florence this tenth of August, 1594.

Your affectionate seruant, F. M.

I had taken my iourney from Saint *Casciano* to *Florence*, that I might receiue money, and now vpon a sudden occasion being to returne to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Pado-ua*, I hired a horse to *Sienna*, but haue omitted what I paid for the same, and so I returned to *Sienna* by the same way I came, namely, to *Trauernelle* fiftene miles, and to *Sienna* seuentene, which iourney for others instruction I will particularly set downe.

To Saint *Casciano* eight miles; to *Colmo* foure; to *Barbarino* sixe; to *Puedibonzo* sixe; to *Sienna* foue, being in all thirtie two miles.

The situation of *Sienna* is most pleasant, vpon a high hill, and the forme not vnlike to an earthen vessell, broad in the bottom, and narrow at the mouth, which narrow part lies towards the West, where comming from *Florence*, you enter by the Gate *Carmolea*. Neere the same is a Fort, wherein the great Duke keepes souldiers, and there without the gate is the Church of Saint *Marie*, whether was great concourse of people for deuotion. From hence to the East gate, leading towards *Rome*, the streetes lie euen and plaine, though the Citie be seated vpon a mount; and in this part toward the East, the City is broadest, and from this gate a man may see the Castle *Redicofni*, forty miles distant, vpon the confines of the States of the Pope and the great Duke. Betweene the said gates, as it were in the center of the City, lies a most faire Market-place, in the forme of an Oyster, and lying hollow as the shell thereof is. And there is a stately Pallace of the Senate, built when the Citie was free; in the front whereof is a statua of mixt mettall, vulgarly called *di bronzo*, which seemes to bee apparelled, hauing on the head a broad hat, and this statua strikes the houre of the clock. On the South-East side within the walles lies a large field, which was then sowed with corne, yet the Citie hath few or no Gardens within the wall.

Pope Ioane. This monument (as I heard) was defaced in the time of Pope Clement the eighth then living.

Not farre from the walles on the South-side, lies the Cathedral Church vulgarly called *Il Domo*, and howsoeuer it be little, it seemed to me the fairest Church in *Italy*. It hath but one dore, to which you ascend by long and broad Marble staires. All the pauement is most beautifull of ingrauen Marble, adorned with Images of the foue Sybills; and there be in this Church some twentie Images of mixt mettall, besides many other of Marble. The seates of the Chauncell are of Walnut-tree, curiously carued; and all the rooffe of the Church is painted of skie colour, and all set with starres. Vpon the inside, and in the vpper part of the Church, are the Images of the Popes, wrought in stone to the shoulders, set round about, where betweene *Gregorie* the fourth, and *Adrian* the second, I wondred to see the head of Pope *Ioane*, with the inscription naming her, especially in a Citie so neere *Rome*. Hauing noted this at *Sienna*, and after my comming into *England* reading the same, I searched Histories to see how they agreed in this matter, which the Papists cannot heare with patience. And I found in approoued Authors, that after the said *Gregory* the fourth, succeeded *Sergius* the second (confirmed by the Emperour *Lotharius*, in the yeere 844); then *Leo* the fourth (dying in the yeere 854); then Pope *Ioane* (setting two yeeres and few moneths, and dying in the yeere 856); then *Benedict* the third, then *Nicholas* the Great (in the yeere 858); then the foresaid *Adrian* the second (in the yeere 867.) And if any man aske, why the heads of *Sergius* the second, *Leo* the fourth, *Benedict* the third, and *Nicholas* the great being omitted, the head of Pope *Ioane* should stand betweene the heads of *Gregorie* the fourth, and *Adrian* the second, I leauing the curious search thereof

thereof to them that list dispute it, as a matter nothing to my purpose, can suddenly giue no other reason thereof, then that I coniecture the said heads were set on the other side of the Church: for at that time I was content to note the same, without casting this doubt, and so not searching to satisfie my selfe therein. But I dare boldly affirme, that my selfe and the two Dutch-gentlemen my consorts, did see this monument in this Church neere the doore on the right hand as we came in. And since that time, I haue conferred with diuers worthy English Gentlemen, who affirmed that they did see the same. In this Church are two sepulchers, one of Pope *Alexander* the third, the other of Pope *Pius* the second. And in a Chappell of this Church, is a most faire Font.

From this Church discending by slope and steepe streetes towards the South-west wall, you shall come to a most pleasant Fountaine, called *Fonte Branda*, without the South-gate, of which the Citizens prouerbiually say, that if a stranger drinke thereof, he shall so loue *Sienna*, as he shall very vnwillingly and scarce at all depart from the City. But the Florentines in scorne of the Siennesi, haue a prouerbe, *Chi de fonte Branda bene, diuenta pazzo*; He that drinkes of the fountaine *Branda*, becomes a foole. It casts out water by nine mouthes of stone, and there be three places where Laundresses wash, and neere the same is a pleasant groue. On the same South side towards the Sea, some few miles from the Towne, lies a fenny plaine called *La Maremma*, most fruitfull in corne, but infamous for ill aire; so as the place being forsaken by all Italians, is tilled by the Grisons, comming downe from the Alpes to this place in winter time, when the Alpes are all couered with snow, and in the spring time returning backe into their owne Countrey *Sienna* it selfe is much subiect to raine, so as a Spaniard comming often thither in rainy weather, did write, or is said to haue written to his friend, for a wonder, that it alwaies rained at *Sienna*. On the North-east side of the City, two large fields within the wals, are sowed with corne: All the pauement of the streets is of bricke, which lasteth the longer, because there be neither carts nor coaches, but all burthens are carried vpon the backs of Asses. There is a stately Pallace which Pope *Pius* the second built, who was a Citizen of *Sienna*, of the Family of *Picciolomini*, and there in the Mount *Oliuet* the passion of Christ is curiously grauen. It is vulgarly and truely said, that *Sienna* abounds with Fountains, Towers, and faire Weomen: There is no better place to liue in through all *Italy*, then the state of *Florence*, and more specially the most sweet City of *Sienna*. The Citizens whereof are most curteous, and they haue many publike meetings of the young weomen & Virgines to dance, where the doore is open for any Citizen or stranger.

Besides *Sienna* is commended for the best language, and in the same, and in all the state of *Florence*, men liue safe from robberies, and from the murthers, which are frequent in *Lombardy*. Adde that they haue delicate diet, at *Florence* at a reasonable rate, and in the rest of the territory at a very cheape rate. Our Hostesse at *Sienna* gaue vs cleane linnen often changed both at bed and boord, a large chamber, a good bed, a linnen canopy oft changed, and did prouide our meat very cleanly; for which each man paid no more then ten giulij by the moneth. We bought our owne meat, and I remember that the price of oyle was twenty five lires the barrell, that I paid for as much wood as an Ass would beare foure baeli. They haue butter, but not so good as in the valley of *Arno*, and they sell it twenty two sols the ounce. The Magistrate sets a price vpon euery thing to be sold in the market; neither dare any man sell ought, before his price be set; and vpon the Butchers stals, a bill is set of the prices at which they must sell their meat, so as a stranger cannot be deceiued. The price of wheat was 120. lires the *Moggio*, containing forty eight English peckes, and each lire is a giulio and a halfe. The Toscanes hold Rammes stones fried for a great daintie, which they call *La Granella*, and sell it after a giulio the pound, at *Sienna* commonly they eat Kids flesh for three baeli the pound, and a whole Kidde for foure giulij and a halfe, Mutton two baeli and a halfe the pound, a Kidde's head three baeli, Bacon eightene quatrines the pound, Cheese a giulio the pound, little birds a quatraine a peece, a vessell of wine containing thirty two boccali and a halfe for ten giulij and two baeli.

Anno 1594
Nov. 18.

The eighteenth of *November* in the yeere 1594, I rode forty miles to *Lucca*, and ten to *Pisa*. If any man desire to know the right way from *Sienna* to *Pisa*, I will set it downe by relation of a friend, who rode the same in a day and night, without intermission, being fifty miles; the first seven through mountaines, thirteene miles through pleasant hils, and thirty miles in a plaine, tilled after the Lombard fashion, with corne, and vines growing vpon Elmes, and he reported the way to be most safe by night as well as day, though a man were knowne to carry money. But I returne to my owne iourney from *Sienna*, where I hired a horse to *Lucca* for foureteene giulij; and the first day in the morning I rode twenty two miles to *Castell Fiorentino*, in a narrow plaine, betweene fruitfull hils of pasture and corne. By the way I lighted at *Castell Certaldo*, seated vpon a mount, that I might see the sepulcher of *Iohn Boccacio*, vpon which these verses (of his owne inuention while he liued) were engrauen:

*Hac sub Mole iacent cineres ac ossa Iohannis;
Mens sedet ante Deum meritis ornata laboris;
Mortalis vita genitor Boccacius illi:
Patria Certaldo, studium fuit alma Poesis.
Vnder this Pile Iohns bones and ashes lie,
His soule at rest enioies his labours hire;
Borne at Certald, he studied Poetic,
Boccacio was the firname of his Syre.*

Collucius Pierius hath added more in old Lombard letters, in the yeere 1375, and vpon the very sepulcher other writings are rased out, vnder which this is written in Latine: *Lactantius Theobaldus* when he was *Podesla* (or *Gouernour*) at *Certaldo* for the people of *Florence*, admiring his pleasant wit and quicke inuention, did for the renewing of his memory, erect this monument to him at his owne charge, and that by fines imposed in the yeere 1300. Also his statua without a beard carued in marble, was set vpon his Toome. At *Castell Fiorentino* I paid three giulij and a halfe for my dinner, and one giulio for my horsemeate.

After dinner I rode fiftene miles to *Ponte Capiano*, where euery horse of Carriers laded, and of Vetturines hired, paieth two giulij to the Duke, which taxe they say the Duke imposed, to withdraw Merchants from trading that way, leading to *Lucca*. All the way the fields were tilled on the Lombard fashion, with corne, and vines growing vpon Elmes. Before we had rode two miles, I passed the Riuer *Arno*, and paid halfe a giulio for my passage. At *Ponte Capiano* I paid ten baeli for my supper vpon reckoning, & twelue baeli for oates for my horse, and eight baeli for hay, straw and stable roome. The second day in the morning I rode through the like way, (hauing mountaines on my right hand towards the North) seven miles in the state of *Florence*, and six miles to *Lucca* in that free state. This City I haue discribed before; and here I paid for my dinner vpon reckoning two giulij and a halfe. After dinner I hired a horse for two giulij, and rode through like way, in a fruitfull plaine, fiue miles in the state of *Lucca*, and then fiue miles more to *Pisa*, passing into that state ouer a high mountaine, and the rest of the way lying through fenny grounds. This City I haue discribed before, and here I paid for my supper three giulij or reali.

And because the passage by sea was more dangerous from *Ligorno* to *Genoa*, I hired a horse to *Livigi* for one piastro or siluer crowne. The first day I rode twelue miles, through an open plaine, to *Via Regia*, and there passing out of the state of *Florence* into that of *Lucca*, I rode eight miles through a thicke wood, where the quarters of theeues were newly hung vp, who few daies before had robbed and almost killed a Frenchman; and then entering againe the state of *Florence*, I rode one mile to *Pietra Santa*, and fiue miles more in the same state of *Florence*, and one mile and a halfe in the state of *Lucca*, and halfe a mile to *Masso* in the state of the Prince of *Masso*, who is a Marquesse of the Family of *Malaspina*. All this way being through a plaine, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, with mountaines of Chesse-nuts on the right hand; hauing in all rode this day twenty eight miles.

In this City of *Masso* the Post-master staied vs from going any further, pretending

to

to giue vs new horses, because those we had were hired of his man at *Pisa*: but the true cause was, that we might lodge in his house that night, to which my companions agreed, but my selfe being delirous to see the quarries of marble at *Carrara*, tooke of him halfe the piastro I had paid at *Pisa*, and so I left my horse. Then turning out of the way, I went on foot three miles to *Carara*, through wooddy mountaines abounding with Chesse-nuts. This Towne is subiect to the Prince of *Masso*, and is famous for the marble, which is much preferred before other, as well for the exceeding whitenes of some stones, as for the length of pillars and tables digged thence, which made it much esteemed at *Rome* in the time of the free state, and of the Empire; and by reason it lies neere the sea, the stones are more easily conuaied to *Rome*, or els where. In one of the quarries called *Pianella*, I did see many stones digged out, which were as white as snow, and other quarries haue veines of all colours: and they sell as much marble as an Oxe will draw for twenty sols; but if it be carued there, the price is greater, according to the workmanship. Each quarry is proper to some priuate man, and if any man digge in another mans quarry, they fine him at twenty crownes, or more according to the dammage. When I beheld the beauty of Men and Weomen in these parts, which seemed to me greater then in any other part of *Italy*, I remembred the Patriarke *Iacob*, who laid party coloured rods in the wating troughes, when the Ewes were in heat, to make them bring party coloured lambes: and I thought by the same reason and force of nature, that they who digged these white marbles, might haue a more beautifull race. The Innes of this Towne were base, and onely fit to entertaine Artificers: and here I paid for a poore supper of herbes, egges, and chessenuts, ten baeli.

The second day in the morning, I went forward in my iourney on foot, and that alone, first three miles to the confines of the Marquesate of *Masso*, then foure miles in the Territory of *Genoa*, to a strong Fort belonging to that State, and seated in a plaine; and I paid for my passage ouer the Riuer *Magra* two baeli: and after I went three miles ouer mountaines, abounding with Oliue trees, and the tree *Lecha* yeelding a fruit like the Oliue, and so I came to *Lirigi*, a Hauen Towne vpon the Tirrhene sea, whence we were to sayle by the shore to *Genoa*.

There we expected passengers and a good wind for some few daies. And at the same time there was the French Cardinall of *Loyeuse*, who was to saile into *France*. I paid each night foure bolinei for my bed, and eating vpon reckoning, I spent lesse then two giulij by the day. They vse to make this voyage to *Genoa* in little Barkes called Fregate, and a lesse kind of boates called Feluce, and each night to strike into some Port vpon the Coast. I passed in a Feluca, and paid three reali for my passage.

The first day we sayled in a short space from *Lirigi* to *Wien*, a Hauen not farre distant, vnder a promontory, at the enterance into this sea, but the wind being high, and our boat little, and somewhat ouer loaded, and the marriners themselves shewing no great confideuce, we durst not put forth to sayle any further. I paid a cauelotto, that is foure bolinei for my bed with a companion, and six bolinei for my supper. The second day the wind being somewhat calmed, we sailed not without danger thirty miles, to *Sestri* another Hauen. This day was the day of Saint *Katherine*, the Patronesse of Marriners, who thinke that no man was euer drowned that day, but they obserue that after that day the winds vse to grow boisterous. I would willingly haue gone by land, but this Coast being all of high Rockes, there was no good high way ouer them, nor commodity for passage. Yet you cannot imagine a more fruitfull and pleasant place, then the narrow vallies and hils lying vpon the sea side: onely this coast lying vpon the south sunne, breathing fier out of *Affricke*, is subiect to great heat in summer time. This Territory doth so abound with fruitfull trees and flowers, as the markets are furnished with them in the very moneth of *December*. It yeeldeth noble wines; namely, *La vernazza*, and in villages called *Cinqueterre*, the wine called *Le lagrime di Christo*, that is, the teares of Christ, which is so pleasant, as the Ialians say, that a Dutchman tasting it, did greatly lament that Christ had not wept in his Conntrey. At *Sestri* we had delicate white bread and excellent wine, (as likewise in all this iourney) and all things

things at a cheape rate, and each man spent there nine bolinei.

The third day we sailed ten miles ouer an arme of the sea, to *Porto Fino*, called of old the Hauen *Deifinus*, now they call it *Fino* for the goodnes thereof. On the East side of this Promontory the sea was most calme, but when we passed to the West side, the winds were so high, and the waues so troubled, as we had almost beene cast away; and were by force driuen vpon the side of a Rocke, where my consorts trusted to their crucifixes, vovues, and beades, (vpon which they number their praier), and my selfe creeping vpon hands and knees, with great difficulty first got to the top of the rocke, where being in safety, the name of the Hauen came in my mind, which answereth to my Christian name, and thanking God for my deliuerance from this danger, I was glad that I escaped christening in this Hauen of my owne name. After my other consorts climbed to me, and thence we went on foot ten miles by the twilight of the evening and Moone light, to a village, where each man vpon reckoning paid sixe bolinei for his supper.

Genoa.

The next morning early before day breake, we went forward on foot, our consorts of *Genoa* often warning vs to be silent for feare of theeues, and after we had gone sixe miles, we came by the breaking of the day to *Genoa*. By the way we did see a Village all ruined, and they told vs that Turkish Pirates landing suddenly, had spoiled the same and burnt it, and had pulled downe the Churches and Altars, and among other Prisoners, had taken away a most faire Virgine from her bridegroomes side, who had married her the day before.

The description of Genoa.



(A) The Fort of the sea banke, (B) Statuaes erected to the builders thereof, (C) the Pallace of *Andreetta D' Auria*, without the wals vpon the sea, (D) the statua of *Andrea d' Auria* vpon the wall, (E) the new Fort, (F) the new streete most stately built, (G) the Cathedrall Church, (K) *Saint Mathewes* Church, (L) the Dukes Pallace, (M) the inner Hauen, (N) the Tower *Faro* and the ruines of the Fort called *La Briglia*, that is, the bridle, (P P P P) three gates of the City, and the fourth leading to the Hauen. On the North-east side where the sea lies (P) vpon the City we entered, and at the very entrance, we did see two stately Pallaces of *Georgio d' Auria*, and a Gentleman called *Seba*, and

and fixe other Pallaces, but lesse stately. *Genoa* is seated vpon the sides of mountaines and hils, declining from the highest mountaine on the West side, towards the East, and to the sea side. Vpon the foresaid North, and North-east side, were long suburbs, and two gates, and without the wals a Riuer falls from the Westerne mountaines towards the East, and so into the Sea. On the South-side is the outward Hauen, in the forme of a halfe moone, vpon the horne whereof towards the East, lies the sea banke, called *La Mola*, about 600. paces long, which keepeth off the waies of the sea that beat vpon the City on the East side. And in the midst of this bank is a (A) Fort built to defend the Nauy. There also are certaine statuaes (B) erected to the founders of the building. And in the furthest corner of this hauen towards the City, is an (M) inner hauen, compassed with wals, where the gallies lie vnder a couered building. Neer that is the Armoury of the City, & the chief gally in the Port called, *La Reale*, the Regal, was about seuentie five walking paces long, and they sayd that foure hundred Rowers belonged to the same. At the other horne of the outward Port towards the south-west, is the (N) tower *Faro* vpon firme land, kept by certaine watchmen, who by night hang out lights to direct the marriners at sea. Neere that lies the Fort *La briglia*, that is, the bridle, which the French King *Leuis* the twelfth fortified: but the Citizens expelling the French out of the City, demolished the same. Thence as you walke towards the City, and before you enter into the gates, lies (C) the stately Pallace of *Andrectta D' Auria*, (or *Deria*) the building whereof, the garden, the staires to discend to the sea, the banquetting house, and diuers open galleries, are of Kingly magnificence. Not farre thence vpon the wall is a (D) statua erected to *Andrea d' Auria*, late Admirall to the Spanish Fleete. Then you come to the (P) gate of the City, and not far thence within the wals, is (P) another gate leading to the inner Hauen, where the Gallies lie. Not farre thence is the most faire Cathedrall (G) Church, in which is an ancient monument of mettall, digged out of the adioyning valley, which hath an old inscription, shewing the antiquity of the City. Not farre thence is the (K) Church Saint *Matthew*, wherein the Princes of the Family of *d' Auria* haue long had their monuments. Neere that lies the (L) Dukes Pallace, not his priuate Pallace, but publike, which is kept by a guard of Dutchmen, who also haue the keeping of two of the strongest gates of the City. In the Courtyard of this Pallace, is a foot statua, armed, and of white marble, erected to the foresaid *Andrea d' Auria*, by the Senate with the title of Father of his Countrey, because he had lately restored the Citizens to their liberty. And in an vpper chamber called *Sala brutta*, are diuers statuaes in the habits of Senators, erected to *Paulo Spinola*, to *Battista Grimaldo*, and *Ansidio Gri. S. C.* On the West side without the wals are Pallaces of Gentlemen, almost innumerable, and in the highest part of the City, was the new Castle (E) most strongly fortified, which the Citizens demolished to preserve their liberty. A little lower and within the wals, is the new streete, vulgarly (F) *La strada Nuova*, lying from the West to the North-east, each house whereof is built with Kingly magnificence, neither doe I thinke that any City in the world hath so faire a streete. These houses or rather Pallaces may be seene by strangers, for the Gentlemens seruants keeping them, willingly shew them to any desiring that fauour, as well in expectance of reward, as for the honour of their Master and Countrey. My selfe did see the Pallace of *Giouan Battista d' Auria*, the building whereof was very stately, and the garden not onely most pleasant, but adorned with statuaes and fountaines. And in one of the chambers were the Gentlemens Armes, whereof some were of pure siluer gilded ouer. The City hath certaine inner gates, which alwaies stand open, and shew that the circuit of the City is now much increased: and vpon these gates are chaines of iron, for remembrance (as they say) of their liberty once lost.

The whole circuit of the City, excepting the Mola, is five miles; and saue that the inner Hauen strikes somewhat into the City, it seemeth almost of a round forme. No doubt the City is of great antiquity; which some say was built by *Gianus* King of *Italy*, and of him had the name; and that the Promontory *Calignano*, was of old called the vineyard of *Gianus*. The monument in the Cathedrall Church witnesseth that this City flourished among the old Cities of *Italy*, about 300. yeeres before Christs incarnation.

Others

Others will haue the City named of a Latin word, as the gate of *Italy*. It is fortified toward the sea with all art, and towards the land as well by nature as art, there being but one way to come to it, and that ouer high and steepe rockes. The streets are narrow, the Pallaces are stately built of marble, and the other houses of free stone, five or sixe stories high, and the windowes are glased, which is rare in *Italy*. The streetes are paved with flint, and the houses of the suburbs are almost as faire as within the City. Corals are fished in this sea towards *Sardinia* and *Corfica* Ilands, not farre distant, and the ounce thereof is here sold for three lires. Now in the very moneth of *December*, the markets were full of summer flowers, herbes, and fruits, whereof I shall speake more in the due place. It is prouerbiably said of this City; *Montagne senza legni, Mar senza pesci, huomini senza fede, donne senza vergogna, Mori bianchi, Genoa superba*: That is, Mountaines without wood, Sea without fish, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Moores, *Genoa* the proud. In good earnest, they report that the Merchants being not bound by writing, make little accompt to breake their promise, and the French liberty of the Weomen makes the Italians iudge them without shame, and as *Florence* is called the faire for the building, so I thinke *Genoa* is called the proud.

The chaires called *Seggioli*, whereof I spake in the discription of *Naples*, are also in vse here, in which the Citizens of both sexes are carried vpon two Porters shoulders, through the streetes lying vpon the sides of hils, the chaires being couered with a curtaine drawne, and hauing glasse windowes, so as they may see all men, and themselues be vnscene. Besides, in regard of the narrow streetes, and the steepe mountaines on all sides, they vse horse litters here in stead of Coaches. The men in their feasting, dancing, and free conuersation, and the weomen in their apparell, come neerer to the French then any other Italians. Here I paid one reale by the day for my chamber, and dressing my meat, which I bought my selfe, all things being at good rate in the City, as in the Countrey. There is such store of fruits, as they giue a citron for a quatraine, and two Oranges for a quatraine; and to end in a word, my diet here was for the manner and price not much differing from the same at *Pisa*.

They accompt ninety miles from *Genoa* to *Milan*, which iourney I went on foot, willingly exposing my selfe to this trouble, partly to spare my purse in the bottome, partly to passe more safely in this disguise through the Dutchy of *Milan*, subiect to the Spaniards, who then had warres with the English. The first day after dinner, I walked all alone, seuen miles to *Ponte Decimo*, by the banke of a riuer betweene stony mountaines, but frequently inhabited. And I paid eight soldi for my supper on reckoning, and a cauellotto (that is foure bolinci) for my bed. The second day I went on foot eleuen miles, ascending all the way high mountaines, and tired with the difficulty of the iourney, onely refreshed with the hope of an easie discent from the mountaines: and being very hungry by the way, I chanced to meet with a begging Friar of the Order of Saint *Francis*, who hauing victuals in his bag, gaue me to eat, but would receiue no money for it; saying, it was against their rule to handle any money. Thence I walked seuen miles downe those mountaines, in the territory of *Genoa* to *Gauidon*, and foure miles more through a plaine and dirty way, in the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Seraualle*, where I paid foure cauellotti (that is sixteene bolinci) for my supper and my bed. The third day in the morning, I walked foureteene miles in a dirty way to *Tortona*, where I paid one soldo for tribute (as all passengers pay) and seuen soldi for my dinner vpon reckoning. Thence I walked after dinner in a dirty way five miles to *Ponte Curen*, and further in a way somewhat fairer five miles to *Voghera*. All this way in the Dutchy of *Milan*, was in a most fruitfull plaine of corne, with Elmes planted in the furrowes, and vines growing vpon them, and such is the way in all *Lombardy*, and to the very City of *Padua*. At *Voghera* I paid three reali for my supper and bed.

And here by chance I found an English Merchant in the Inne, who talking rashly, did voluntarily (without being examined whence he was) professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, and my selfe in disguised poore habit, sitting at the lower end of the table, and speaking to him in the Dutch language, he was forced for want of the language, to say that he was a Dutch-man, but borne vpon the confines of *France*; and knowing no other

no other language but the French, whereupon I speaking to him in the French tongue, he had as little skill in that, as in the Dutch; so as I might perceiue that he dissembled his Countrey, and being not willing to presse him, as hauing beene my selfe often forced in like sort to dissemble my Countrey, did forbear to speake any more to him in the Dutch or French tongue, & we began to discourse in Italian; wherein he had spoken little before he vttered these words, *Io me ne repentina*: that is, I repented my selfe therof, whereas an Italian would haue said, *Io me ne pentina*, by which sillable added by him, I presently knew he was an English man. Supper being ended, he perceiuing himselfe to haue beene thus pressed by a poore fellow, sitting at the lower end of the table, tooke me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his seruant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards *Genoa*. But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him, he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for his bedfellow.

Hauing passed this night merrily, I hired a horse the fourth day for foure cauellotti; and rode eleuen miles to *Bastia*, then I walked on foot seuen miles to *Paui*, and being a foote man, I paid fise soldi for my passage ouer the Riuer *Po*. This iourney hitherto was in a dirty way, hauing plaine fields on both sides, tilled after the foresaid manner of *Lombardy* and many rich pastures, which are rare in all other parts of *Italy*. Entering *Paui* I passed a stately bridge, built ouer the Riuer *Ticinum*, which runnes from the West to the East, and after sixe miles falleth into the Riuer *Po*. This bridge was two hundred walking paces long, and so broad as two carts might passe together and was built of stone, and couered ouer the head with a roose, with open aire on the sides, & supported with pillars. The City lies in length from the East to the West, and a new faire street diuides it in the middest, by the bredth from the South to the North. On the West side of this street are two market places, one greater then the other. In the lesse is a statua called *Regia Sole*, of mixt mettall; (vulgarly *Di bronzo*) which some write to haue beene made with art magicke, by the Emperour *Anastasi*, for his own image, and to haue beene placed by him vpon the pillar of the souldiers at *Rauenna*, where he kept his Court; and after *Rauenna* was taken by *Charles* the great, that this Image being to be carried into *France*, was by the way left here. Others will haue it the statua of the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*: for they are deceiued who thinke it the statua of *Odoacer* King of the Lombards, who hath another statua in this market place. On the same West side of the foresaid new street towards the North-side, is the Castle which *John Galatius* first Duke of *Milan* built, and the same Dukes Library, but almost voide of Bookes, and in this Castle lies a Garison of Spaniards. Neere that is the Church of Saint *Austine*, in a Chappel whereof, is a stately Sepulcher; in which they say the bones of that Saint were laid, being brought thither out of the Iland *Sardinia*. And this sepulcher is of marble curiously engrauen, and worthy to be sought out and beheld. There I did reade this inscription writen in Latin vpon another sepulcher: *The French King Francis the first being taken by Cæsars Army neere Paui, the foureteenth of February in the yeeere 1525, among other Lords these were slaine: Francis Duke of Lorayne, Richard de la Poole Englishman, and Duke of Suffolke, banished by his tyrant King Henry the eight. At last Charles Parker of Morley, kinsman of the said Richard, banished out of England for the Catholike Faith by Queene Elizabeth, and made Bishop here by the bounty of Phillip King of Spaine, ded out of his small meanes erect this Monument to him, &c.* In a Cloyster of the same Church, is a Sepulcher of this *Charles Parker* Bishop, deceased in the yeeere 1591. There is another Monument of *Luitprandus*, King of *Lombardy*; and another of the Bishop *Seuerinus Boetius*, with this inscription in Latin; *Most skilfull in the Greeke and Latin tongues, who being Consul, was sent hither into banishment.* And with these verses;

Ecquid mors rapuit: probitas me vexit ad auras;

Et nunc fama viget maxima, viuunt opus.

Hath Death snatcht ought? my goodnes mounts the Skies,

Great is my fame, my worke liues in mens eyes.

On the East-side of the saide new streete; and towards the North, lies the
P Church

Church of Saint *Francis*, where is a monument of *Baldus* the Ciuill Lawyer, and they shew his head of an extraordinarie bignesse. Without the walles of the Citie on the North side, is a piece of ground of some twentie miles circuit, compassed with a wall in many places broken downe, vulgarly called *Il Parco*, that is, the Park which *Iohn Galiacius* Duke of *Milan* walled in to keepe fallow Deare, Hares, and Conies: but at this day it is diuided into Pastures and plowed fieldes. On the furthest side of this Parke from the City, is the place where the French King, *Francis* the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. Not farre thence is the Monastery of the Carthusians, called *la Certosa*, where the building of the Church, the stones of Marble, the engraving, the top couered with Leade, part of the great Altar of Alabaster (highly valued), the Sepulcher of *Iohn Galiacius* first Duke of *Millan*, and the reuenew of the Church exceeding three hundred thousand Crownes by the yeere, deserue admiration. The buildings of the Citie are of bricke, and seeme to be of great antiquitie. The Emperour *Charles* the fourth in the yeere 1361, at the instance of *Galiacius* the second, gaue this Citie the priuiledges of an Vniuersitie. The King of *Spaine* permits Iewes to dwell here: but they may not stay in *Milan* aboue twentie foure houres. This Citie was the seate of the Kings of *Lombardy*, whose old Castle is to bee seene neere the Church of Saint *Michael*. After it was subiect to the Kings of *Italy*, and the *Berengarij* being ouercome, it was subiect to the Emperour *Otho* the first, by right of his wife, and successiuelly to the Emperours, with some shew of a free Citie, which freedome that they might more fully attaine, they willingly yeelded themselves in the yeere 1254 to the Archbishop of *Rauenna*. After they were subiect to vsurping Citizens, whom the Vicounts of *Milan* expelled, and so ioyned this Citie to their State, which together with the Dukedome of *Milan* came to the Spaniards hands, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. I lodged here in a faire Inne, but common to the baser sort, the Hostesse whereof was a Masculine woman, and by the night letting in Ruffines to drinke, I was not a little affraid of some violence to bee offered mee in my chamber; whereupon I firmly resolu'd with my selfe, to lodge euer after in the best Inne, and of best fame, especially in *Lombardy*, infamous for murders; and here I paid for my supper and my bed three reali.

Milano.

I went on foote from *Pauia*, going forth at the Nothwest Gate twenty miles through rich Pastures, to *Milan*, called *la grande*, that is, The great, of the large circuit thereof. The Citie hath the name of *Olanus*, a Tuscan Captaine; or the Latin word *media lana*, that is, Halfe wooll, of those kinde of stufes made in the Citie. It is large, populous, and very rich, seated in a Plaine (as all *Lombardy* lies) and that most fertile, and by the commoditie of a little Riuer brought to the Citie by the French, and almost compassing the same, it aboundeth also with forraine Merchandise. Of old it was the seate of many Roman Emperours: but the Historie of the Citie being contained in the Historie of *Italy*, I will onely remember, that the Archbishop thereof long time challenged the Primacie in the Italian Church, neuer acknowledging the Bishop of *Rome* for superiour; and that he crowned the Emperour with a Crowne of Iron, after the people of *Milan* had approued him: That the King of the Ostrogothes had the same Crowne set vpon his head after his victorie, which Crowne (they say) was giuen, in signe that the Empire and the command of *Milan* were to be won by Iron. That the Citizens of *Milan* were often Rebels to the Emperours. That the Vicounts made *vicarij* of the Citie, did by little and little subiect the Territorie, and the Citie with title of Duke of *Milan*. That the Family of Vicounts being extinct in Duke *Philip* about the yeere 1447, the Dukes of *Orleance* by right of their Mother, and *Francis Sforza* by the right of his wife, chalenged the inheritance of the Dukedome: but the Emperour thought the same to bee fallen backe to his right. That *Francis Sforza* was by the people first made Captaine of their forces, & then chosen Duke. That the French King *Francis* the first, defending the right of the Dukes of *Orleans*, cast *Sforza* out of the Dukedome in the yeere 1449. That the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, casting out the French in the yere 1521, first restored *Sforza* to the Dukedome, with some restraint of his power; but he being dead, inuaded the Dukedom himself, wherupon after many contentions & battels, it came to his successours

cessours the Kings of *Spaine*, of the family of *Austria*, to whom at this day it is subiect.

The Citie is of a round forme, and hath nine gates, the building shewes antiquitie, and the houses are of bricke and low built, excepting some stately Pallaces (such as is that of the Duke of *Terra Nuova*) the streetes are broad, and the pauement of bricke, raised in the midst with broad stones.

When I came to the Citie on foote, I made offer to enter at the Gate called *Genese* on the South side: but the Guard refused me as a foot-man to passe into the Citie; and lest by my importunitie I should haue made them looke more narrowly into my qualitie, (they being commonly expert men, to find out any disguised person), I went backe into the Suburbes, as if I would lodge there; but as soone as I was out of sight, I walked further towards the East, compassing a great Fen, and so ioyning my selfe to some Citizens, returning from walking in the fieldes, I entered with them into the Citie, by the next Gate on the same South side, which Gate is called *Lodouico*, and was only kept by one souldier. A little Brooke within the walles compasseth the very center of the Citie circularly; beyond which Brooke, on the North-side within the walles, not farre from the Gate *Zobia*, is a large Meadow, wherein are no houses: for there is the most strong Castle seated in a Plaine, and kept by a Spanish Garrison, into which no Frenchman may enter. Therefore I hauing gotten so difficultly into the City, restrained my curiositie from attempting to view this Castle, lest I should rashly expose my selfe to great danger. Further towards the North without the Gate *Renza*, is a large Hospitall for those that are sicke of the plague, hauing more chimnies (as they say) then the yeere hath dayes. Not farre from the Gate *Genese*, is the Church of *S. Laurence*, which of old was dedicated to *Hercules* by the Emperour *Maximinianus Erculeus* buried in the same; and it hath a rare Image of the Virgin *Marie*, and 16 stately Marble Pillars, and the building is Magnificent. The Emperour *Theodosius* is said to haue giuen to *S. Ambrose* Archbishop of *Milan*, one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the Crosse, and the brasen Serpent that *Moses* lift vp in the Desert (the Image of which Serpent was of mixt mettall, vulgarly called *di bronzo*), and they say, that *S. Ambrose* left these reliques in the Churches of *S. Tecla* and of *S. Ambrose*; and the Altar vnder which the body of *S. Ambrose* lies, is valued at 28000 Crownes. In the Church *Delle Grazie*, belonging to the Benedictine Friars, not farre from the Gate *Zobia*, is a stately Throne; and vnder it an vnperfected monumēt, which Duke *Lodouico Sforza* purposed to haue built for himselfe: but the French cast him out of his Dukedome, and he died in *France*. And in this Monastery is a notable Library, and in the place where the Friars eate, the supper of our Lord is painted with wonderfull art. In the little Chappell of *S. Gottard*, is the sepulcher of that Saint, whose name the mountaine of the Alpes doth beare; which is most famous for the difficult passage. The great & stately Cathedrall Church called *Il Domo*, is built all of white marble, and supported with some 100, marble pillars, in which at this day they sing the masse of *S. Ambrose*, differing from the Roman Masse, and onely agreeing therewith in the words of consecration.

From *Milan* to *Cremona* are accounted 52 miles, and I making short stay at *Milan*, for the danger of my abode there, hired a horse to *Cremona* for a Crowne of gold wanting 8 soldi, and riding out at the Roman Gate, and bearing the Carrier company, of whom I hired my horse, rode 12 miles the first day after dinner to *Marignano*, through a plaine Country of rich pastures, where I paid 3 reali for my supper. The second day I rode 30 miles to the Castle *Pizighitona*, through like rich Pastures, hauing by the way paid 24 soldi for my dinner, and neere my iournies end 3 soldi for my passage ouer the Riuer *Adda*, and at this Castle I paid 30 soldi for my Supper. The French King *Francis* the first, taken prisoner by the Emperour, in the yeere 1525, was for a good space kept with much honour in the tower of this Castle. The third day in the morning I rode ten miles to *Cremona*. The Family *Pallaucini* (at this day chiefe in the City) when the Em- Cremona.pire of *Rome* decayed, made themselves Lords of this Citie; whom *Galeatius* Vicount of *Milan* subdued, and vntied the City to the State of *Milan*, and so by the said Dukedome subdued by the Spaniards, it came into their subiection. The Cardinall *Francis Sfondrato*, and *Eusebius* the writer of the Ecclesiasticall Historie;

were borne in this Citie. The forme of the City seemes very like to a Cardinals Hat with broad brimes, and it is seated in a Plaine, one mile distant from the River *Po*. Wee entred this Citie by the narrow part lying towards *Milan*, and there is a most strong Fort built to keepe the Citizens in awe, and kept by a Spanish Garrison, and seated in a plaine field, wherein are no other buildings but the Fort it selfe. From hence going to the opposite & broader part of the Citie, is a large and very faire Market place, neare which is a Tower or Steeple, of such height and beautie, as the Italians prouerbiably say, One *Peter* at *Rome*; one *Hauen* at *Ancona*; one Tower at *Cremona*; thereby noting the excellencie. This Tower is built of bricke, and hath foure hundred ninetie and two staires in the ascent. Neare the same is a statua of a Giant, who, they say, was ouercome by *Hercules*, the founder of the Citie; and the Citizens keepe a feast once a yeere, at which time with many ceremonies they adorne this statua with rich robes. Neere this Tower and Market place, lies the stately Cathedrall Church, and the fairest and richest Monastery is that of Saint *Dominick*. This Citie hath many stately Pallaces, and the streetes thereof are broad and very pleasant. Here I payed thirtie three soldi (that is the fourth part of a Ducaton) for my supper.

From hence to *Mantua* are fortie five miles, whether I hired a horse for five lires: The first day we rode twentie two miles, where going out of the Dutchie of *Milan*, and passing the River *Oye*, wee entered the Dutchie of *Mantua*, and then rode nine miles to *Mercaria*. And by the way we passed the pleasant Castle, or rather Citie called *Bozilia*, belonging to *Iulius Gonzaga*, being of the Family of the Dukes of *Mantua*; which Castle was built with open cloisters or arches toward the streete, vnder which the passengers walke drie in the greatest raine, and such are the buildings of the Cities in this Dukedome, and in many neighbour places. By the way also in a solitary Inne I paid fifteene soldi for my dinner, and at *Mercaria* I payed thirtie foure soldi for my supper.

Mantua.

The second day we rode fourteene miles to *Mantua* through most fruitfull fieldes, tilled after the manner of *Lombardy*, and in a most durtie highway. The Histories report, that this Citie had the name of *Manto*, the daughter of *Tyresias*. It is seated in the middest of Fennes or Lakes, made by the River *Mencius*. The buildings are partly of Brick, partly of Free stone, and the streetes are large and cleane. The forme of this Citie is round, saue that the foresaid Lakes on the North and East-sides enter into the Citie, in the forme of an halfe Moone. Comming from *Cremona* I entred *Mantua* on the West side, by the Gate *Pradella*, where is a faire streete called *Il Borgo*. On the same side towards the South, is the Gate *Pistrella*, which leades to the Dukes stately Pallace called *Teye*, seated some mile out of the Citie, and compassed with water, where in the Giants Chamber I did see most faire pictures, and it is built in a quadrangle onely two stories high, with a low roote, after the manner of the building of *Italy*. On the South-side is the Gate of *Sircese*, whence the way lies by the banke of the Lake to a Village called *Petula*, two miles distant from the Citie, in which, they say, that the famous Poet *Virgil* was borne, and shew the house where his parents dwelt. Partly on the North, and partly on the East side, the Citie is compassed with Lakes, which vsually are couered with infinite number of water foule; and from these Lakes there is a passage into the River *Po*, and so by water to *Venice*. On the North-East side is the Gate of *S. George*, whence betweene the two Lakes is a causey two hundred walking paces long, and beyond it a bridge of stone five hundred paces long, like to a faire gallery, couered ouer the head, and supported with bricke pillars, hauing open windowes, two paces distant one from the other, then passing a draw-bridge, you come to another causey betweene the said two Lakes, which causey is two hundred forty walking paces long, before you come to firme land. On the East side of the said bridge, and within the Citie, the Dukes stately Pallace lies vpon the Lake, and to this Pallace ioyneth the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peter*, where also is a pleasant Market-place. There lie the Dukes stables, and in one of them were some hundred horses for the saddle, and in the other as many for the Coach, and he hath a third stable without the Gates, wherein is the like number of young Colts. On the North-side, at the furthest banke of the Lake, is one onely Gate, and

and a like bridge to passe into the Suburbes, and there lies the way to the chiefe Pallace of the Duke, some few miles distant from the Citie, called *Marmirolo*, the building whereof is onely two stories hie, with a low rooffe, and the chiefe chambers were hung with gilded leather, after the Italian maner; three skins whereof were commonly sold for a Crowne; and the Gardens of this Pallace were exceeding pleasant. In the middest of the Citie *Mantua* is a large Market place, wherein the Iewes haue their shops, and sell all manner of wares, for all trafficke is in their hands, growing rich by the pouertie of the Citizens; and being so much fauoured by the Duke, as they dwell not in any seuerall part of the Citie, but where they list, and in the very Market-place; neither are they forced (as in other parts of *Italy*) to weare yellow or red caps, whereby they may bee knowne, but onely a little piece of yellow cloth on the left side of their cloakes, so as they can hardly be distinguished from Christians, especially in their shops, where they weare no cloakes. Such be the priuiledges which the Iewes haue gotten by bribing (especially in the Dutchey of *Sauoy*) through the vnsatiabie auarice of our Christian Princes. Neere this Market-place is the large Church of Saint *Andrew*, and the Senate-house, in which they shew two statuaes of *Cupid* (whereof one is ancient, and of much greater value then the other), and a very long Vnicornes horne, and a paire of Organs of Aliblaster, besides Jewels, and vessels of gold and siluer. Not farre thence is the third Market-place of Iustice. To conclude, at the gate of Saint *Francis* Church is the head of *Virgil*, which the Neapolitans say (as in the description of that Citie I formerly said) was stolne from the Sepulcher of *Virgil*, vpon the Mount *Pausilip*. In the Pallace called *della ragione*, is another statua of *Virgil*, sitting at a Table of brasfe, as if hee were writing, and crowned with Laurell. I said formerly, that there is a passage from the Lakes into the Riuer *Po*, and so by water to *Venice*, and the Duke, to take his pleasure vpon the water, hath a baot called *Bucentoro*, because it will beare some two hundred, and it is built in the vpper part like a banqueting house, hauing fise roomes (with glazed windowes) wherein the Duke and his Traine doe sit; and these roomes are supported vpon a boat, the Mariners that row the same, sitting vnder the said roomes, the first and largest roome whereof was fiteene walking paces long, with benches on both sides; the second was eight paces long, the third fise, and the fourth likewise fise paces long; the fifth was a Gallerie ouer the other roomes fortie paces long, and open, to which they mounted by staires out of the first roome. And this boate doth not onely much differ from our Kings barges, as well for the bignesse as the rich furniture, but also is flat in the bottome, the waters being still and calme on which it passeth. These roomes according to occasions haue more or lesse rich hangings, when the Duke either goeth out to disport himself, or when he takes any iourney therin, (as oft he doth.)

It is vnlawfull to weare a sword without licence of the Magistrate, either at *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, or almost in any Citie of *Italy*; onely at *Venice* and *Padua*, and the Cities of that State, strangers may weare Swords, and onely the wearing of Pistols or short gunnes is forbidden. At *Mantua* I paid threë reali each meale, and being to depart thence, I was forced to take a Bill of the Customers, by which they signifie to the Guard at the gate, whether the passenger be to goe on horseback, on foote, or by coach, and what tribute he is to pay; for which Bill a footeman paies 3. soldi, another passenger six. Thus the Princes of *Italy* hauing small Territories, doe not onely burthen their subiects with taxes, but all strangers, & strictly take account from the exacters therof.

Being to goe from hence to *Padua*, we went out of the gate Saint *George*, and I hired a horse from *Mantua* to the Castle *Este* for eleuen lires. The first day wee passed by a Forte of the Venetians most strongly fortified vpon the confines of that State, which Fort lies vpon the Riuer *Athesis*, and is called *Lignaco*, and rode some twenty miles through a Plaine tilled after the manner of *Lombardy* to *Monteguiara*, where I paid fortie soldi, (that is two lires) for my supper. The next morning I rode nine miles to the Castle *Este*, whence is the Family of the Dukes of *Ferraria*, long flourishing, but now extinct. From thence I passed by boate 15 miles to *Padua*, and paid 22 soldi for my passage. This day when I returned to *Padua*, was the 14 of December, after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, which city & the rate of vittles there, I haue formerly described.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Sepulcher of Petrarch at Arqua. Of my iourney to Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo (in Italy), then passing the Alpes, to Chur, Zurech, Solothurn, Geneva, and (in my returne thence) to Berna (in Sweitzerland), thence to Strasburg (in Germany), and to Chalon, to Paris, to Roan, and to Diepe (in France), and finally of my passage by Sea and Land, to London (in England).



Hilest I expected the commoditie of the Spring for my iourney home-wards, I went to *Venice* to receiue money there, and retaining a sufficient proportion in my hands, I thought to make ouer the rest to *Paris* by bills of exchange; but *France* hauing been now long wasted with ciuill war, I could not finde one Merchant of *Venice*, who had any the least Traffick at *Paris*. Therefore persisting still in my obstinate purpose to returne by *France*, I thought at least to procure the change of this money to *Geneua*. And so only out of my desire to see the Citie of *Geneua*, I resolved againe to passe ouer the *Alpes* into Sweitzerland, though I had formerly seene those Townes. Then I bought an Hungarian horse for twentie Crownes of a Dutch Gentleman newly ariued in these parts. And while I prepared all things necessary for my iourney, and expected a fit season of the yeere, it came in my minde to see the Monument not farre distant of the famous Poet *Francis Petrarch*, and being willing to giue my horse rest, I went on foot with certaine Dutch Gentlemen thirteene miles to *Arqua*. By the way we did see a most faire Monastery *Praia*, and the Baths of *Abano*, the water whereof doth boile with such heate, as it would fetch off the skinne being touched.

At *Arqua* is the sepulcher of *Petrarch*, of red marble spotted, and it hath this inscription in Latin :

To the worthy man F. P. a Laureat Poet, his sonne in Law Francis Luf-debro Sauo of Milan, for their inward conuersation, loue, affinitie and his succession, left this memory.
Vnder that followed these verses :

*Frigida Francisci lapis hic legit ossa Petrarchæ,
Suscipe virgo parens animam, sate virgine parce,
Fessaque iam terris, calce requiescat in Arce.*
This stone doth *Francis Petrarches* bones inclose,
Take my soule Virgin, spare it Virgins sonne,
Tired on earth, in heauen let it repose.

Then followed letters rased out.

MCCC 11 / XX. XVIII.

Then followed the third inscription in Latin, with his Image.

To Francis Petrarch, Paulus Valdezucus admiring his Poems, and succeeding him in the possession of his house and fields, made this Image in the yeere M D X C V I the Ides of September.

There is also a Fountaine, vulgarly called the Fountaine of *Petrarch*, vpon which these verses are written.

*Fonti numen inest, hospes venerare liquorem,
Vnde bibens cecinit digna Petrarcha Deis.*

Some god dwells here, worship the sacred Spring,

Whence *Petrarch* drinking, heavenly Rimes did sing.

Petrarch dwelt at *Arqua*, and here in the same house wherein they say he dwelt, the historie of *Petrarches* life is painted, where the owner of the house shewed vs some household stufte belonging to him, and the very skinne of a Cat he loued, which they haue dried, and still keepe. Here I did see his Studie, (a pleasant roome, especially for the sweet prospect) and likewise a faire picture of *Lucretia* ready to die. No situation can be imagined more pleasant, then that of *Arqua*, lying in the mouth of Mountaines abounding

abounding with Oliue trees, and opening themselues vpon a fruitfull plaine on the East and North sides. This plaine yeeldeth nothing in pleasantnes, or in fruitfulness to that of *Capua*, famous for the corrupting of *Hannibals* Army. But it is a needles worke to praise the Euganian hils, which so many Poets and Writers haue magnified.

Vpon Friday the third day of *March* (after the new stile) in the beginning of the yeere 1595, according to the Italians (beginning the yeere the first of *January*) or the end of the yeere 1594, according to the English (beginning the yeere vpon the twenty five of *March*) I turned my face to iourney towards my deere Countrey. And the first day I rode eightene miles to *Vicenza*, through a most pleasant plaine tilled after the manner of *Lombardy* (where one and the same field yeelds plenty of corne, and hath Elme trees growing in the furrowes, which support the vines; so that one field giues bread, wine, and wood for to burne By the way my curiositie made me turne aside two miles out of the way, that I might see a wonderfull Caue, and a most pleasant parlor at *Costoza*, in the house of *Cesario Trento*, a Gentleman of *Vicenza*. The Caue was large, and fit to receiue diuers bands of souldiers. The Parlor was called the prison of *Æolus* god of the Windes; because there were certaine mils, which in summer time draw much wind out of hollow Caues, and disperse the same through all the chambers of the Pallace, refreshing all that dwell there, with a most pleasant coole aire. And vpon this Parlor this verse of *Virgill* was written:

Æolus hic clauso ventorum carcere regnat.

Æolus here in the winds prison raignes:

The City of *Vicenza* is a faire City, compassed with a wall of bricke: but the building howsoeuer it be very stately, is not like to that of other Cities in these parts, in this one point, namely, that the second story of the houses hangeth ouer the streetes, and being supported with arches, giueth the passengers shelter from raine. Here I did see a Theater for Playes, which was little, but very faire and pleasant. In the market place there is a stately Pallace, and the monastery of Saint *Corona* belonging to the preaching Friars, is fairely built, and hath a rich Library; and the Friars keepe for a holy relike the Thorne wherewith Christ was crowned. The Citie is subiect to the Venetians, and is seated in a plaine, hauing mountaines somewhat distant on the North and South sides. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and eightene soldi for three measures of oates, called quarterolli, and for the stable (so they call hay straw, and the stable roome, and so I will hereafter call it) I paid twenty soldi. Here I hired a horse for fiftie six soldi, for a foote-man that had attended me hither, and was to returne to *Padua*.

From *Vicenza* I rode thirty miles to *Verona*, in a most pleasant plaine (tilled after the manner of *Lombardy*) lying on my left hand towards *Italy*; farther then I could see, and hauing fruitfull hils on my right hand towards the Alpes, abounding with vines, growing low vpon short stakes, and yeelding rich wines. I entered *Verona* on the East side, by the Bishops gate called *Porta del vescovo*. They write that the City was of old called *Berona*, by the name of the Founder thereof; but the Friar *Leander* of *Bologna* writes that the City was built by the Tuscans, and had the name of the Family *Vera*, and was after rebuilt by the *Galli Cenomani*. This most faire City is built in the forme of a Lute, the necke whereof lies towards the West, on which side the Riuer *Athesis* (running towards the East) doth not only compasse the City, but runs almost through the center of the body of this Lute, so as the lesse part of the body lies on the North side of the Riuer. The bankes of *Athesis* (vulgarly called *L'Adice*) are ioined together with three bridges of stone, and one of marble, and are adorned on both sides with many ruines of an old Theater, and old triumphall arches. The City is compassed with a wall of bricke, and is seated towards the South vpon the end of a large stony plaine, and towards the other sides vpon pleasant hils, rising towards the distant mountaines. It is not built with the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with Arches to auoid raine, as other Cities are in those parts: but the building of the houses is stately, and the Cathedrall Church is remarkeable for the antiquity, as likewise the Church of Saint *Anastacius* for the great beauty thereof; and towards the wals the ground lies void of houses, as the manner is in strong Townes. It hath a pure aire, and is ennobled

by the ciuility and auncient Nobility of the Citizens, who are indued with a chearefull countenance, magnificent mindes, and much inclined to all good literature.

Verona was a free City vnder the Empire, about the yeere 1155, till the Family of the *Scaligeri* growing great in the City, about the yeere 1259, did by little and little inuade the freedome of the City, and made themselves Lords ouer it. At last *Anthony Scaliger* killing his brother *Bartholmew* (partner with him of that Lordship) about the yeere 1381, was driuen out of the City by Vicount *Iohn Galeatius*, the first Duke of *Milan*, and he being dead, *William Scaliger*, helped by *Francis Carraricusis*, droue the Garrison of *Milan* out of the City, in the yeere 1404. But the said *Francis* killing the said *William* by poison, and the Family of the *Scaligers* being then so wasted, as scarcely any one was to be found of that name; the Venetians tooke occasion by this detestable treason of the said *Francis*, to make the City subiect to them: but their Army being defeated by the French in the yeere, 1509, by a composition made betweene the French King and the Emperour *Maximilian*, the City became subiect to the said Emperour, till the Venetians recouered the same out of his hands in the yeere 1517, vnder whose subiection the City to this day flourisheth, in great aboundance of all things.

On the North-side of the City without the wals, is the mountaine *Baldo*, hanging ouer the City, and famous for the great plenty of medicinable herbes, and vpon the side of this mountaine, within the wals, are no buildings, but onely a strong Fort.

On the south side lies the way to *Mantua* (23 miles distant,) and vpon the same side lies the foresaid stony plaine, fīue miles long, and ennobled with many skirmishes, battels, and victories. In this plaine the Consull *Caius Marius* defeated the *Cimbri*, and *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* (who destroyed the Westerne Empire) was defeated by *Theodoricus* King of the *Ostrogothes*, and the Dutch Emperour *Arnolphus* Duke of *Banaria*, was defeated by *Hugh* of *Burgundy*, then possessing *Italy*. Vpon the same South side within the wals, is a faire market place, and the Pallace of the Venetian Gouvernour (which Gouvernour in *Italy* is vulgarly called *il Podesta*.) And neere the wals on this side, lies a stately Monument of an old Amphitheater, at this day little ruined, vulgarly called *Harena*, and built by *Luc: Flaminius*, (though others say it was built by the Emperour *Octavius*.) It passeth in bignesse all the old Amphitheaters in *Italy*, and the outside thereof is of Marble, and the inner side with all the seates, is of bricke. It is of an ouall forme, and the inner yard is sixty three walking paces long, and forty eight broad, where the lowest seates are most narrow, whence the seates arise in forty foure staires or degrees (howsoever others write that there be onely forty two degrees), and they so arise, as the vpper is still of greater circuit then the lower. And the shoppes of the Citizens built on the outside, vnder the said increase of the inner circuit, haue about fifty two walking paces in bredth, which is to be added to make the full breadth of the inside. It hath eightene gates, and betweene euery Arch are very faire statuaes, and the seates within the same, are said to be capable of twentie three thousand one hundred eightie and foure beholders, each one hauing a foote and a halfe allowed for his seate. Each one of vs gaue two gagetti to the keeper of this monument. *Alboinus* King of the Lombards, was killed by his wife at *Verona*. In the Monastery of Saint *Zeno* is a Monument erected to *Pipin*, sonne to *Charles* the Great, and betweene this Monastery and the next Church, in a Church yard vnder the ground, is the Monument of Queene *Amalasuentia*.

Berengarius King of *Italy*, was killed at *Verona*; and this City braggeth of two famous Citizens, namely, the old Poet *Catullus*, and *Guarinus*, a late writer. The territorie of this Citie is most fruitfull, abounding with all necessaries for life; and more specially with rich Wines, particularly the Retian wine, (much praised by *Pliny*, and preferred to the Wine of *Falernum* by *Virgill*), which the Kings of the *Gothes* were wont to carrie with them as farre as *Rome*. It is of

of a red colour and sweet, and howsoever it seemes thicke, more fit to be eaten then drunke, yet it is of a most pleasant taste. The Lake *Bennacus* is much commended for the store of good Carpes, and other good fish: besides this territory yeelds very good marble. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and sixteene soldi for the stable, (that is for hay and straw) and eightene soldi for three measures of Oates. Certaine Gentlemen bearing me company from *Paduoa* to this City, and being to returne thither, did here each of them hire a horse, for three lires and a halfe to *Vicenza*, where they were to pay for their horse meat.

From hence I rode fiftene miles to the Castle *Peschiera*, built by the old Lords of *Verona*, and seated vpon the Lake *Bennacus*, vulgarly called *il Lago di Gardo*, where they demanded of me two quatrines for the passage of a bridge: but when I shewed them my Matricula, that is, a paper, witnessing that I was a scholler of *Paduoa*, they dismissed me as free of all Tributes. And in like sort by the same writing, I was freed at *Paduoa* from paying six soldi, and at *Verona* from paying eight soldi. I rode from this Castle seven miles to a Village, seated vpon the same Lake, famous for the pleasant territory, and the abundance of good fish: and here I paid twenty soldi for my dinner, and eight soldi for my horse meat. All my iourney this day was in a most sweet plaine, rising still higher with faire distances, so as the ascent could hardly be scene.

After dinner I rode eightene miles to *Brescia*, which City flourished vnder the old Emperours of *Italy*, then was subiect to the *Lombards* and tyrant Kings of *Italy*, and they being ouercome, to *Charles* the Great, and French Gouvernours; then to the Westerne Emperours of *Germany*, and to the Italian family of the *Berengarij*. And it obtained of the Emperour *Otho* the priuiledge to be a free City of the Empire, till being wasted by the factions of the Guelphi and Gibellini, the Scaligeri, a family of the same City, made themselves Lords thereof, whom the Vicounts of *Milan* cast out of the Citie: and when *Phillip Maria* Duke of *Milan* oppressed the City, and would not be induced to ease the same of his great impositions, they yeelded themselves in the yeere 1503, to the French King, who had defeated the Venetian Army. Then by the French Kings agreement with the Emperour *Maximilian*, the Citie was giuen into the Emperours hands; whose Nephew the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, restored the same to the French King *Francis* the first, who likewise in the yeere 1517, gaue the same into the hands of the Venetians. The most fruitfull territorie of *Brescia*, hath mines of Iron and brasse, and I thinke so many Castles, Villages, and Houses, so little distant the one from the other, can hardly be found else where. The Brooke *Garza* runs through the City, which is of a round forme, and is seated for the most part in a plaine, and towards the North vpon the side of a mountaine, where a Tower is built, which hath many houses adioining, and in this Tower or Castle the Venetian Gouvernour dwels, who takes an oath that he will neuer goe out of the same, til a new Gouvernour be sent from *Venice*. The Cities building is of bricke, the streetes are large, and are paved with flint. *Boniface Bembus*, was a Citizen of *Brescia*, and the *Brescians*; as also the Citizens of *Bergamo*, are in manners and customes more like the French their old Lords, then the other Italians farther distant from *France*, and the very weomen receiue and giue salutations, and conuerse with the French liberty, without any offence to their husbands, which other Italians would neuer indure. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and forty soldi for foure measures of oates and for the stable.

From hence I rode thirty two miles to *Bergamo*: and as the territories in this part of *Italy* (lying vpon the South sunne, which beats vpon the sides of the hills and mountaines, with great reflection of heat, and vpon the other side defended from the cold windes of the North and East, by the interposition of the Alpes) are singularly fruitfull and pleasant; so for the first twenty miles of this daies iourney, they seemed to me more pleasant then the very plaine of *Capua*, yeelding plenty of corne, and of vines growing vpon Elmes in the furrowes of the lands, which Elmes are planted in such artificiall rowes, as the prospect thereof much delighteth the eye. And the other twelue miles were yet more pleasant, being tilled in like sort; and towards my iournies end, yeelding most large and rich pastures. The City *Bergamo* after the Roman Empire was

was extinct, first obeyed the Lombards, then the French; and following the fortune of *Brescia*, was sometimes subiect to the Vicounts of *Milan*, and other Princes (inua- ding their liberty which they had vnder the Empire) and other times was subdued by diuers of their owne Citizens, and being oppressed by the Dukes of *Milan*, they yeel- ded themselves in the yeere 1428, to the Venetians, whose Army being defeated the next yeere by the French, this City likewise submitted it selfe to them, and they being cast out of *Italy*, it was subiect to the Sfortian Family, Dukes of *Milan*, and they be- ing extinct, and the Emperour and French King making warre for the Dukedome of *Milan*, this City in the yeere 1516, returned vnder the power of the Venetians, who at this day enioy the same in peace.

The City is seated vpon a mountaine, vpon the south-side whereof a Fort is built, and vnder the mountaine towards the East, are two large suburbs, full of faire houses and Churches. Neere the market place in the Church of Saint *Mary*, is a stately sepul- cher of marble, and in the monastery of the preaching Friars, is a rich Library. These Citizens speake the Italian tongue, but more rudely then any other of *Italy*. Here I paid foure lires for my supper and horse-meat, and twelue soldi for my breakefast.

From hence I tooke not the right way to *Genewa*, but declined to the way of *Chur*, as- well because it was more safe from robbery, as to be freed from all dangers, by vent- ring againe to passe through the state of *Milan*. When I came from *Padua*, I was not curious to find out companions for this my long journey, aswell because I hoped to find some by the way, as for that I being now vsed to conuerse with any Christian strangers, little cared to be solitary by the way: but deceiued of this my hope to find company, I passed all alone, not so much as accompanied with a foote-man, ouer the high Alpes, which I thinke very few haue done besides my selfe.

From *Bergamo* I rode nine miles to *Trescher*, where I first entered the mouth of the Alpes, and thence I rode nineteen miles to *Louer*, passing by many very pleasant lakes, and by the way I paid sixteene gagetti, that is, thirty two soldi for foure horse shooes. Being to passe from hence ouer the steepe and snowy Alpes, I caused my horse to bee shod with eight sharpe and three blunt nailes, for which I paid sixe soldi, and for my supper twenty eight, and for three measures of oates twenty foure, and for the stable eightene soldi. The second day I rode thirty two miles to the village *Edoll*, through high mountaines, and there I paid three lires for my supper and horse-meat. The third day in the morning I rode ten miles to a village *Auryga*, ouer a most high and steepe mountaine of the same name; and now I beganne to freeze, for cold, though before I entered the Alpes, I could hardly indure the heat of the Clime.

Hence I went forward one mile to a little Brooke, which diuideth the territory of the Venetians, and the Grysons (which are a free people confederate with the Can- tons of *Sweitzerland*), and fise miles further to *Villa*, where I paid twenty sixe soldi of *Venice* for my dinner and horse-meat; and it being now the time of Lent, they gaue vs flesh to eat, whereof I was glad as of a dainty I could not get in *Italy*, neither would they gratifie the Italians their neighbours, in prouiding any thing else for them; so as they were forced to eat flesh without any scruple of conscience, which this people of the reformed religion would little haue regarded. After dinner I rode ten miles to *Pof- chiano*, through a most pleasant valley, compassed on all sides with mountaines, where I paid two berlinghotti (or two lyres of *Venice*) for my supper and breakefast, (for all passengers vse to breake their fast in going ouer the Alpes) and one Berlinghotto for fise measures of oates, and for the stable. The fourth day in the morning fortwelue miles I ascended the mountaine *Berlina*, & after rode thirteen miles to *Lasagna*, through a vally couered with snow; where I paid foure batzen for my supper, and as much for my breakefast, and six batzen for two measures of oates, and two batzen for hay, straw, and stable roome.

I formerly said that I bought a horse at *Padua*, and he being a stoned horse, & those of the territory of *Venice* and all *Lombardy* vsing to ride vpon Mares, which they put in the same stable with horses, it hapened at *Verona*, that the Hostler let my horse loole, that the rascall might make himselfe sport with his couering of the mares, which for
that

that time I knew not, but after manifestly found, since euer after hee was (contrary to custome) very troublesome to me, with neighing and coruetting, when soeuer he passed by any mares. And in this daies iourny (as when soeuer I passed the narrow waies of steepe mountaines) he was most troublesome to me: so as this people of the Alpes commonly vsing Mares for their carriages, when soeuer I met them, I was forced not without danger to light from my horse, and though I held him by the bridle, yet he was so fierce, as I could hardly keepe him from falling down most steepe mountaines, or from being drowned in the snow, which made me repent the buying of him, though otherwise he was richly worth my money.

The buildings of the Grisons are of free stone, but low; and for three parts of the yeere, the houses are couered with snow, and the windowes thereof are glased & large, and for three parts of the yeere they onely open a little quarry of glasse, and presently shut it againe: and all the windowes for the most part are continually couered with windowes of wood, lest the heat of the stoauē should goe out, or any cold enter into the same.

The fifth day in the morning I rode twenty foure Italian miles, (which the Grisons accompt foure miles) to the Towne *Lanzi*, and hauing passed three high mountaines, and after entring into a plaine, vpon the next ascent of the mountaines, I might first discerne the opening of them towards the North, and then began to discend the Alpes into *Germany*. In this passage of the Alpes, I did many times obserue mountaines of snow to fall from the high mountaines into the vallies, with such noise as if it had thundered: and this noise many times preferues passengers from being ouerwhelmed with the same, falling many times into the very high waies.

Out of the wood neere *Lanzi*, in the twilight of the euening; I did heare more then a hundred Woolues howling, and because it was towards night, I had hired a Countrey Churle to guide me vnto the Towne, who trembled for feare, and desired me to make ready my Carbiner to shoot at them: for hee said nothing terrified them more then the smell of powder; I wished him to be of good cheare, because the Woolues seemed busie about a prey, and the Towne was neere at hand, promising that I would not forsake him, but if need were, let him ride behind me: but feare giuing him wings, so as he went as fast as my horse could trot; within short space we came to *Lanzi*, where I paid sixteene batzen for my supper, breakefast, and horse-meat.

The sixth day in the morning I rode fifteene Italian miles, (which the Grysons call two miles) to *Chur* (a City, and the seat of a Bishop) through little mountaines couered with snow. The head of the Riuer *Rheine* is distant from this City as farre as a footman may goe in halfe an houre; and it lies towards the south. The City lieth in length from the Church on the North-side, towards the South, and hauing spent an houre in viewing the same, I rode further foure miles of *Sweitzerland*, through mountaines couered with snow, to *Walstat*; where I paid fiue batzen for my supper, and (to gratifie my Dutch consorts) foure batzen for drinke after supper, vulgarly called *Schlaffdrunke*, that is, the sleeping cup, and three batzen for my horse-meat. The seuenth day in the morning I passed two miles, (I meane alwaies the miles of the Countrey) by boat vpon the Lake *Walsee* (that is the walled sea, because it is compassed with mountaines) and I rode two most long miles more, ouer hils to the little City *Rabesuele*, and for the passage of my selfe and my horse ouer the Lake, I paid seuen batzen, and for oates for my horse (while I expected consorts) I paid three creitzers. The foresaid little City, is confederate with the *Sweitzer Cantons*; and here I paid eighteene batzen for my supper, with extraordinary fare, and my breakfast and horse-meat. The eight day in the morning, after I had ridden foure houres space (for the *Sweitzers* miles are so long, and of so vncertaine measure, as they vse to measure their iournies by houres riding, not by miles); I wondered to heare that we had ridden but one mile. Our way was through pleasant hils planted with vines, growing vpon short stakes, as the Dutch vse to plant them. Here we dined in a village, and throughout all this territory I paid about seuen batzen a meale. After dinner hauing in three houres ridden three miles, my horse weary of this long iourney without so much as a daies rest, beganne to faint, so as I was forced

in a village to giue him some two houres rest, and some prouender; and my way hither- to was through pleasant hills, in like sort planted with vines on my right hand towards the East, and by the side of the Lake *Zurechzea*, on the left hand towards the West. And the pleatantnesse of this Village seated among hills planted with Vines on the East side of the said Lake, made me as willing as my horse to rest there. The same eue- ning I rode further one mile to *Zurech*, which city I formerly described in my former passage through *Sweitzerland*.

I formerly said, that for the vnpossibilitie to exchange my money from *Venice* to *Pa- ris*, I was forced to exchange the same to *Geneua*. For which cause, and out of my de- sire to view that Citie, famous for reformation of Religion, after some few daies I took my iourney thither, turning out of my high way. The first day in the morning, through a way most pleasant for the variety of Plaines, Hilles, Orchards, Woods, and Gardens, (wherein I passed by an ancient Castle of the Counts of *Habsburg*), I rode in eight howers space to a Village, where I lodged, and payed a franke and a halfe (French mo- ney) for my supper and horse-meate. The second day in the morning, through a plaine Heath, Woods, and hilly ground for pasture, I rode in foure houres space to a Vil- lage, and there (as in the rest of this iourney), I payed about seuen batzen of Dutch money for a meale.

Solothurn.

After dinner through like way, I rode in three houres space to *Solothurn* an ancient Citie, and one of the Sweitzers Cantons, called in Latin *Solidurum*, and it hath the name in both tongues, as the Tower of the Sunne, or as consisting onely of Towers, whereof there be many. One Tower thereof is of great antiquitie, and vpon it these verses in Latin are written:

Ex Celtis nihil est Soliduro antiquius uno,

Exceptis Treueris, quarum ego dicta soror.

What's older mongit the Celts then *Solidure*?

Nothing but *Treir*: whose sister I am sure.

They will haue this Citie built in the time of the Patriarke *Abraham*.

The third day in the morning I rode in foure houres space to *Arberg*, by the side of a great Riuer called *Ar*, passing twice ouer it by two bridges. After dinner I rode in foure houres space to *Morton*, through pleasant hills of Corne and Woods, and Pastures, and by the side of the Lake *Mortonzea*. Not farre hence: *harle* Duke of *Burgundy* was defeated by the Sweitzers in the yeere 1476, and there in a field lie the bones of the souldiers there killed. The Burgundians were thrice beaten in one day, and here in the last battell Duke *Charles* also was killed. The fourth day in the morning I rode in three houres to *Bitterline*, through fruitfull Corne fieldes and pastures, and after dinner in foure houres space I rode to *Milden*, and about the midst of the way did see the ruines of the ancient Citie *Auenza*, or *Auenticum*, which *Iulius Caesar* vterly rased, and Corne was now sowed within the old circuit of the Citie, whereof no memory remained, but one ruinous tower and a statua: but they say, that the Husbandmen tilling the ground, doe many times dig vp old Roman coines of siluer and gold. Not farre thence towards the West, lie the snowy Mountaines, which diuide the Territories of *Burgundy* and *Sweitzerland*.

Losanna.

The fifth day in five houres space I rode to *Losanna*, through Mountaines couered with Snow and thicke Woods. This Citie is subiect to *Perna* (being one of the Sweit- zers Cantons), but the Citizens speake French. It is seated on the North side of the Lake of *Losanna* (of old called *Lacus Lemanus*), which is compassed with Mountaines continually couered with snow, which open themselues on the Eastside towards *Italy*. On the Eastside of the Citie is the head of the Riuer *Rhodanus*, which falles into this Lake, hauing so cleare a colour, as it seemes not at all to mingle with the standing water of the Lake. From hence I rode by the West side of this Lake, and in two howers space came to *Morgen*, which Towne is also subiect to *Berna*.

Geneua.

Then I rode foure miles in foure houres space to *Geneua*, hauing the sandy banke of the said Lake on my left hand towards the East, and most pleasant Hilles planted with Vines on my right hand towards the West; and by the way I did see a Village ruined in

in time of warre, nothing there standing but a pillar erected in honour of the Papists Masse. *Geneua* is seated on the South side of the Lake, right opposite to *Lofanna*, seated at the North end thereof. The East side of the Lake lies towards *Sauoy* and *Italy*; and the West side towards *France*, on which side also the high way lies into Sweitzerland. The lower part of which Citie, vulgarly *la bas rue*, is seated in a plaine, and the rest vpon a Hill. The buildings are faire, and of free-stone. This Citie being confederate with some of the Sweitzer Cantones, and more strictly with *Berna*, hath defended the freedome of the Citizens, and the profession of Reformed Religion for many yecres with great courage and pietie, and through many miseries and practises to subduethem, against the pretended rightes of the Bilhop, and the Duke of *Sauoyes* ambition, and hatred he beares to the Reformed Religion. The lower part thereof on the North side, lies close to the South side of the Lake, where is a little hauen for Gallies, which they haue built to keepe free the passage of the Lake. And on the same side is a strong Fort, and there the Riuer *Rhodanus*, comming out of the Lake enters the Citie, and runnes through the lower part thereof, hauing two bridges for passage. The Duke of *Sauoy*, who hath long watched to surprize this Citie, possesseth the East side of the Lake: but the Citie is carefull not to suffer him to build any Gallies thereupon; and vpon the least rumour of building them, armeth their Gallies to burne the same. Therefore the way into *Sauoy* lying vpon the East South East side of the Citie, in a Plaine betweene Hilles and Mountaines, the Citie hath built a Fort of little circuit, but great strength, with fortifications of earth, some Musket shot without the walles vpon that way, and therein continually keepes a Garrison. Not farre thence the Riuer *Arba*, flowing from the Easterne Mountaines, doth beyond the Citie fall into *Rhodanus*. At the South Gate is a publike Church-yard for buriall, and an Hospitall or Pest-house, which are both without the walles. On the same side within the walles, is a pleasant walke vpon Hilles, where of old a pillar was erected, with this inscription:

To the Emperour Cæsar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius, by Fœlix Aug. greatest Bishop with Tribunall power, Consull, &c.

On the West side of the Citie without the walles, little Mountaines lying not farre distant, might seeme dangerous for the encamping of enemies, saue that on the one side they are compassed with the Territorie of *Berne*, confederate with the Citie, and on the other side with the Riuer *Rhodanus*, so as the enemies passage to them is very difficult. This Citie was of old repaired by the Emperour *Aurelius*, and *Iulius Cæsar* makes mention of this Citie in his first booke of the Gaules warre, so as the antiquitie thereof cannot be doubted.

Here I had great contentment to speake and conuerse with the reuerent Father *Theodore Beza*, who was of stature something tall; and corpulent, or big boned, and had a long thicke beard as white as snow. He had a graue Senatours countenance, and was broad faced, but not fat, and in generall by his comely person, sweete affabilitie and grauitie, he would haue extorted reuerence from those that least loued him. I walked with him to the Church, and giuing attention to his speech, it happened that in the Church porch, I touched the poore mans box with my fingers, and this reuerend man soone perceiued my errour, who hauing vsed in *Italy* to dip my fingers towards the holy water (according to the manner of the Papists, lest the omitting of so small a matter generally vsed, might make me suspected of my Religion, and bring me into dangers of greater consequence), did now in like sort touch this poore mans box, mistaking it for the Font of holy water. I say, hee did soone perceiue my errour, and taking me by the hand, aduised me hereafter to eschew these ill customes, which were so hardly forgotten.

When I had taken counsell with my friends, if it were safe for mee to goe the right way from *Geneua* to *Paris*, they being of great experience, dissuaded me from that iourney, which could not but be dangerous, the Peace being scarcely concluded, and the Countrey being full of bands of Souldiers returning to their owne home, which counsell after I found good by Experience, the mother of fooles. And when they perceiued that I was obstinately purposed to passe through *France* into *England*, they aduised

fed mee rather to passe into *France* by the Dukedome of *Lorraine*, which for the tim^e, was more free from the tumults of warre, whose councill I thought good to follow, so as I was now to returne to *Straßburg* in *Germany*, almost the same way I came.

Thus after noone I left *Genewa*, and rode that day foure miles to *Morgen*. The second day in the morning I rode in two houres space to *Losanna*, and in five houres space to *Milden*, where I payed eight batzen for my dinner and horse-meate. After dinner in foure howers space I rode to *Bitterline*, and payed fourteene batzen for my supper and horse-meate. The third day in the morning I rode one mile (as they call it) in foure houres space to *Morton*, & in three howers space to *Berne*, one of the Sweitzers Cantons, through sandy fieldes of Corne, and many Woods. At *Genewa* many French Gentlemen and Students comming thither for the libertie of their religion, did speake pure French, and from that Citie all the people spake a barbarous French till I came neere *Berne*, where they first began to speake the Sweitzers language.

Berne.

Being to describe *Berne*, giue me leaue first for Trauellers sake to mention what I haue read in some Authors; that in the Territorie of *Lucerna* (which I neuer viewed, and who are earnest Papists, and so may iustly bee suspected in like reports) there is a wonderfull Lake, vpon the banke whereof they say *Pilate* doth once in a yeere walke, attired in Iudges robes, and that whosoever then sees him, doth die the same yeere. The most faire Citie *Berne* hath the name of Beares in the Dutch tongue, because *Berthold* Duke of *Zeringen*, being to build the Citie, and going fourth to hunt, thought good to giue it the name of the first beast he should meete and kill. And there being a Wood of Oakes in the very place where the Citie was to be built, the workemen cutting the same for the building of the Citie, did sing this Rime in Dutch:

Holtz lass dich hawen gern: Die stat muss heissen Bern.

Wood let vs willingly cut thee: this Citie must *Bern* named be.

They write, that the ground whereupon the Citie is built, was of old called the Sacke, and that the Citie thereupon was built in forme of a sacke. This most faire City is not of any great antiquitie; for *Berthold* the founder thereof died in the yeere 1175. It is built vpon a little Mountaine, yet seemes to be seated in a Valley, because it is compassed with greater Mountaines. The little Mountaine whereupon it is seated, is narrow, and the full bredth thereof is within the walles, neither is it much longer then the Citie, lying in length from the West to the East, in which length it hath three faire and broad streetes, and is fortified round about with the Valleys of this little Mountaine. The houses are vniformely, and very fairely built of free-stone, hauing the first vpper roomes of the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with arches, vnder which they walke drie in the greatest raine. Round about this little Mountaine the Citizens haue their gardens from the fall of the same to the lowest Valleyes, and vpon the South-East by South, is a most faire Church, and very pleasant for the lightsomnesse thereof, and on euery side there is a pleasant place for walking. On the South side without the walles the Riuer *Arba* runnes from the West to the East, and is passed by a bridge at the East end of the Citie, whence it turneth towards the North, and so makes the Citie almost an Iland. Here I paid fourteene batzen for my supper and horsemeate. The fourth day in the morning, I rode three miles in sixe houres space (through fruitfull fieldes of Corne and pasture) to *Solothurn*. And by the way I obserued a monument of the English defeated by the Sweitzers, with this inscription in Dutch;

Ritterlich erschlagen die English gückler Anno 1425, arme Tucke: That is;

The English Iuglers Knightly beaten in the yeere 1425, poore Knaues.

The English Histories make no mention of any warre with the Sweitzers. *Semler* a Sweitzer Historian, in his first booke fifty fourth leafe writes, that *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, drew the English against the Sweitzers, and that they did much hurt by wasting the Territories, as well of *Austria* as of Sweitzerland, but that they being overcome in some battels, did after the wasting of these Countries returne home in the yeere 1376, and this he calles the first English warre. Also *Semler* in his first booke the leafe 273 writes, that the English (as it seemes called from the French warre) did

at

at the instance of Duke *Leopold* besiege *Straßburg* in the yeere 1365: but the Emperor *Charles* the fourth comming with an armie against them, that they retired. But neither doe the words of *Semler* agree, since he calles the first attempt the first English warre, and after mentions another of former time, neither doe the yeeres set downe by *Semler* agree with the yeeres of this monument, neither seemes it by the French Histories, that the English had any leasure to make warre vpon the Sweitzers in the yeere 1365, and lesse in the yeere 1376. To conclude, it appeares aswell by the English as French Histories, that the English Conquerours in *France*, had so weightie a warre lying there vpon them in the yeere 1425, let downe in this monument, as it is not credible they could at that time turne their forces any other way. Only the most approved French Writers witnes, that the English and French hauing made a truce for eightene moneths in the yeere 1443, it seemed good to the leaders on both sides, that the souldiers hating rest and peace, should be drawne out to some forraine warre, and that the English seruing vnder *Lewis* the Dolphin of *France*, the said *Lewis* in the yeere 1444 making warre vpon the Sweitzers, killed therein 4000 of them: but the victorie was so bloudy of this battell, fought in the territorie of *Bazel*, as he that had the victorie, lost some 5000 men of his owne, and that the Emperour *Frederick* the third comming against him, he drew his men backe. For my part I leaue the credit of this monument to be tried by the consent of Historians, and returne to my journey.

The fifth day in the morning, I rode foure miles to the Towne *Ottmersheim*, and in the afternoone, through a stony Plaine of Corne and some Woods, I rode foure miles to *Besa*. The sixth day in the morning I rode fife miles; through the like Plaine, to *Gerzen*, and in the after noone, through a woody heath Plaine, and towards my iournies end through fruitfull fields of Corne, I rode foure miles to *Straßburg*. And in all this journey I payed about seven batzen for each meale. From *Solothurne* to *Straßburg* some reckon seuentene miles, others twenty two miles; for the Dutch reckon the miles diuersly, according to the length of them in their owne Countrey; and in these parts they vse to distinguish their iournies by howers riding, not by miles. Not farre from the foresaid Towne *Besa*, lies the Citie *Bazell*, which I haue described in my former journey through these parts. But to gratifie those who loue to search antiquities, giue me leaue to say, that *Augusta Rauracorum* (so called for distinction from *Augusta Vindelicorum*) a Citie of great antiquitie, and at this day become a poore Village, lies distant from *Bazell* some mile towards the Mountaine *Jura*, and that neere this ancient Citie are many old monuments of the Romans, and many buildings vnder the earth, which my selfe being lesse curious, did not see; and that the Husbandmen there, digged vp lately a coyne of gold, and sold it for copper, which was after valued at nine Crownes of the old Romans.

I say nothing of *Straßburg*, which I haue in the foresaid place formerly described, onely I will say, that I had the good fortune there, to find a French Gentleman, the Gouernour of *Monwick* with his traine, in whose company I rode thither. The first day in the morning, I rode thither. The first day in the morning, I rode through a fruitfull Plaine of Corne foure miles to *Sauerne*, in which Citie the Papisticall Chanons of *Straßburg* haue long fortified themselves vnder the protection of the Duke of *Lorraine*, against their Lords the Senators of *Straßburg*, and haue appropriated to themselves great part of the reuenues of that Bishoppricke, lying vnder their power. After dinner I rode three miles through Hilles yet couered with snow, to *Villa Noua*. Concerning my expences, I spent each day little lesse then a French Crowne, namely, two franckes for my supper, and commonly three French souldz for my breake-fast, and one franck for my horsemeate.

The second day I rode one mile to the confines of the Empire, and the Dukedome *Monwick* of *Lorraine*, and some three miles further to *Monwick*, where so much salt is made, as the Duke of *Lorraine* yeerely receiues sixty thousand French Crownes for the same. The third day through a dyrtie way and fruitfull fieldes of Corne, I rode fife miles to the Citie *Nanzi*, where the Duke of *Lorraine* keepes his Court, and when I was entring *Nanzi* the Gate, the Captaine of the Guard drew towards mee, to know my name and

Countrie. I not ignorant that the Family of *Lorraine* (vsurping great power in *France*, vnder the pretence to defend the Roman Religion) bare no good will to the English at that time, answered, that I was a Polonian, hee inquired many things of the Kingdome, King and Queene of *Poland*, and perceiuing that I answered him directly, hee whispered something with some chiefe men of the Guard about my confidence, and so turning againe to me, bad me lift vp my hand, (for so the French vse to take othes.) I was much affraid lest I should bee forced vpon this oath to confesse my Countrey which I had dissembled : but when I demaunded the cause ; hee told mee, that many places being infected by the Plague, I was to sweare, that I came not from any of them, which (to be freed from my former feare) I did gladly assure him vpon my oath. The Citie is strongly fortified, saue that the South side, where the circuit of the Citie was enlarged, was not yet compassed with walles, neither were the houses on that side yet built. The houses are fairely built of free stone. The Dukes Pallace was built foure square, with a large inner Court all of free stone, and with a high Gallerie towards the said Court-yard, and there I had the opportunitie to see the Duke, and the Princes and the Princesses his children.

Metz.

Finding not heere any companie for my iourney into *France*, which I hoped to finde at *Metz*, and thinking it not conuenient to stay longer then I must needes, in a place for the time ill affected to the English ; I rode the fourth day eight French miles to *Metz*. In the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, the French tooke this Citie from the Empire, and at this day it was held for *Henrie* the fourth King of *France* by a Garrison of his men ; and euery one now talking of Peace made in *France*, yet it was not then proclaimed in these parts, nor vpon any of the confines of *France*. My selfe after few dayes stay, finding no comforts for my iourney into *France*, was admonished by some honest Gentlemen in this Citie, that this iourney would bee very dangerous to mee, in respect that the armie being broken vp, all *France* would bee full through all parts of scattering troopes of Souldiers, returning to their owne homes. But when they perceiued that I was obstinate in my purpose to passe through *France* into *England*, they perswaded mee at least to sell my Horse, and goe on foote ; for they said, the bootie of a good Horse would surely cause mee to bee robbed by those, who might perhaps let me passe quietly on foot, disguised in poore apparrell ; for they seeing mee well mounted, would surely set vpon me, and twenty to one kill me aswell because they that rob in *France* do commonly kill them they rob, as because they would imagine mee to bee a souldier, either on the Kings, or on the Leagers side, and in that case, if I were on their owne side, would kill me, for feare of being forced to restitution ; and if I were on the aduerse part, would thinke mee well killed as an enemy. Besides that, the Marshals of the Kingdome at the ende of a Ciuill warre, vsed such seueritie of iustice to suppress all disorders, as they would surely kill mee, lest I should complaine of them. Whereas if I passed on foote, they were like either to let mee goe in peace, or at least to bee content with my money, without offering further violence to mee, whom they would iudge to bee of some base condition. This their counsell I approued, and (howsoeuer vnwillingly) sold my Horse for sixteene French Crownes. In this Citie I payed a franck each meale. It is a faire Citie and well fortified, and it is seated vpon a Hill, in a fat soile fruitfull of Corne, and the Riuer *Mosella* running from *Nancey* in a Plaine, passeth close by the West Gate of the Citie, where it is to bee passed by a couered bridge.

Being to take my iourney towards *Paris* on foote, I hired a poore man to guide me to *Chalons*, and to carry my cloake, and my little baggage. The first day after dinner wee went two French miles, by the banke of the said Riuer, through a dyrtie way, and a Countrie fruitfull of Corne, but hauing no Woods, not so much as a tree, and came to a poore Village. By the way I passed by *Pontmolin*, where of old was a faire bridge to passe ouer *Mosella*, the ruines whereof at this day are called *Arches de Ioye*. In this my iourney to *Paris*, I spent each day for my dyet about twentie foure soulz.

The

The second day we went two miles to *Pont*, and five miles to *Toul*, where I payed two testoones and a halfe for a paire of shooes. Our way was very dyrtie, through fruitfull fields of *Corne*, and we often heard the cries of the Country people, driuing their cattell to fortified places, vpon the seeing of some scattered troopes of Souldiers, which made vs much affraid, and that not without iust cause: but God deliuered vs from this danger. The third day I being so wearie as I could not goe on foot, hired for one Frank two post-horses (returning homeward) for me & my guide to ride 2 miles, & after 2 horses for three frankes for vs to ride three miles to Saint *Aubine*. The fourth day I hired two horses for vs for a French Crowne, and we rode five miles to *Bar* in a faire way, through Pastures, and Hilles planted with Vines yeelding a rich Wine, and fruitfull fields of *Corne*. And this day we passed by the Village *Longeuille*, which the Countrey people had fortified in this ciuill warre, to defend themselues from being spoiled by sudden inuasions, though otherwise they were each night forced to lodge some Troope or other. Hauing dined plentifully at *Bar*, and being refreshed with excellent wine; in the after noone we went foure miles through the like way to the Village *Ampton Cour*, where a French Gentleman dwelt, who the same day had there proclaimed the Peace. For now wee had passed the confines of *Lorraine*, and this was the first Village of *France*, in the Prouince of *Champaigne*. The fifth day being (after the new stile) the first of May, in the yeere 1595, wee went on foote nine long French miles to *Chalons*. At the end of the first two miles, wee came to the first house, standing alone, and called *la rouge maison*, that is, the red house, inhabited onely by an old woman, who would giue vs nothing to eate or drinke, and in all the rest of the way we did neither see Village, nor house, nor so much as a tree. The fields were plaine, and all the Prouince (according to the name) was a Champion Countrey, and seemed apt to beare great store of *Corne*, but now in the time of Ciuill warre, they lay unploughed, and the Husbandmens houses were fallen to the ground. Yea, wee could not finde so much as water to quench our thirst, so as my guide was forced to drinke the standing water lying in the cartruts of the high way, and my selfe to quench my thirst, did chew the crust of a browne loafe which he had giuen me, whereby I kept my mouth moist, casting the crust away when I had chewed it.

We had now scarce entred *France*, when suddenly the mischiefe fell vpon me, which my friends at *Metz* had foretold me. When I had passed halfe this dayes iourney, I met with some dozen horsemen, whose Captaine demaunded of me my name and Countrey. I answered, that I was a Dutch man, and the seruant of a Dutch Merchant, who staied for me at *Chalons*, whether I was then going. He (as it seemed to me) thinking it dishonourable to him, if he should himselfe assault a poore fellow, and a stranger, did let me passe, but before I came to the bottome of the hill, I might see him send two horsemen after me, who wheeling about the mountaines, that I might not know they were of his company, suddenly rushed vpon me, and with fierce countenance threatening death, presented their Carbines to my brest. I hauing no abilitie to defend mee, thought good not to make any the least shew of resistance, so they tooke my sword from my guide, and were content onely to rob me of my mony. I formerly said, that I could not finde at *Venice* any meanes to exchange my money to *Paris*, the long Ciuill warre hauing barred the Parisians from any traffique in forraine parts, and that I was forced to exchange my money to *Genewa*. This money there receiued, I had quilted within my doublet, and when I resolued to goe on foote to *Paris*, I made me a base couer for my apparrel, which when they perceiued, they tooke from me the inward doublet, wherein I had quilted the gold, and though they perceiued that vnder my base couer, I had a Ierkin and hose laide with gold lace, yet they were content to take onely the inner dublet, and to leaue me all the rest of my apparrell, wherein I doe acknowledge their courtesie, since theeuers giue all they doe not take. Besides, they tooke not onely my Crownes but my sword, cloake, and shirtes, and made a very vnequall exchange with me for my hat, giuing me another deepe greasie French hat for it.

One thing in this miserie made me glad. I formerly said, that I sold my horse for 16. French Crownes at *Metz*, which Crownes I put in the bottome of a wooden box, and

couered them with a stinking ointment for scabs. Sixe other French Crownes, for the worst euent, I lapped in cloth, and thereupon did wind diuers colored threads, wherein I sticked needles, as if I had been so good a husband, as to mend my own clothes. This box and this ball of thread, I had put in my hose, as things of no worth; and when in spoyling me they had searched my pockets, they first tooke the boxe, and smelling the stinke of the ointment, they cast it away on the ground; neither werethey so frugall to take my bal of thread to mend their hose, but did tread it likewise vnder their feet. Then they rode swiftly to their companions, and I with some sparke of ioy in my greater losse, tooke vp the box and ball of thread, thinking my selfe lesse miserable, that by the Grace of God I had some money left, to keepe me from begging in a strange Countrey.

This Tragedie thus acted, I and my guide (very sad because he despaired of my abilitie to pay him his hire) went forward our iourney, hee wondering that I was no more deiected in the danger I had passed, and for my miserable want of mony, thinking that I had neuer a penny left, whom he did see so narrowly searched, and yet perceiued that I was in some sort merry. At last we did see the City of *Chalons* not farredistant, and vpon our left hand was a faire spring, which had seuen heads, to which wee went to drinke, being both very thirstie. Here I put into the water the hat which the thecues had giuen me, by vnequall exchange for mine, being greasie to the very top, and deepe according to the French fashion, and filling it with water thrice, drunke it vp greedily. Then I filled it the fourth time, and broke into it the crummes of the browne loafe, the crust whereof had to that time kept my mouth with some moisture, which I deuoured, and thought I had neuer eaten better brewesse; but three daies sicknesse of vomiting and loosenesse made me repent this intemperance.

Thence wee went to *Chalons*, where my guide brought mee to a poore Ale-house, and when I expostulated the wrong he did me; he replied, That stately Innes were not for men who had neuer a penny in their purses: but I told him, that I looked for comfort in that case rather from Gentlemen then Clownes. Whereupon hee willingly obeyed me, and with a deiected and fearefull countenance, brought me to the chiefe Inne, where he ceased not to bewaile my misery, and to recount my Tragedy, as if it had been the burning of *Troy*, till the very Hoste despairing of my abilitie to pay him, began to looke disdainefully vpon me. The next morning when hee being to returne home, and taking his leaue of me, I paid him his hire, which he neither asked nor expected, thinking that I had not one penny, and likewise paid my Hoste for my supper and lodging, he first began to talke like a mad man, and comming to himselfe, professed that he knew not how I should haue one pennie, except I were a Iugler, or an Alchumist, or had a familiar spirit. Then confounded betweene wonder and ioy, hee began to triumph with the seruants, and would not depart, till hee had first drunke a quart of Wine.

Chalons.

The building of *Chalons* was low and base, being of Timber and Clay, and this Citie hath no beauty but in the large Market-place and strong Fort. On the West side without the walles, are pleasant Ilands, whether the Citizens vse to passe by boat, and to walke there for recreation. I formerly said, that I spent in this iourney some twentie foure soulz by the day for my diet, after which rate I payed here, and if extraordinarily I called for wine, I payed two soulz and a halfe for a measure little bigger then our English pint.

From hence to *Paris* I passed in a long wagon of *Paris*, and paid two French Crownes for my place therein. The first day we passed in like way to the former, and in the same Prouince of *Champaigne*, foureteene miles to *Sizan*, and did scarce see two poore Villages by the way; but I was told, that some halfe a mile out of the high way, was the castle *Chastillon*, whereof the Admiral of *France* killed in the Massacre of *Paris*, and the Gentlemen of his Family haue their name. The second day we were carried 12 miles to *Nangi*, being as yet not freed frō the cries of poore people, driuing their cattell from Troopes of Souldiers, but for my part I made the prouerbe true, that the passenger hauing nothing, sings before the thiefe. Yet was I not without feare of a greater mischief

mischiefe then robbing, by the losse of my life, hauing no mony to redeeme it from the cut-throat souldiers.

The third day we were carried ten miles in *Champaigne*, through a Champion Country lying wast, & 4 miles more to *Paris*, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, & pleasant hills planted with vines. This Country wherein *Paris* is seated, is compassed with the riuers of *Seyne*, & *Matrona*, & *Oyfa*, & is properly called the Iland of *France*. The Parilians haue their name either from *Paris* of *Troy*, or of the Parrhasij, a people of *Asia*, which did accompany *Hercules*, or of the Temple of *Isis* neere them (according to the Greeke language), for the statua of *Isis* was at *Saint Germain*, till it was taken away in the yeere 1514, and a Crosse was set vp in the place thereof by the Bishop of *Molun*. The City hath the name of *Lutetia* in Latin, either of dirt, for the Fens adioining, or in the Greeke tongue of Morter there digged out, because all the flores are of plaster, and the houses plastered ouer. And some say that it was of old called the City of *Iulius Caesar*, who built great part thereof. It lies in the elcuation of the Pole forty eight degrees, and the chiefe part thereof, namely, the Iland & greater City, is seated in a fenny ground. For the Riuer *Seyne* hath often ouerflowed *Paris*, and broken downe the bridges. In the time of King *Phillip Augustus*, the waters rose to the statuaes without the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Mary*, on the North-side thereof, as appeares by an inscription. Also in the yeere 1373, for two moneths space, they so ouerflowed the City, as they passed in boates the streetes of *Saint Denis* and *S. Antoine*. To conclude, omitting many ouerflowings mentioned in Histories, it appeares by an inscription in the vally of Misery, that in the yeere 1496, there was a great inundation. The City of old was all in the Iland, and when it could not receiue the multitude increased, the City was enlarged to both sides of the continent, and first that part of the City called *La ville*, then the third part called the Vniuersity, were esteemed suburbs, till after they were ioined to the City. For the Kings Court and the City still increased with buildings, so as the Suburbs were greater then the City; whereupon King *Charles* the fifth gaue them the same priuiledges which the City had, and compassed them with wals, whereof the ruines yet appeare. And new Suburbs being afterwards built, King *Henry* the second in the yeere 1548, made an Edict, that the houses vnperfected should be pulled down, and that no more should afterwards be built. The Riuer *Seyne* running from the South, and entering at the South-side, diuides the City into two parts, the greater part whereof towards the East and North, lies low in a plaine, and is vulgarly called *La ville*. The lesse lying towards the South and West, vpon a higher ground, is seated betweene hills, and is called the Vniuersity. Betweene those two parts lies the third, namely the Iland, called the City, which is seated in a plaine, and compassed on all sides with the Riuer *Seyne*, running betweene the Ville and the Vniuersity. And this part was of old ioined to the Vniuersity, with two bridges, and to the Ville with three bridges: but now a sixth called the new bridge, doth moreouer ioine the Iland as well to the Ville as to the Vniuersity. The part of the City called the Ville, is compassed on the South and west sides with the Riuer *Seyne*, and vpon the East and North sides with wals, rampiers, and ditches in the forme of halfe a circle. The second part of the City called the Vniuersity, is compassed on the East and North sides with the Riuer *Seyne*, and vpon the South and West sides with wals, which they write to haue the forme of a hat, saue that the long suburbs somewhat alter this forme. For my part it seemed to me, that ioined with the Iland, it had also the forme of another halfe circle, though somewhat lesse then the former. The third part called the Iland or City, is compassed round about with the Riuer *Seyne*, and vpon the South-east side is defended from the floods of the Riuer by foure little Ilands, which are marked in the map with blacke lines, and lie like Rampiers diuerting the streame from beating on the City. To this Iland they passe on both sides by bridges, and in respect of the Bishops Pallace, & the Kings greater Pallace, it may be called the heart of the City. The old wals of the Ville, were first of lesse circuit then now they are; for new wals were built, which also included the Suburbs, and the inner wall is of vnpolished stone, the outer wall is of earth, compassed round about with ditches, which neere the Riuer are broad and full of water;

but further off towards the North and East, are narrow and altogether drie. But the old wals are either demolished, or conuerted to the supporting of priuate houses. The Vniuersity is compassed with like wals, and because it is seated vpon high ground, the ditches are altogether drie. And the wals of earth aswell of the Ville as the Vniuersity, are so broad as three or foure may walke together vpon them. And round about the City (I meane the Ville and Vniuersity compassing the Iland) are many rampiers vpon the wall like so many Forts. The Iland or City was of old compassed with wals, wherewith the greater Pallace lying towards the North, at this day is compassed. *Paris* in generall is subiect to the King; so as it hath vnder him a peculiar iurisdiction, and in spirituall matters it is subiect to the Bishop. In the time of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, one hundred and foure thousand Citizens were numbered able to beare armes in the yeere 1466, and King *Charles* the fifth in the yeere 1371, gaue the Citizens the rights and priuiledges of Gentlemen. King *Phillip Augustus* in the yeere 1090, made Shiriffes to gouerne the City with consular authority; and he gaue the City for Armes a ship adorned with Lillies, he paued the streetes with flint, and compassed the City with wals. The Parisians haue raised many seditions: The first in the yeere 1306, against rich men raising the rents of houses. The second with the King of *Nauar* and the English, against the *Dolphin*. The third in the yeere 1383, against the Kings Treasurers, which *Charles* the sixth (returning with his Army out of *Flanders*) did seuerely punish. The fourth betweene the factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. The fifth most pestilent and longest, with the *Guisians* against the last King of *Valois*.

The building of the City is for the most part stately, of vnpolished stone, with the outside plastered, and rough cast, and the houses for the most part are foure stories high, and sometimes sixe, besides the rooffe which also hath glasse windowes. The streetes are somewhat large, and among them the fairest is that of Saint *Dennis*, the second Saint *Honore*, the third Saint *Antoine*, and the fourth Saint *Martine*. And in the Iland the waies to these streetes are fairest. The pauement is of little, but thicke and somewhat broade stones. But in the meane time the streetes of the Ville, either for the low situation, or by the negligence of the Citizens, are continually dirty and full of filth. The three parts of the City, namely, the Ville, the Iland, and the Vniuersity, being ioined together, are of a round forme, (which of all others is most capable) saue that the halfe circle of the Ville, is greater then the other halfe circle, which is compassed as it were with the two hornes of the former. And the whole circuit of the City without the wals (excluding the suburbs) is said to be of sixe mites. The market places which are in the streetes, are vulgarly called, *Carrefours*, as being fouresquare, and hauing passage to them on all sides, and they are eleuen in number, namely, foure of the Butchers, (which vpon a sedition raised by them, were diuided into foure tribes), the fifth the shambles vpon the mount Saint *Genouefa*, the sixth built for the poore which haue no shops, and for the weomen which sell linnen, which is vulgarly called, *La lingerie*, well knowne for the cosinages of these linnen sellers; the seuenth of the brokers, vulgarly called, *La Fripperie*, the eight and chiefe, is in the Iland, called *Marshes*, because of the Fenny soyle: the ninth is for fishes of the Riuer, seated neere the tenth, being the little bridge of Saint *German* of the Vniuersity: the eleuenth is without the gate for hogges. There be foureteene fountaines, besides the fountaine of the Queene, and that of the Innocents, built of stone. The Ville hath eight Hospitals, the Vniuersity foure, and the Iland two.

The description of Paris.



(A) the Gate Saint *Antoine*, (B) the *Bastile*, (C) the gate of the *Temple*, (D) gate of Saint *Martin*, (E) gate of Saint *Denis*, (F) gate *Mont-martre*, (G) gate Saint *Honore*, (H) New gate, (I) *Le Louvre*, (K) gate Saint *Victoire*, (L) gate *Marcell*, (M) gate of Saint *James*, (N) gate Saint *Michael*, (O) gate Saint *Germain*, (P) gate *Busfia*, (Q) gate *Nella*, (R) *Cathedrall Church*, (S) *Church Saint Bartholmew*, (T) the greater *Pallace*, (V) *Pont de noſtre dame*, (W) *Pont Au change*, (X) *Pont aux miſniers*, (Y) *Petit pont*, (Z) *Pont Saint Michael*, (XX) *Pont neuf*.

I will begin the description of the City, with the first part thereof, called *La ville*, which hath seven gates from the South-east to the North-west. I will not speake of the old or inner gates of the old City, which gates since the building of the new wals are called false gates, as serving for no vse: Onely I will say that they were of the same number, and so called, as these new gates are; and that King *Francis* the first for comeliness sake caused them to be demolished. The first of these seven gates, lies towards the South-east, and is called (A) Saint *Antoine*. By this gate I entered the City, when I came from *Chalons*, and without this gate I did then see the Kings *Pallace*, not farre distant from *Paris*, and most sweet for the seat and building, called *Bois du Saint vincent*, and then I passed the bridge called *Calantoine*, being without this gate, where the *Riuer Matrona* falls into the *Seyne*, and so entered *Paris*, by the gate, and the Church and faire streete of Saint *Antoin*. Neere this gate, *Francis* the first built a fort. As I came in, on the left hand, was the Tower (B) called the *Bastile*, well knowne by that name, which was begun to be built in the yeere 1369, by *Hugbo Ambriet* Prouost of *Paris*; and he being condemned to perpetuall prison for imputed heresie, it came to the Kings hand. On the same side is the Kings store-house for brasse Ordinance, neere the Monastery of the *Celestines*, in whose Church there be many marble sepulchers; and among the rest, one erected to *Lewis* of *Orleans*, (slaine by the Duke of *Burgondy*) and to his Dutchesse *Valentina*, (daughter to the Duke of *Milan*) by King *Lewis* the twelfth, with learned Epitaphs. On the same side is the Church of Saint *Paul*, the House of the Queene; the house of the Prouost of *Paris*, the publike Senate-house, and the place called the *Greue*, famous by the capitall punishment of offenders. For

in

in this part of the City called Ville, there be three places for the execution of Iustice, (the other two parts hauing not one place) namely this of the Greue, and that of the Temple, lying on the left hand of the gate, called Temple; next adioining to this, and the third called *Luparia*, lying on the left hand of the seuenth gate, called the new gate. And from these three places the dead bodies are carried out of the gate of Saint *Martin*, to be buried vpon *Mont-falcon*. And giue me leaue out of order to remember you, that *Pierre Remy*, Treasurer and gouernour of *France*, vnder King *Charles* the faire, repaired this *Mont-Falcon*; and that his enemies then wrote vpon the Gallowes standing there, this rime in French;

En ce gibet icy, sera pendu Pierre Remy.

Vpon this gybet here you see, *Peter Remy* hanged shall be.

And that according to the same hee was in the time of *Phillip* of *Valois* hanged there, for the ill administration of his office. On the right hand as you come in by the same gate of Saint *Anthony*, is a place for Tyling, called *Tournelles*. Not far thence at Saint *Catherines* Church in the Schollers valley, is an inscription, witnessing that a house was pulled downe to the ground, for an arrow shot into the Church, when the Rector of the Vniuersity was there at Masse, in the yeere 1404, there being at that time a great sedition raised betweene the City and the Vniuersity, about a scholler defiled with dirt, and that this house by permission of the Vniuersity was built againe in the yeere 1516. Also as you come into this gate, on the right hand, in the Monastery Saint *Anthony*, a dried Crocodill is hung vp, which a French Ambassador at *Venice*, left there for a monument in the yeere 1515. And there is a sepulcher of the daughters of King *Charles*, being of blacke marble, with their statuaes of white marble. Neere that lies the Churchyard of Saint *Iohn* for publike buriall, made in the yard of the house of *Peter Craon*, which was pulled downe to the ground in the yeere 1392, because the Constable of *France* was wounded from thence. The second gate towards the East, is the gate of the (C) Temple; neere which is the fort called *Le Bastillon*, on your right hand as you come in, and this fort, or some other in this place, was built by *Francis* the first. On the left hand as you come in, is the house of the Templary Knights, like a little City for the compasse, and from it this gate hath the name. And when this order of Knighthood was extinguished, their goods were given to the Order of Saint *Iohn*. The Church of this house is said to be built like that of *Ierusalem*, and there be the monuments of *Bertrand* & *Peter*, (Priors of *France*,) & the Table of the Altar is curiously painted; and here *Phillip Villierius*, Master of the Knights of Saint *Iohn*, was buried in the yeere 1532, to whom a statua of white marble is erected. The third gate is called (D) Saint *Martine*, and it lieth towards the North-east, without which gate is the Suburb of Saint *Laurence*, so called of the Church of Saint *Laurence*. The fourth gate is called (E) Saint *Denis*, and without the same is the Hospitall of Saint *Lazarus*, and the foresaid Mount *Falcon*; and when King *Henry* the fourth besieged this City, he did much harme to the same, from some high places without this gate. On the left hand as you come into the broad and faire street of Saint *Denys*, lies a Castle which they say *Iulius Caesar* built, and the same Castle was of old the chiefe gate of *Paris*, whereupon *Marcellinus* calls the whole City the Castle of the Parisians. And vpon the right hand is the Nunnery of the daughters of God, which vse to giue three morsels of bread and a cup of wine to condemned men going to execution. Not farre thence is the large Churchyard of the Holy Innocents, which King *Phillip Augustus* compassed with wals; and there be many faire sepulchers: and they say that bodies buried there are consumed in nine daies. The fifth (F) gate lies toward the North, and is called *Mont-Martre*, so called of a mountaine of the same name, lying without that gate, and hauing the name of Martyres there executed. And *Henry* the fourth besieging the City, mounted his great Ordinance in this place. The sixth (G) gate Saint *Honore*, hath a suburbe, in which is the market place for swines flesh, and vpon the right hand as you come in, hard by the gate, is an Hospitall for three hundred blind men.

The seuenth (H) and last gate, lies vpon the Seyne towards the North-west, and is called the new gate: and within the same about a musket shot distance, is the (I) Kings Pallace

Pallace, which may be called the lesse Pallace, in respect of the greater; seated in the Iland, and this little Pallace is vulgarly called, *Le Louvre*.) This Pallace hath onely one Court yard, and is of a quadrangle forme, saue that the length somewhat passeth the bredth, and the building being of free stone, seemeth partly old, partly new, and towards one of the corners, the Kings chambers (vulgarly called *Il Pavillon*) are more fairely built then the rest. Without the said new gate, some halfe musket shot distance, is the Kings garden with the banquetting house (vulgarly called *Les Tuilleries*). And now the ciuill warres being ended, the King beganne to build a stately gallery, which should ioine together this garden and the foresaid Pallace of the King, and I heare that this Gallery is since finished. And the hall ioining this gallery with the Pallace, doth passe the stately building of the rest of the Pallace, being beautified with many stones of marble and of porphery. I say that this Gallery leads from the Pallace ouer the wals of the City, and the ditch thereof (being neere the riuer and so full of water), and after being supported with two or three Arches, reacheth to the same garden; and all the way without the wals, from the Pallace to the said Garden, being compassed with wals on both sides this gallery, the Garden seemes to be so much increased.

On the left hand, as you come into the foresaid new Gate, lies the Tower *Luparia*, & *Alencon* house, & *Burbon* house, & the Coyning house, and vpon the right hand the chiefe Coyning house, lying vpon the Riuer *Seyne*. To conclude, of the streetes of this part of the Citie called *Ville*, the chiefe is *S. Antoine*; the second of the Temple; the third *S. Martine*; the fourth *S. Denys*; the fifth *Mont Martre*; the sixth *S. Honore*; (all so named of their Gates) and the seuenth *Luparia*, vpon the banke of the Riuer *Seyne*. And amongst all these, the most faire are that of *S. Antoine*, *S. Denis*, *S. Honore*, and *S. Martine*, so called of their Gates. A. E. G. D.

The second part of the Citie, called the Vniuersitie, hath the Riuer *Seyne* on the East and North-sides, and is compassed with walles on the South and West sides, and hath seuen Gates. The first (K) Gate *S. Victoire*, lies on the South side vpon the Riuer, and hath his Suburbe, with a stately Monastery. And from the Hill adioyning to this Gate, the Army of King *Henri* the fourth besieging the Citie, much pressed the same, hauing their Cannon planted neere the Gallows. On the right hand as you come in, towards the Riuer, lie the Tower *Nella*, the vpper, the Colledge of the Cardinall, the Colledge of the good boyes, the Colledge and the Church of the Bernardines, which Pope *Benedict* the twelfth built, and the Cardinall of *Tolouse* increased with a Library, and with maintenance for sixteene Scholers to studie Diuinitie. Also there lie the house of *Lorayne*, the great Schooles of foure Nations, the Market place for Riuer fish, and the Castle, and the little bridge which the Prouost of *Paris* built, to restraine the Schollers walking by night, in the time of King *Charles* the fifth. The second gate is called (L) the Porte of *Marcellus*, or of the Stewes, and it hath a Suburbe, where in the Church of Saint *Marcellus*, Bishop of *Paris*, and canonized for a Saint, (which *Rowland* Count of *Blois*, nephew to *Charles* the Great, did build); *Peter Lombardus* Bishop of *Paris* was buried, in the yeere 1164; and behinde the great Altar, in a window, is the Image of *Charles* the Great. On the right hand as you enter the said Port, by the Mount of *S. Genouefa*, lie the Colledge *Turnonianum*, the Colledge *Bona Curia*, the Colledge of the Dutch, the Colledge of *Nauarra*, & the Colledge *Marchicum*, and the Colledge *Laudunense*, and on the left hand the Colledge of the Lombards, the Colledge *Prælleum*, famous for *Peter Ramus*, who was Master of that Colledge, & was there killed in the massacre. The third Gate of (M) *S. Iames*, lyes on the South-west side, where King *Francis* the first built a fort; & without this Gate is a suburb, in which is a Church yard of the Monastery of Saint *Marie*, at the very entrie whereof, is a most ancient Image of the Virgin, painted with gold and siluer, with an inscription vpon it. In the streete of Saint *Iames*, the Iesuites had their Colledges, till for their wicked acts they were banished the Citie and Kingdome. And since their restitution I thinke they now enioy the same. On the right hand as you enter this Gate, lie the Colledge *Lexouienne*, the Colledge of Saint *Michael*, or *Cenale*, the Colledge *Montis Acuti*, (which built in the yeere 1490, maintaines certaine poore Scholers, called *Capeti*), the Colledge of *S. Barbera*,
the

the Colledge of *Rheines*, the schoole of Decrees, the Colledge *Bellouacense*, the Colledge *Triqueticum*, the Colledge *Cameracense*; and the Colledge *Carnuallense*. On the left hand lie the Colledge of the bald men, the Colledge of *Sorbona*, (which *Robert* of *Sorbona* a Diuine, and familiar with King Saint *Lewis*, did institute, and the same in proceffe of time became of great authority in determining questions of Diuinity); the Colledge of Master *Geruasius* a Christian, the Colledge *Plexouienne*, and the Colledge *Marmontense*. The fourth (N) Gate of the vniuersity is called *Port Michaell*, where *Francis* the first built a Fort, and before the gate is a Monastery of the Carthusians, where a statua of blacke marble is erected to *Peter Nauarcus*, and there be two statuaes of white marble, without any inscription. On the right hand as you enter this gate, lie the Colledge *Cluniacense*, the Pallace of the Baths, (which they say was built by *Iulius Caesar*, and is so called either of the bounds of the Tributes, or of the Baths of *Iulian* the Apostata, the waters whereof are drawne from a Village adioining), and the Colledge of eightene, and vpon the left hand the Colledge of *Hericuria*, the Colledge of Iustice, the Colledge of the Treasurers, the Colledge *Baionium*, the Colledge *Scenfa*, and the Colledge *Turonense*. The fifth Gate on the West side is called (O) Saint *Germain*, and without the gate is a suburbe, (all suburbes are vulgarly called *Faulxbourg*), which is large, and was pulled downe to the ground in the ciuill war. And there King *Henry* the fourth lay encamped, when he besieged the City. In this suburbe is the monastery of Saint *Germain*, not inferiour to any in wealth, and indowed with great priuiledges and iurisdiction, where the old Kings *Childebert* the second, and *Chilperic* the fourth, and *Clotarius* the second, lie buried; and there is a chest of siluer, the gift of King *Eudo*. On the right hand as you come into this Gate, in the Minorites Cloyster, are the sepulchers of the Queenes and Princes, whereof one being of blacke marble, with white statuaes, is the fairest: (my memory herein may faile me, that there is another Cloyster of Minorites without the gate of Saint *Marcellus*). Also there lie the Colledge *Brissiacum*, and vpon the left hand the house *Rethomagensis*, the Colledge of *Burgondy*, the house of *Rhemes*, the Colledge *Mignonium*, the Colledge *Pramonstratense*, and the Colledge *Dinuellium*. The sixth Gate is called (P) *Buffia*, and vpon the right hand as you come in, lies the Colledge *Anthunenfe*, and vpon the left hand lies the house *Niuernensis*. The seuenth and last Gate of the Vniuersity, lies towards the north-west, & is called (Q) *Nella*, and without the same is the meadow of the Clerkes. On the right hand as you come in this gate, lie the house *Nella*, the Colledge of Saint *Denis*, and the house of the *Augustines*, wherein is the sepulcher and liuely Image of *Phillip Comineus*. And vpon the left hand, lie the lower Tower *Nella*, and the Westerne bank of the Riuer *Seyne*.

These are the fairest streetes of the Vniuersity, the first of Saint *Victoire*, the second of Saint *Marcellus*, the third of Saint *Iames*, the fourth of Saint *Germain*, the fifth of the *Celestines*, vpon the banke of the Riuer, the sixth of the mountaine of Saint *Genouefa*, the seuenth of Saint *Michaell*, and the eight of the *Augustines*, vpon the banke of the riuer *Seyne*.

The third part of the City is the Iland, compassed round about with the Riuer *Seyn*. It had of old foure Gates, vpon the foure bridges, but seemes to haue had no gate vpon the fifth bridge, called *Pont aux musniers*, (which in this discription I reckon to be the third gate). In the vpper part of the Iland towards the South-east, is a fenny market place, called the Marsh, that is, the Fen. Neer that lies (R) the Cathedrall Church of the blessed Virgin, which King *Phillip Augustus* began to build in the yeere 1257, the foundations being before laid by an vncertaine founder, and it is reputed the chiefe among the miracles of *France*. It is supported with one hundred and twenty pillars, whereof one hundred and eight are lesse, and twelue very great, being all of free stone. The Chauncell is in the midst of the Church, which hath 174 walking paces in length, and sixty paces in bredth, and all the Chauncell is compassed with stone, wherein the Histories of the old and new testament are engrauen. It hath forty five Chappels in the circuit thereof, which are shut vp with grates of Iron. In the Front it hath two double doores, with faire statuaes of twenty eight Kings. Vpon the sides are foure Towers

or belfreyes; thirtie foure Cubits high. The greatest bell called *Marie*, requires twentie foure men to ring it, and the sound thereof in faire weather may bee heard seven leagues of. In a Chappell towards the South, are the statuaes of King *Lewis* the fat, and of his son *Phillip*, with the Image of a hog, because he died with a fall from his horse stumbling vpon a hog. On the North side is a mark, that the ouerflowing of the Riuer *Seyne* passed the outward statuaes from that of *Phillip Augustus*. King *Phillip* of *Valois* hauing gotten a victory against the Flemings in the yeere 1328, offered his Horse and armour to the blessed Virgin, and gaue the Chanons an hundred pounds yeerely rent, to whom for that cause a Horse-mans statua is there erected. Also there is a Giantlike statua, erected to Saint *Christofer*, in the yeere 1413, by *Antony Dessars* Knight.

In the lower part of the Iland towards the North-West, the Church of (S) Saint *Bartholmew* is seated, which was built by King *Phillip* the faire, and after was turned from the Kings Chappell to a Monastery by King *Lotharius*, in the yeere 973, and then became a parish Church, whereof the King (in respect of the old Pallace) was the chiefe Parishioner, and I thinke is so still. It became most famous, in that the bell of that Church was founded vpon the verie day of Saint *Bartholmew*, in the yeere 1572; to giue a signe to the Regalists and Guisians, that they should kill those of the reformed Religion, whom they had drawne to the Citie vnder pretence of loue, and could not otherwise haue ouercome; as they found by experience of their valour.

Neere that, lyes the Kings greater (T) Pallace, wherein the old Kings kept their Court; but it hath since been vsed for the Courts of iustice, and pleading of Lawyers. In the great Hall hangs vpon a dried Crocodil, or a Serpent like a Crocodil. There bee the painted Images of all the French Kings from *Pharamund*. There is a statua of a Hart, with the head and necke of Gold, set there in memory of the Treasurers, who in the time of King *Charles* the sixth, turned the money in the Exchequer into that forme, lest it should be wasted.

Here was painted vpon the wall neere the Tower, vpon the top of the staires of the great Hall, the Image of *Engueranus Morignon*, Earle of *Longauiile*, and ouerseer of the building of this Pallace, vnder King *Phillip* the faire, with this inscription:

*Chascun soit content de ses biens;
Qui n'a suffisance il n'a riens.*

Be thou content with the goods thee befall,
Who hath not enough, hath nothing at all.

This was spoken like a Philosopher; but the same man vnder *Lewis Hutinus* was hanged for deceiuing the King, and this his Image was broken and kicked downe the staires.

In the Hall of the Pallace is a Marble Table, at which Kings and Emperours were wont to bee feasted. The Chamber of the Pallace where verball appeales are decided, is called, The golden Chamber; and it is adorned with stately and faire arched roofes carued, and pictures, and there the Image of a Lyon, with the Head deiected, and the Tayle drawne in, remembers the Pleadere of their dutie.

Lewis the twelfth did build with Regall expence this Chamber, and another called the Chamber of Accounts (vulgarly *la chambre des comptes*.) In this Pallace the Chappell built by Saint *Lewis*, lyes vpon an arched Chappell, which hath no pillars in the midst, but onely on the sides; and they say, that the true Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, are vpon the lower dore. And in this Chappell, the reliques are kept, which *Balduinus* the Emperour of *Constantinople* ingaged to the Venetians, and the King of *France* redeemed out of their hands.

In the very Hall of the Pallace, round about the pillars, are shops of small wares or trifles.

Right against the Gate of the Pallace, stood the house of *John Chastell*, which was pulled downe in memorie of a young man his sonne, brought vp among the Iesuites, and a practiser of their wicked doctrine, who attempting the death of King *Henrie* the fourth, did strike out one of his teeth.

I haue said formerly, that this Iland was ioyned to the *Ville* by three Bridges, and to the Vniuersitie by two Bridges, and at this time is ioyned to them both, by the sixth Bridge. The first (V) Bridge towards South-East, leades to the street of Saint *Martin*, and is called *pont de nostre Dame*, that is the Bridge of our Lady, and it was built of wood in the yeere 1417, hauing threescore walking paces in length, and eightene in breadth, and threescore houses of bricke on each side built vpon it. But this bridge in the time of *Lewis* the twelfth falling with his owne weight, was rebuilt vpon sixe Arches of stone, with threescore eight houses all of like bignesse built vpon it, and was paved with stone, so that any that passed it, could hardly discern it to bee a Bridge. The second Bridge of the Broakers (vulgarly (W) *Pont au Change*) is supported with pillars of wood. The third Bridge of the Millers (vulgarly called (X) *Pont aux Musniers*) lies towards the North-West, and leades to the streete of Saint *Denis*, which they say did fall, and was rebuilt within three yeeres then past. By these three Bridges the Iland was of old ioyned to the *Ville*. The fourth Bridge lying on the other side of the Iland towards the South, leades into the streete of Saint *Iames*, and is called (Y) *le petit pont*, that is, The little Bridge, being rebuilt or repaired of stone, by King *Charles* the sixth. The fifth Bridge is called (Z) Saint *Michell*, and lying towards the South-West side, leades into the streete of Saint *Michell*, and hath a pleasant walke towards the foresaid Bridge of the millers, on the other side of the Iland, and built vpon pillars of wood, was repaired in the yeere 1547, and adorned with bricke houses. By these two Bridges the Iland was of old ioyned to the Vniuersitie. Since that time after the ende of the Ciuill warre, a new Bridge hath been lately built on that side of the Iland, which lyes towards the North-West, and it is called (XX) *pont neuf*, that is, The new Bridge, ioyning the Iland both to the *Ville*, and to the Vniuersitie. The chiefe streetes of the Iland are the very Bridges, and the two waies leading to the Cathedrall Church, and to the greater Pallace.

The Church (or the little Citie compassed with walles in respect of the Church) of Saint *Denis* (the Protecting Saint of the French) is two little miles distant from *Paris*. Hither I went passing by the Gate of Saint *Denis*, lying towards the North-East.

Thence I passed vpon a way paved with Flint, in a large Plaine towards the East, hauing *Mount Falcon* on my right hand, whether I said, that they vse to draw the dead bodies of those that are beheaded in the *Ville*, and the next way to this mount is to goe out by the Gate of Saint *Martin*. And vpon my left hand I had the Mountaine of the Martirs vulgarly called *Mont Martre*, and the next way from the Citie to this Mountaine is to goe out by the Gate *Mont Martre*.

Vpon this Mountaine they say, that the Martyrs *Dennis Arcopagita*, and *Rusticus*, and *Eleutherius*, were beheaded in the time of *Domitian*, because they would not offer sacrifice to *Mercurie*. And they constantly beleue this miracle, that all these three Martyrs carried each one his head to the Village *Catula*, which now is called Saint *Dennis*. And I obserued by the way many pillars with Altars, set vp in the places where they say the Martyrs rested (forsooth) with their heades in their hand, and at last fell downe at *Catula*, where this Church was built ouer them, and likewise a Monastery, by King *Dagobertus*, who also lyes there buried, and hath a statua in the Cloister of the Monastery.

Here

Here are the Sepulchers of the Kings, among which that of King *Francis* the first is somewhat more stately then the other, being of white Marble; with the statuaes of that King and his Queene *Claudia* there buried with him. That of *Lewis* the twelfth and his Queene, is of white Marble, but lesse faire; and the third erected to *Charles* the eight, in a Chappell of the Church, is of blacke Marble, with some statuaes of brasie. To conclude, to euery three or foure of the rest of the Kings, one poore monument is erected. Neither are these sepulchers of the Kings (in my opinion) any thing stately or answerable to the fame. But at the entrance of the Chauncell, the representation of Christ buried, and of the three Kings or Wisemen, and of the shepheards, and others there engrauen, seemed to me (who haue no skill in that Art) to bee of much Art and beautie. I haue read other Itineraries, which relate, that here are bells of most pure Metal, that the dores are of Brasie gilded ouer, that the Table of the high Altar is of Gold, that here is a Crosse of Gold, offered by King *Dagobert*; that the bodies of the Martyrs are laid in a coffin of Gold, that the roose of the Church is partly of siluer, and that there is a Crucifix of Gold before the Altar. But I should thinke, that these old ornaments are taken away, and not to bee seene at this day.

Hauiing viewed *Paris*, I desired to see the French King *Henrie* the fourth, and his Court; and because I lately had been robbed aswell of my cloake as of my Crownes; here I bought for some two French Crownes an old cloake, among the Brokers in the Market-place, called the *Fripserie*. So I tooke my iourney towards the Court, and went by boate vpon the *Seyne* (which boat daily passeth from *Paris* towards the South) nine leagues to *Corbenile*, and foure leagues to *Melune*, hauiing on both sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines, and I payed seuen soulz for my passage. Then I went on foote foure miles ouer a Mountaine paved with Flint to the Kings Pallace, called *Fontaine-bleau*, that is, the Fontaine of faire water. Beyond the same Mountaine this Pallace of the King is seated in a Plaine compassed with Rockes. And it is built (with Kingly Magnificence) of Free-stone, diuided into foure Court-yards, with a large Garden, which was then somewhat wild and vnmanured. At this time the Ciuill warre being ended, the King began to build a Gallerie, the beginning of which worke was very magnificent.

The next day after I had seene the King, I returned on foote eight leagues to *Somme*. Heere I found post-Horses returning to *Paris*, and hiring one of them for twentie soulz, I rode eight miles through fruitfull fieldes of Corne, and pleasant Hilles planted with Vines, and so returned to *Paris*, entring by the Gate of *Saint Victoire* in the Vniuersitie.

Now my Crownes which I had saued from the foresaid theeues, were by little and little spent, and I, who in my long iourney had neuer wanted money, but had rather furnished others that wanted with no small sums, was forced to treat with vnknowne Merchants, for taking money vpon exchange. But howsoeuer I had in other places dealt with noble Merchants, yet here I found my selfe to bee fallen into the hands of base and costlie Merchants, who perhaps hauiing been deceived by English Gentlemen, driuen by want to serue in the warres of *France*, had not the least respect of mee for my misfortune among Theeues, nor yet for our common Countrey. It happened, that at this time there were in *Paris* two English Knights brethren, namely, Sir *Charles* and Sir *Henry Dauers*, who for an ill accident liued then as banished men. And to them I made my misfortune knowne, who like Gentlemen of their qualitie, had a iust feeling thereof, especially for that they were acquainted with Sir *Richard Moryson* my brother, and they would willingly haue lent mee money.

But I will tell a truth well knowne. These brothers vpon good bonds were to haue receiued some thousands of Crownes a few moneths past in the Temple Hall (which is one of the Innes of Court of *London*, for those that professe the English Law). This being made knowne by one of the debtors, the Queene confiscated those Crownes, as belonging to banished men. Whereupon these Knights being to attend the French King to *Lyons* in his warre vpon *Sauoy*, were much driuen to their shifts, to get money for that iourney. Yet did they not cast off all care

to prouide for me, but with great importunitie perswaded a starueling Merchant, to furnish me with ten French Crownes. When I had receiued them, I spent some few daies in refreshing my selfe at *Paris*.

They account fortie eight miles from *Paris* to *Roane*, whether I went by boat, and payed a French Crowne for my passage. The first day we passed eightene miles to *Possey*, a most faire and famous Nunnerie, and towards the euening wee passed by the Kings Pallace *S. Germain*. The next day we passed twentie leagues to *Andale*, and by the way passed by a bridge, diuiding the County of *France* from the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and did see the Pallace *Galeon*, and a most faire Monastery. Then wee passed foure miles by water to Port *S. Antoine*, and one mile by land. Then wee hired another boat, in which we passed fise leagues to *Roane*, and I payed for this passage three soulz. This our way was by pleasant llands, hauing on both sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines and fruit-trees.

Roane.

The Citie of *Roane* is seated on the North side of the Riuer *Seyne*, partly in a Plaine, partly vpon sides of Hilles. The building is for the most part of Free-stone, brought from the Citie *Cane*; and vpon a Hill towards the North without the walles, the Fort *S. Cateline* was seated; when King *Henrie* the fourth besieged *Roane*, and then the Fort much anoyed the quarter of the English auxiliarie forces: but now this Fort was altogether demolished.

Concerning expences of diet in these parts, I spent at *Paris* in the Innes fiteene soulz each meale, and at *Roane* twelue soulz, and at some Innes by the way fiteene soulz: but whosoever payes for his supper, hath nothing to pay for his bed. But before the late Ciuill warre, they payed no more at *Roane* then eight soulz for a meale. Passengers, who stay long in the Citie, vse to hire a chamber, which at *Paris* is giuen for two French Crownes by the moneth, if it be well furnished, and otherwise for lesse. They that at *Paris* hier a chamber in this sort, vse to buy their meate in Cookes shops, and hauing agreed for it, the Cookes bring it to their chamber warme, and with pleasant sauce. And surely all things for diet were cheaper at *Paris*, then they vse to be at *London*, and since they vse to buy small peeces of meate, a solitarie passenger shall in that respect spend the lesse. Other passengers agree with some Citizen for diet and chamber, which may bee had at *Paris* in conuenient sort for one hundred and fiftie French Crownes by the yeere; and at *Roane* for one hundred and twentie: but before the last Ciuill warre, it might haue been had for one hundred, or eightie, and sometimes for sixtie French Crownes. At *Roane* I now payed for my supper twelue soulz, and the next day eleuen soulz for my dinner.

The night following wee rode fourteene leagues to *Diepe*, in a most pleasant way, diuided into inclosed Pastures, yeelding great store of Aple trees, not onely in the hedges, but also in the open fieldes. About midnight we tooke some rest and meate in a poore and solitarie Inne of a Village, but with such feare, as wee were ready to flie vpon the least noise. From *Roane* to *Dieppe* I hired a horse for thirtie soulz, and in this last Inne I payed twelue soulz for my meate, and fise soulz for my horse-meate.

Dieppe.

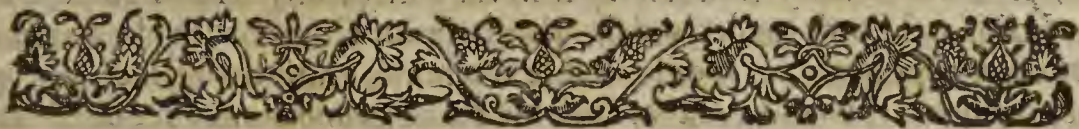
Dieppe is a pleasant Citie, and the greater part thereof (especially *la Rue grande*, that is the great street) is seated in a plaine vpon the Hauen, but it is compassed with Mountaines, and is diuided into two parts by an Arme of the Sea. The greatest part of the building, is of Timber and Clay, like our building of *England*.

I had spent at *Paris* most part of the ten Crownes I there receiued, and when I came from *Roane*, I perceiued that I should presently fall into want of money. Being in these straites, I went to the younger *Paynter* (one of the English Posts passing betweene *London* and *Paris*, and now returning in my company to *London*), and to him in few words I made my case knowne, who willingly yeelded to beare my charges to *London*, hauing me still in his company for a pledge.

At *Dieppe* I payed fiteene soulz for each meale, and ten soulz for my licence to passe ouer Sea, and fise soulz of gift to one of the Officers, and tenne soulz for my part of a boat, hired to draw our ship out of the Hauen of *Dieppe*.

After

After we had sailed fourteene houres, vpon Tuesday the thirteenth of May (after the old stile) in the yeere 1595, early in the morning, we landed in *England* at *Douer*, and I payed a French Crowne for my passage in the ship, and sixe English pence for my passage in a boate from the ship to that Port of blessed *England*. But we were scarce landed, when we were cited to appeare before the Maior and his Assistants. Where for my part the more poore I was in apparrell, the more frowardly I behaued my selfe towards them, (as many good mindes are most proud in the lowest fortunes), so as they began to intreate me rudely, as if I were some Popish Priest, till by chance a Gentleman one of the Maiors Assistants asking my name, and being familiarly acquainted with my brother, by priuat discourse with me, vnderstood that I had been robbed in *France*; whereupon hee gaue his word for mee vnto the Maior, and so walked with mee to our Inne. There he shewed so much respect and loue to me, and after my refusall of money from him, so frankly gaue his word for me to the English Post, as he was not only willing to furnish me with what money I would; but himselfe and the Dutch Gentlemen my Consorts in that iourney, much more respected me, though poorely apparelled, then they had formerly done. As soone as I came to *London*, I paid the ten French Crownes due by my bill of exchange to the foresaid French Merchant, and not onely payed to the English Post the money hee had disbursed for mee by the way, but gaue him sixe French Crownes of free gift, in thankfulness for this courtesie. At *London* it happened, that (in regard of my robbing in *France*) when I entered my sisters house in poore habit, a seruant of the house vpon my demaund answered, that my sister was at home: but when he did see me goe vp the staires too boldly (as he thought) without a guide, hee not knowing mee, in respect of my long absence, did furiously and with threatning words call me backe, and surely would haue been rude with me, had I not gone vp faster then he could follow me, and iust as I entred my sisters chamber, he had taken hold on my old cloake, which I willingly flung of, to be rid of him. Then by my sisters imbraces he perceiued who I was, and stole backe as if he had trodden vpon a Snake.



The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of my iourney to Stoade through the Vnited Prouinces of Netherland, and vpon the Sea-coast of Germany: then to Brunswick and (the right way) to Nurnburg, Augspurg, and Inspruck (in Germany), and from thence to Venice in Italy, and so (by the Mediterranean Seas, and the Islands thereof) to Ierusalem. In which iourney I slightly passe over the places described in my former passage those waies.



From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraigne Countries, not to get libertie (which I had in *Cambridge* in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my vnderstanding (which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sense so well, as by the eyes. And hauing once begun this course, I could not see any man without emulation, and a kind of vertuous enuy, who had seene more Cities, Kingdomes, and Prouinces, or more Courts of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, then my selfe. Therefore hauing now wandred through the greatest part of *Europe*; and seene the chiefe King

domes thereof, I sighed to my selfe in silence, that the Kingdome of *Spaine* was shut vp from my sight, by the long warre betweene *England* and *Spaine*, except I would rashly cast my selfe into danger, which I had already vnadvisedly done, when I viewed the Citie and Fort of *Naples*, and the Citie of *Milan*. And howsoever now being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little vse to me, yet I had an itching desire to see *Ierusalem*, the fountaine of Religion, and *Constantinople*, of old the seate of Christian Emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish *Ottoman*.

Being of this mind when I returned into *England*, it happened that my brother *Henrie* was then beginning that voyage, hauing to that purpose put out some foure hundred pounds, to be repaid twelue hundred pounds vpon his returne from those two Cities, and to lose it if he died in the iourney. I say he had thus put out the most part of his small estate, which in *England* is no better with Gentlemens younger sonnes, nor so good, as with bastards in other places, aswell for the English Law most vnmeasurably fauouring elder brothers, as (let me boldly say it) for the ignorant pride of fathers, who to aduance their eldest sonnes, driue the rest to desperate courses, and make them vnable to liue, or to spend any money in getting vnderstanding and experience, so as they being in wants, and yet more miserable by their Gentry and plentiful education, must needs rush into all vices; for all wise men confesse, that nothing is more contrary to goodnesse, then pouerty. My brother being partner with other Gentlemen in this fortune, thought this putting out of money, to be an honest meanes of gaining, at least the charges of his iourney, and the rather, because it had not then been heard in *England*, that any man had gone this long iourney by land, nor any like it, excepting onely Master *Iohn Wrath*, whom I name for honour, and more specially hee thought this gaine most honest and iust; if this iourney were compared with other base aduentures for gaine, which long before this time had been, & were then in vse. And I confesse, that this his resolution did not at the first sight dislike me. For I remembred, that this manner of gaine, had of old been in vse among the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and the Sea-Coasts of *Germany* (and so it is yet in vse with them.) I remembred, that no meane Lords, and Lords sonnes, and Gentlemen in our Court had in like sort put out money vpon a horserace, or speedie course of a horse, vnder themselves, yea vpon a iourney on foote. I considered, that those kindes of gaining onely required strength of body, whereas this and the like required also vigor of minde, yea, that they often weakened the body, but this and the like alwaies bettered the mind. I passe ouer infinite examples of the former customes, and will onely adde, that Earles, Lords, Gentlemen, and all sorts of men, haue vsed time out of mind to put out money to bee repaid with aduantage vpon the birth of their next childe, which kinde of gaine can no way bee compared with the aduentures of long iournies; yea, I will boldly say, it is a base gaine, where a man is so hired to that daliance with his wife, and to kill a man, so he may get a boy, as if he were to be encouraged to a game of *Olympus*.

Being led with these reasons, I liked his counsell, and made my selfe his consort in that iourney. And I had now giuen out vpon like condition mony to some few friends, when perceiuing the common opinion in this point to be much differing from mine, and thereupon better considering this matter, and obseruing (as a stranger that had beene long out of my Countrey) that these kind of aduentures were growne very frequent, whereof some were vndecent, some ridiculous; and that they were in great part vndertaken by bankerouts, and men of base condition, I might easily iudge that in short time they would become disgracefull, whereupon I changed my mind. For I remembred the Italian Prouerbe, *La bellezza di putana, la forza del fachino, &c. nulla vagliano*, that is, the beauty of a Harlot, the strength of the Porter, and (to omit many like) Musicke it selfe, and all vertues, become lesse prized in them, who set them out to sale. Also I remembred the pleasant fable, that *Iupiter* sent raine vpon a Village, wherewith whosoever was wet became a foole, which was the lot of all the Inhabitants, excepting one man, who by chance for dispatching of businesse, kept within doores that day, and that when he came abroad in the euening, all the rest mocked him, as if they had beene

wife.

wife, and he onely foolish : so as he was forced to pray vnto *Iupiter* for another like shower, wherein he wetted himselfe also, chusing rather to haue the loue of his foolish neighbours, being a foole, then to be dispised of them, because he was onely wise. And no doubt in many things wee must follow the opinion of the common people, with which it is better (regarding onely men) to be foolish, then alone to be wise. I say that I did for the aforesaid causes change my mind ; and because I could not make that vndone which was done, at least I resolued to desist from that course. Onely I gaue out one hundred pound to receiue three hundred at my returne among my brethren, and some few kinsmen and dearest friends, of whom I would not shame to confesse that I receiued so much of gift. And lest by spending vpon the stocke, my patrimony should be wasted, I moreouer gaue out to five friends, one hundred pound, with condition that they should haue it if I died, or after three yeeres should repay it with one hundred and fifty pound gaine if I returned ; which I hold a disadvantageous aduenture to the giuer of the money. Neither did I exact this money of any man by sute of Law after my returne, which they willingly and presently paid me, onely some few excepted, who retaining the very money I gaue them, deale not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them. And by the great expences of my iourney, much increased by the ill accidents of my brothers death, and my owne sicknesse, the three hundred fifty pounds I was to receiue of gain after my returne ; & the one hundred pounds which my brother and I carried in our purses, would not satisfie the five hundred pound we had spent ; (though my brother died within the compasse of the first yeere) ; but I was forced to pay the rest out of my owne patrimony.

Gentle Reader I will no longer trouble thee with these trifles : onely in the behalfe of them, who for a reasonable gaine, and vpon long iournies, and not vpon ridiculous aduentures, haue put out their mony in this sort. Giue leaue to me (howsoeuer I desisted from that course) to adde this ; All manners of attire came first into the City and Countrey from the Court, which being once receiued by the common people, and by very Stage-players themselues, the Courtiers iustly cast off, and take new fashions, (though somewhat too curiously) ; and whosoever weares the old, men looke vpon him as vpon a picture in Arras hangings. For it is prouerbiably said, that we may eate according to our owne appetite, but in our apparell must follow the fashion of the multitude, with whom we liue. But in the meane time it is no reproch to any, who of old did were those garments, when they were in fashion. In like sort, many daunces and measures are vsed in Court, but when they come to be vulgar and to be vsed vpon very stages, Courtiers and Gentlemen think them vncomely to be vsed ; yet is it no reproch to any man who formerly had skill therein. To conclude, (that I may not trouble you with like examples, which are infinite), I say that this manner of giuing out mony vpon these aduentures, was first vsed in Court, and among the very Noble men ; and when any of them shewed thereby extraordinary strength, the most censorious approued it, but when any performed a long iourney, with courage and discretion, no man was found who did not more or lesse commend it, according to the condition of the iourney performed. Now in this age, if bankerouts, Stage-players, and men of base condition, haue drawne this custome into contempt : I grant that Courtiers and Gentlemen haue reason to forbear it, yet know not why they should be blamed, who haue thus put out their mony in another age, when this custome was approued. A man may iustly say it is great iniustice, that our actions should be measured by opinion, and not by reason ; but when a man leaues any custome that hath beene approued, lest hee should oppose himselfe to the common people, a monster of many heads, the most enuious hath nothing whereat they may iustly carpe. And if any measure may be imposed to detracters, surely they must spare them, who vndertake long voyages, ful of great dangers : who doe not put out their money in Tauernes, or at feasts to any man without distinction, but dispose of their money with their friends vpon reasonable aduenture of gaine, (which in absence they cannot otherwise dispose to profit) : Finally who being not rich by patrimony, take these iournies onely for experience, and to be enabled to that expence, doe condition this reasonable gaine. I say the detracters must

spare these, and distinguish them from others, who make cursorie iournies, without any desire to better their vnderstanding thereby, and more from those, who in these courses rather make triall of their bodies strength, then of their mindes abilitie. And most of all from those, who expose themselves to the scorne of men, by base and ridiculous aduentures, or that little differ from selfe-murtherers, in vndertaking desperate actions for gaine.

Anno
1595.

In the same yere 1595, wherein (some few months past) I returned into *England* from my former iourney, I now set forth againe towards *Ierusalem*, and vpon the twentie nine of Nouember (after the old stile), I and my brother consort of my iourney, went by water twentie miles (which are seuentene miles by land) from *London* to *Grauesend*, in a boat with two Oares, for which we payed two shillings sixe Pence. At last the winde seruing vs, vpon the seuenth of December in the euening, we set saile at an ebbing water, and vpon the eighth of December in the afternoon, hauing passed the Riuer *Thames*, wee cast anchor, vpon the shoare of *England*, right before the Village *Margets*.

Then in the twilight of the euening, wee put to Sea, and the ninth of December entering the narrow Sea of *Zealand*, vpon our call a boat came out of *Vlissing* to vs, in which we went thither, leauing our ship, which went forward to *Middleburg*, and each man paying a doller for his passage. The eleuenth of December we walked on foot one mile to *Middleburge*, where being inuited by our friends (as we were at *Vlissing*) we supped on free cost. The twelfth day wee passed by Sea in two houres space to *Armu- ren*, where wee cast anchor not without feare of Spanish Pirats, who comming with small boates out of the Castle *Wouda*, did then many robberies vpon this Sea. The thirteenth day in the morning, wee sailed nine miles to the Iland *Plat*, where a Man of warre, sent out by the States against these Pirats, did lie at anchor, vnder the guard whereof we also lay at anchor the night following. The fourteenth day in the morning, hauing alwaies a faire winde, wee sailed eight miles to *Delphi* hauen in *Holland*, where we left our Barke, and each man payed twelue stiuers for his passage, and my selfe gaue three stiuers to a Marriner that had attended me. From hence my selfe and three consorts, hired a Wagon for 18 stiuers to the *Hage*, where I payed for my supper a Flemish guilder and seuentene stiuers. The fiftenth day of December (which after the new stile was Christmas day, that Feast by the old stile falling on the twentie five of December) my selfe and three consorts hired a Wagon for two guildens, for two long miles to *Leyden*. From *Leyden* at a set hower euery day, boates passe to all the next Cities, and we entering the boat that went for *Amsterdam*, payed each of vs 6 stiuers for our passage. First, wee passed five miles vpon the Lake called *Harlam Meere*, which Lake is much subiect to Tempests. Our boate was then drawne by force of hands ouer a Damme into a Channell of water, in which we passed two miles, and so came to *Amsterdam*. The boates are thus drawne out of the Lake into the Channell, by a priuiledge granted to *Harlam*, because that Citie had spent much money in the workes for conueyance of waters. And this was granted to them, to the ende, that this passage being shut vp to Barkes of greater burthen, the Merchants wares passing by land, should be forced to come by *Harlam*. We lodged in a English Merchants house at *Amsterdam*, and payed eight stiuers for each meale.

The seuenteenth of December we entred a little ship, to saile out of *Holland* into *West-Freesland*: but being almost frozen in with yce, after wee had sailed two dayes and a night (with great danger) through huge pieces of yce, and were the second night also compassed therewith, and had been forced to lie at anchor a good space, we hardly arrived the third day at *Horne* in North-*Holland*, which Citie is five miles distant from *Amsterdam*, and each man payed ten stiuers for our passage, and two stiuers for the vse of a little cabbin in the ship. The ninteenth day we would needs go on foot two miles (as long as ten English miles), to *Enchusen*, because they asked foure guildens and a half for a Wagon: And in the mid way it hapned that we light vpon a sledg, which wee 4 consorts hired for 20 stiuers, and therein wee were all carried, but for my part I paid 5 stiuers more for the cariage of my necessities. And we could not sufficiently maruell

at our first setting forth, that the Villages should be so frequent, in such an obscure Countrey, as wee could hardly see how they were parted one from the other, for halfe the way at least. From hence we sailed with a very faire wind, in three houres space two miles to *Stauern*, a Village seated in *West-Friezland*, and each man paid ten stivers for his passage, foure for his supper, and foure for beere.

The next day we passed on foot one mile of *Friezland*, (which miles are exceeding long) to *Warcome*, and we hired two Clownes for two guldens, to carry our necessaries, which Clownes drinking stoutly all the night, we were forced beyond our bargaine to pay for their intemperance, which wrong we could not auoid, though we much repined at it. Early in the morning we passed by water one mile ouer a Lake to *Bolsworth*, and each man paid two stivers and a halfe for his passage, and eight stivers and a halfe for his dinner. In the afternoone we hired a boat for three miles to *Lewerden*, and each man paid sixe stivers for his passage, and thirty foure stivers for his supper and breakefast, with wine. The next day in the morning, we might haue passed to *Groning*, in a common boat, each man paying twelue stivers: but because the couetous Marriners had ouerloaded it, and the winds were boisterous, we foure consorts hired a priuate boate for seuen guldens and a halfe. The first day we passed by water five miles, to *Kaltherberg*, that is, the cold Inne, with a very faire wind; but so boysterous, as we were in no small feare. Here each man paid twelue stivers for his supper, and seuen stivers for his drinke, while in good fellowship we sate at the fier after supper. The next day we passed in the same boat two miles to *Groning*, in a great tempest of wind; besides that in the midst of the Lake we lost our Rudder, being thereby in great danger, had not the waues of the water (by Gods mercy) driven it to vs. Here we paid eight stivers each man for a plentiful dinner, but without wine. In the afternoone we passed by water two miles to *Delphsle*, and each man paid forty stivers for the hier of the boate, and twenty foure stivers for supper and breakefast, and fire in our priuate chamber.

From hence we sayled with a most faire wind, in two houres space two miles to *Emden*, the first City of the German Empire, seated in *East-Friezland*, and each man paid sixe stivers for his passage, and as much for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed in a boat hired for foure guldens (whereof each man paid ten stivers for his part) three miles to a little City *Lyre*, and by the way passed by the Fort *Nordlire*, in which the Earle of *Emden* held his Court. We rested at *Lyre* this night and the next day, being Christmas day by the old stile, and each man paid sixteene stivers for each supper, and eight stivers for one dinner. The Spanish Garisons daily sent out free-booters into these parts, with the permission of the Earle of *Emden*, (for his hatred to the Citizens of *Emden*, who lately had shut him out of their City); and of the Earle of *Oldenburg* (for his hatred against the Citizens of *Breme*). Therefore we being here many passengers, did at last obtaine of the Earle of *Emden*, that we might hier his souldiers to conduct vs safely for some few miles. To these souldiers we gaue twenty one dollers, yet when at the three miles end we came to the Village *Stickhausen*, and were now in the greatest danger, they (as hired to goe no further) would needes returne, till each of vs gaue them a German gulden, to conduct vs onely to the next village, being the confines of the Counties of *Emden* and *Oldenburg*. To which they were perswaded, not so much by our prayers as by our reward, and once by the way, to make shew of danger (as it seemed to me) lest we should repent vs of the money we had giuen them, they rushed into some old houses, with such a noise, as if they would haue killed al they met, but no enemy appeared, & if they had lurked there, I think they would nothauē fought with the Earles souldiers who fauoured them, as on the other side, if they had assaulted them, I doubt whether our mercenary souldiers would haue lost one dram of blood for our safety. As long as these souldiers were with vs, we partly went by water, (each man paying 3. stivers for his passage) & partly on foot. They being now dismissed, we went on foot a Dutch mile, in the Territory of the Earle of *Oldenburg*, to the Village *Aopen*, where each man paid foure stivers for his dinner. In the afternoone, we being many consorts, hired diuers waggons, paying for each of them twenty five stivers to *Oldenburg*, being foure miles, and we came thither by nine of the clock in the night, and there

each

each man paid fiftene groates for his supper and breakefast. The second day in the morning we went foure miles to *Dolmenhurst*, and each man paid two copstucks for his Waggon. Then sixe of vs hired a Waggon one mile to *Breme* for three copstucks, where each man paid foureteene lubecke shillings for his supper and breakefast.

From hence eleuen of vs hired two Waggon to *Stoade*, for which each of vs paid thirty lubecke shillings. The first day we went foure miles to a poore Village, where each of vs paid fite lubecke shillings for our suppers. And hauing rested here some few houres vpon straw, we went before the breake of day three miles to *Foard*, and making no stay there, passed three miles further to *Stoade*.

Hence fise of vs hired a Coach for fise dollers, to *Luneburg* ten miles distant, and the first day in the afternoone we went three miles to *Alte-kloster*, that is; the old Cloyster, which was seated in the Bishoppricke of *Breme*, and the next day one mile in the same Bishoppricke, and sixe in the Duke of *Luneburgs* territory, and so we came to *Luneburg*; but the horses being weary, and the iourney long, we came so late in the night, as we were forced to lodge without the gates, where each man paid fise lubecke shillings for his supper, three for his breakfast, and fise for beere. The next day we entered *Luneburge*, where each man paid foure lubecke shillings and a halfe for his dinner.

From hence foure of vs hired a Coach for seuen dollers to *Brunswicke*, being sixteen miles distant, the Coach-man paying for his horses meat, and we for his owne meat. The same day in the afternoone, we passed fise miles in sixe houres space to *Sawerburg*, where each of vs paid (for our owne supper, with our part of the Coach-mans supper) seuen lubecke shillings. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to *Omsen*, where each man paid in like sort fise lubecke shillings for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed three miles to *Gethurue*, where the Duke of *Luneburg* hath a Castle (which the Dutch call *Schlosse*); where for ours and the Coach-mans supper and breakfast, we foure English consorts paid a doller and twelue stivers. The third day in the morning, we passed foure miles to *Brunswicke*, where in like sort we foure paid for our owne and the Coach-mans beuer, supper, and dinner, two dollers and a halfe.

From hence sixe consorts of vs hired a Coach for thirty dollers to *Nurnberg*, forty eight miles distant, and the coach-man paid for his horse-meat, and we for his owne meat, which hereafter diuided among vs I will reckon in our seuerall expences. The first day at ten of the clocke beginning our iourney, we passed through fruitfull hils of corne one mile, where we left on our left hand *Walsenbeyten*, (a City where the Duke of *Brunswicke* keepes his Court); with a Village belonging to his brother the Bishop of *Ossenbruck*. And there we met with certaine of the Dukes horse-men, who kept the waies safe from theeuers, and at their request we bestowed on them an Ort or fourth part of a doller. Then in the like way we passed two miles and a halfe to *Rauchell*, where each of vs paid for ours and the Coach-mans supper fise siluer groshen. The second day in the morning we passed three miles and a halfe to *Halberstatt*, where each man paid in like sort for ours and the Coach-mans dinner halfe a doller. Our iourney this day was through fruitfull hils of corne, not inclosed, and groues and woods in a fruitfull and pleasant Country. The Duke of *Brunswicke* is called the Administrator of the Bishoppricke of *Halberstatt*, and hath the rents thereof. After dinner we passed one mile to *Ermerleben*, subiect to the Duke of *Brunswicke*, through a plaine more pleasant then the former, hauing no inclosures, but being fruitfull in corne, and full of Villages; where wee foure English consorts paid twenty three siluer groshen for our owne and the Coach-mans supper. I haue omitted the quality of the soyle, in places which I haue formerly discribed; which now I mention againe, because this is the first time I passed from *Brunswicke* to *Nurnburg*. The third day in the morning we passed in a dirty way (but through most pleasant hils, and fruitfull of corne, but hauing no woods, nor so much as a tree,) two miles to *Mansfield*.

The Counts of *Mansfield* well knowne Captaines in the warres of the Low-Countries and *Hungary*, haue their name from this Castle and Village, and this territory; (hauing besides some twelue Castles) being not sufficient to maintaine the great num-

ber of them, they were forced to seeke advancement by the warres. The Citizens of *Mansfeld* were of old very rich by the Mines of this territory, but at this time they had scarce bread to eat, the Counts hauing ingaged these mines to the Fugari of *Angsburg*, and to some Citizens of *Nurnburg*. Some of these mines yeeld gold, but so sparingly, as it scarce quits the cost. Others yeeld siluer, and the very mines of Copper in each hundred yeeld twenty lot (that is halfe ounces) of siluer. Of these mines some are two hundred Clafters (that is fathoms) deepe vnder the earth. And these mines of the mountaine are borne vp with pillars and buildings of wood vnder the earth, lest it should fall vpon the workmen. They say that these mines yeeld yearly one hundred & forty thousand dutch guldens, besides the expences. At this time three officers liued in the Castle, who receiued the profits of the mines for those to whom they were ingaged; whereof one receiued fise parts, the other three, the third onely one part. Moreouer here be wonderfull stones in the quarries, which broken into neuer so many parts, haue still the liuely figure of diuers things. Our Hoste shewed vs some of them; which had throughout the figures of diuers fishes in a Lake adioining; this stone of one fish, that of another, and so of all the kinds. And he shewed vs one that had throughout the figure of Christ crucified; another that had the figure of the Popes triple Crowne, and another that had the liuely figure of *Luther*. Surely the Germans are accounted no iuglers, nor liars; and if they would haue deceiued vs, yet I cannot see how our eyes should be deceiued, seeing many of them broken, and stil hauing the same figure. This poore Village (yet pleasant for the seat) was of old a City, and at this time the houses were couered (as they be in many parts of *Germany*) not with tiles of bricke, but with like peeces of wood. Here each of vs paid a quarter of a doller for our owne and the Coach-mans dinner.

In the afternoone we passed a dirty way; but through fruitfull corne fields, foure miles to *Sangerhausen*, where each of vs in like sort paid the fourth part of a doller and a grosh for our supper. This being the first Village of the Prouince *Thuring*, belongs to the Elector of *Saxony*. The fourth day in the morning wee passed through most pleasant & fruitfull hills of corne, adorned with some pleasant woods, (which in higher *Germany* are of firre, that is greene all winter,) foure miles in the territory of the Elector of *Saxony*, to a Countrey Inne; where hauing nothing but egges for our dinner, we paid iointly ten siluer grosh. After dinner we passed in the same Electors territory, and through the like soyle (or Countrey) three miles and a halfe to a Countrey Inne, where we had to supper a pudding as big as a mans legge, and grosse meat, and straw for our beds; and iointly paid foureteene grosh. The fifth day early in the morning we passed through the like way, but more pleasant for the plenty of Vines, two miles to the City of *Erfurt*, where we foure English consorts with our Coach-man paid iointly a doller and twenty one grosh for our dinner, with sower wine of the Countrey. This City is seated in a plaine, and is a free City, but not an imperiall City, and paies some tribute to the Bishop of *Metz*, and to the Saxon Duke of *Wineberg*. It is large, being a Dutch mile in compasse, but the houses are poorely built of timber and clay, hauing the roofes couered with tiles of wood, and they seeme to be built of old. It hath forty two Churches, but onely sixteene are vsed for diuine seruice: namely, eight for the Papists, (among which are the two Cathedrall Churches, vnder the power of the Archbishop of *Metz*), and eight for the Protestants or Lutherans. This is the chiefe City of *Thuring*, and of old here was an Vniuersity, but time hath dissolued it. After dinner at the first going out of the City, wee ascended a very high mountaine, whereupon is a pleasant wood of firre. Then we passed by the beautifull little City of *Armstat*, I call it beautifull, for the seate in a firtile soyle, hauing drie and pleasant walkes, and for the plenty of fountaines and groaues, and for the magnificence of the Castle, wherein the Count of *Schwartzburg* keepes his Court, finally for the vniforme building of the City, which some fiteene yeeres past was burnt to the ground, and was since rebuilded, and so comming from *Erfurt*, we passed three long miles to the Village *Blaw*, subiect to the Count of *Schwartzburg*; where iointly we paid foureteene grosh for our supper. The sixth day we passed three miles through
wooddy

woody mountaines, to the Village *Fraw-im-Wald*, (that is, our Lady in the wood), which Village is subiect to the said Count; and herewe paid iointly thirty seven grosh and a halfe for our dinner. After dinner wee passed three miles through mountaines couered with snow, and woods of firre to *Eysfeld*, subiect to the Saxon Duke of *Coburg*. For this wood of *Thuring*, (vulgarly called *Thuringwald*) hath many Lords, namely, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Saxon Dukes of *Wineberg* & *Coburg*, and the Count *Schwartzburg*. The Duke of *Coburg* hath in this place a faire Castle, and we paid iointly for vs foure and the Coach-man sixty foure grosh for our supper and breakefast. The seuenth day in the morning we passed three miles ouer dirty mountaines, and fruitfull in corne, to *Coburg* seated in the Prouince of *Franconia*. They say this City was of old called *Cotburg*, that is, the City of dirt, and the dirty streetes well deserue the name. Here one of the Dukes of *Saxony* called of *Coburg* kept his Court, and our Host told vs that his Dutchesse for adultery was then bricked vp in a wall, the place being so narrow, as shee could onely stand, and hauing no dore, but onely a hole whereat they gaue her meat. The building of the City was very base of timber and clay. Here we five paid sixteene grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed two miles, to the Towne *Clawfen*, through fruitfull hils of corne, and in a most dirty way, where we five paid forty nine grosh for our supper; and the Towne is subiect to the Popish Bishop of *Bamberg*. The eight day we passed foure miles to *Bamberg*, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, and pleasant hils planted with vines, and in a most dirty way. This City is the seate of the Bishop of *Bamberg*. By the way we passed by a Ferry the Riuer *Manus*, running to *Franckfort*. Here we five paid thirty seven grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed through a wood of firre in a sandy soyle, and then through fruitfull fields of corne and pleasant hils, three mile vnto a Village subiect to the Margraue of *Anspach*, (from which a City subiect to the Bishop of *Bamberg*, is not farre distant, for the Princes dominions in these parts are mingled one with the other); and here we five paid fifty five grosh for our supper. The ninth day we passed three miles through a sandy and barren plaine, and woods of firre alwaies greene, to a Village subiect to the said Margraue, where we five paid forty grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed three miles, through the like way, to *Nurnburg*, and being now free from paying for our Coach-man, each of vs paid here six batzen each meale, and foure creitzers each-day for our chamber. This City I haue formerly discribed, and so passe it ouer.

Here we hired a Coach, being seven consorts, for twelue Dutch guildens, to *Augsburg*, being nineteene miles distant. The first day after breakefast we passed through *Nurnburg* wood two miles, and in the said Margraues territory (who is of the Family of the Electors of *Brandeburg*), foure miles to *Blinfeld*; and each of vs paid ten batzen for our supper, and foure batzen for a banquet after supper. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to the City *Monheyme*, subiect to the Phaltz-graue of the *Rheine*, and here each of vs paid halfe a gulden for his dinner. By the way, in this mornings iourney, we did see *Weyffenburg*, a free but not imperiall City, protected by *Nurnburg*. The Margraue of *Anspach*, Lord of this territory, hath a Fort built vpon a Mountaine, that hangs ouer this free City, which when he did build, the Citizens complained to the Emperour; and they say that howsoeuer they brought the Emperours Mandate to desist from the worke, yet he would not obey the same. The rest of our iourney to *Monheyme*, was in the territory of the Baron of *Papenheym*, in a dirty way, through many woods. And in a village subiect to that Baron, we had a guide and two fresh horses for our Coach, and for them our Coach-man paid sixe batzen. After dinner we passed three miles through a wood, and fruitfull hils of corne, to the City *Donwerd*, being a faire imperiall City, which I haue formerly described, and here each man paid sixe batzen for his supper. Now we were come out of *Franconia*, and began to enter into *Sueuia*. The third day we passed three miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, and woods of firre, to a Village, where each man paid eight batzen for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed through like way, three miles to *Augsburg*, where each man paid seven batzen for each meale. I passe ouer this City, which I haue discribed before.

Here

Heere we agreed with the Carrier of *Augsburg*, who by course that weeke went to *Venice*, that each of vs should pay him seuentene Crownes, (each Crowne worth twentie two batzen), and that he not onely should find euery man a horse, and pay for the horses meate; but also should pay for our diet. And heere I gained this by my Dutch Language, that making the bargaine with him for one of my Countermen, who could not speake Dutch, when wee came to *Venice*, and hee hauing no mony, could not pay the Carrier, I had no remedie but to pay those Crownes for him, to which the Law would haue compelled me, as the maker of the bargaine, if I had not rather chosen willingly to doe it. See how ignorance may sometimes aduantage, and skill may preiudice a man.

We began this iourney in the afternoone, and the first day through a Heath, and in the Territorie of the Duke of *Banaria* from the very Gates of *Augsburg*, wee rode fixe miles to an Inne neere *Landspurg*. The second day in the morning, through fruitfull Hilles and Woods of Firre, greene at this time of the yeere, we rode foure miles to *Schongaw*, and after dinner through Mountaines couered with snow, foure miles to *Amberg*. The third day in the morning we rode two miles to the Village *Wartenkerken*, and after dinner fixe short miles to *Seyfeld*, and in the midst of the way a Bridge diuides the Dukedome of *Banaria* from the County of *Tyrall*. At *Seyfeld* there is a Church built in memory of a Gentleman, swallowed vp by the gaping earth (as they say) because being to receiue the Sacrament, hee demaunded in scoffe a great piece of bread. The fourth day in the morning, wee rode three miles to *Inspruck*, the chiefe Citie of *Tyrall*, subiect to the Familie of *Austria*, where being at the top of the Alpes, the Mountaines beganne to open towards the South, and our mornings iourney was in a pleasant Plaine betweene the highest Mountaines. Passing this plaine, they shewed vs vpon a high Mountaine (so high as we could scarce discerne the things they shewed, though of great bignesse); I say, they shewed vs the statua of the Emperour *Maximilian*, proportionable to his body, and a great Crucifix erected by him vpon this occasion. One day when he hunted, and wandring from his company, lost himselfe, so as he had no hope to get out of those most thick woods, and most high Mountaines, there appeared to him a man, or (as they said) his good Angell, who led him through wilde vast Woods, till he came in safetie, and then vanished away, in memorie whereof, they say the Emperour erected these monuments.

In this Citie of *Inspruck*, and in the Cathedrall Church thereof, is the Sepulcher of the said Emperour, and there be many Images partly of Brasse, partly of Marble erected to the Archdukes of *Austria*, and eight of Brasse erected to the Arch-Dutcheesses. Among them was the sepulcher of *Philippina*, a Citizens Daughter of *Augsburg*, whom the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* (lately buried, and lying in a Chappell without any sepulcher as then erected to him) tooke for his Wife, but with a couenant (as they say) that her children should not inherit as Arch-dukes of *Austria*.

From hence wee rode in the afternoone betweene Mountaines, descending into *Italy*, and lying towards the South Sunne, foure miles and a halfe of most pleasant way to *Lueg*. The fifth day we passed the Mountaine *Bremer*, and rode two miles and a half to *Sterzen*, subiect to the Cardinall of *Brixia*, one of the Family of the Arch-Dukes of *Austria* at *Inspruck*. The Mountaine *Bremer* is more then a Dutch mile high, yet nothing steepe; this way from *Augsburg* to *Venice*, being for the most part through pleasant Vallies, in the midst of Mountaines, and so winding ouer the Mountaines, as the passage is very easie. Here my brother *Henrie* falling sicke, I delt with the carrier, that we paying him three guldins and a halfe for the common charge of his companies supper, he would there stay for vs till the next morning, and this likewise I obtained of our conorts with more ease, because they were to diet at the Carriers charge. The sixth day we rode three miles to a Village not farre distant from *Brixia*, where the said Cardinall held his Court, this way being all through woody Mountaines. After dinner we rode three miles in the said Cardinals Territorie, (through Mountaines, and Hilles planted with Vines, and lying towards the South Sunne) to *Clausy*. The seuenth day we rode foure miles (in a straight way betweene Rockes with pleasant

Orchards of Pomgranats, and other Italian fruites, lying on both sides) to *Bolzana*, which the Dutch call *Pozen*. And after dinner we began to leaue the Alpes on our backe, and rode three miles to *Newmart*, through Woods of Firre, in a Plaine more and more enlarging it selfe, and planted after the Lombard fashion, with Elme trees set in the furrowes of Corne-feldes, and Vines growing vp high vpon the Elmes. The eighth day wee rode by the banke of the Riuer *Athesis* to *Trent*, three miles in the County *Tyroll*, within the Dutch Empire, and one Dutch mile in *Italy*.

Trent.

The Citie *Trent* is seated in length from a Mountaine on the East side, to another on the West side, and the Riuer *Athesis* (which the Dutch call *Esb*) runnes by the City on the North side. The Citie is famous by a late Councell held there, and the Arch-Duke of *Austria* at *Inspruck* hath his Officer there, to gather Tributes belonging to him. And the Cardinall *Madrucci* (lame of an arme and foote, but reputed eloquent) hath some priuiledges in this Citie for the administration of Iustice, and otherwise: for the command of the Citie belongs to the Family of *Madrucci*, being Gentlemen. After dinner we entered the Mountaines againe, where wee walked ouer a way paved with Flint (which the Dutch call *Plat*) and did leade our horses in our hands, the way being very slipperie, and so we rode one most long Dutch mile to *Bersena*. The ninth day we rode three most long miles to *Borgo*, I meane Dutch miles, for I had no other companions but Dutch, who reckon the way after their owne miles. This day wee passed infamous places for robberies, especially one, where 5 waies leade to 5 wooddie Mountaines; and here we did see theeues, being our selues in safetie, they hauing no meanes to come to vs, in a Plaine so couered with snow, that our Horses were vp to the saddles therein, and could hardly passe the high way. After dinner we rode two most long Dutch miles to *Grigno*. The tenth day we rode two Dutch miles to *Primolano*, the first Village in the State of *Venice*: but from the foresaid confines of the Empire to this place, all the Territorie belonged to diuers Gentlemen, neither subiect to the Empire, nor to the State of *Venice*, but liuing free, onely acknowledging to hold their land from the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*. Also beyond *Primolano* (subiect to the State of *Venice*), there is a Fort built betweene a narrow passage of two Mountaines, which Fort is very little, but hangeth ouer the high way, being built on the side of a Mountaine, and this Fort is kept by Dutch Souldiers. It hath no Gate, but they that will goe forth, must be let downe by a rope, and they that will enter it, must in like sort be drawne vp. Moreouer before dinner we rode from *Primolano*, one Dutch mile to *Carpanella*, and at our setting forth from *Primolan*, wee passed ouer a Bridge, vnder which was little water for the present: but when the snow melts from the Mountaines, or any great raine falles, the waters there are high and violent, and some moneth past, when the Carrier of *Augspurg* and his consorts could no way passe the same, they told vs, that an English Gentleman impatient of delay, and trying to passe the same, was drowned, and that his body was found after some few daies, when it had been spoiled of a gold chaine and store of Crownes, they being vnknowne who got this bootie, and that he was at first buried in a Chappell, but after taken vp by the Priests, and buried in the high way, when they heard he was an Englishman, and thereupon suspected him to be an heritike. For the building of this bridge each of vs payed two creitzers in the next Village. In our mornings iourney the way was narrow, betweene Mountaines, and we might see and heare Mountaines of dissolued snow, drawing with them huge stones, to fall with great noise into the high way before vs, and into other adioyning Vallyes. After dinner we rode through a plane tilled after the manner of *Lombardy*, three Dutch miles and a halfe, to the Castle *Franco*. The twelfth day we rode three Dutch miles to the Citie *Treuigi*, through a like Plaine. After dinner (for I haue formerly described *Treuigi*) we rode two Dutch miles, or ten Italian miles, through a like Plaine to *Mestre*. From hence we passed by water to *Venice* being fve miles, first in a Ditch, each man paying one soldo for his passage, then in other boats ouer the Lakes wherewith *Venice* is compassed, each man paying three soldi for his passage. I omit to speake any thing of *Venice*, which I haue formerly described.

We being now to take our purposed iourney into the Turkes Dominions, thought
it

it best, first to goe to *Constantinople*, where the English Ambassadour giuing vs a *Ianizare* for our guide, we hoped the rest of our iourney would be pleasant, and void of all trouble. For this *Ianizare*, aswell for their wonted faithfulness to those that giue them wages, as for the account he was to make of our safetie to the said Ambassadour, no doubt would haue been a faithfull guide to vs. But when we inquired of the way from *Ragusa* to *Constantinople* by land, all the Postes and Messengers passing that way, told vs, that the warre of *Hungarie* made all those parts full of tragedies and miserie. Then we thought to goe by Sea to *Constantinople*: but when wee heard that no ship would be had in three moneths at least, that long delay was hatefull to vs. Too late, after my returne, by experience in my iourney, and conference, I found a third way, namely by Sea from *Venice* to *Zant*, and from that Iland (taking the Councell of the English Merchants there) to *Petrasso*, (seated vpon the Corinthian Creeke of the Sea, in *Peloponesus*, a Prouince of *Greece*, called by the Turkes *Morea*), then to take a *Ianizare* from the English Consul there residing, and with him to passe by land to *Athens*, and by Sea in little Barkes from thence to *Constantinople*. The fourth way was not vnknown to vs, namely, to goe by Sea to *Cyprus* (as wee did), and in the same ship to haue passed to *Scanderona*, and there taking a *Ianizare* from the English Factor, maintained there by our Merchants of *Haleppo*, to haue passed vnder his conduct by Sea to *Ierusalem*. Or else to haue gone from *Scanderona* to *Haleppo*, and there taking a *Ianizare* of the English Consul, and obtaining letters from the Italians, to recommend the care of vs and our safetie to the Guardian of the Monastery of the *Latin* Church in *Ierusalem* (which our Merchants would easily haue obtained for vs) to haue passed from thence by land to *Ierusalem*. But when wee imparted at *Cyprus* this our purpose to the Consorts of our iourney from *Venice* thither, who were then hiring a Barke to passe from *Cyprus* to *Ioppa*, whence they had but fortie miles to *Ierusalem*, they were very desirous of our company, and with great earnestnesse gaue vs confidence, that they would procure the said Guardian and Fryers at *Ierusalem* to doe vs all courtesie in their power, and so perswaded vs to commit our selues to their company and protection. I will adde for the instruction of others, that the said *Ianizare* vseth to be hired for eight Aspers a day, and if he take this charge of any mans safetie from an Ambassadour, or any Christian Officer of account, hee will easily saue a man more then his wages, in gouerning his expences, and keeping him from those extortions, which the Turkes vse to doe vpon Christians, as also from all their iniuries. But I returne to the purpose; We lying at *Venice*, and while our health was yet sound, and our Crownes vnspent, desiring with all possible speede to finish our voyage into *Turky*, did by good hap light vpon French consorts for our iourney, namely, two Franciscan Friers, one Eremitan Frier, and two honest young Frenchmen, both Citizens of *Bloys* in *France*, and one of them a Burgers sonne, the other a Notarie of the Citie, and lastly a Flemming or Dutchman, Citizen of *Emden* in East *Freezeland*. This Fleming was a fat man, borne to consume victuals, & he had now spent in his iourney to *Venice* thirty pound sterling, and here for his iourney to *Ierusalem* had already put into the ship full Hogf-heads of Wine, and store of all victuals, when suddenly he changed his minde, for feare of a great Rhome wherewith he was troubled, or being discouraged with the difficulty of the iourney, and would needs returne to *Emden*, with purpose (if hee were to be believed) to returne the next Spring to some place neere *Ierusalem*, in an English ship, which he thought more commodious. He professed, that he had put much money out vpon his returne, and since hee was old, and very sickly, and after so long a iourney, and so much money spent, would needes returne home, I cannot thinke that he euer vndertooke this iourney againe.

Many Papists thinke they must haue the Popes Licence to goe this iourney, and *Villamont* a French Gentleman writes, that otherwise they incurre the censure of the Church, and affirms that the Pope writ vnder his licence these words; *Fiat quod petitur*, that is, let that be granted which is craued, and vnder the remission of his sinnes, *Fiat Felix*, that is; Let him be made happy: And he addes, that he was forced to take as much paines, and to spend as much, and to vse as much helpe of the Popes Offi-

cers, for the obtaining of these two futes, as if he had beene a suter for a Bishoppricke. But I know many Papists, that haue gone from *Venice* to *Hierusalem*; who either cared not for this licence, or neuer thought vpon it; and howsoeuer it may giue some credulous men hope of fuller indulgence or merit, surely it will serue them for no other vse. Among our consorts I neuer heard any mention thereof, neither did the Friars at *Ierusalem* inquire after it. When I first began to thinke of vndertaking this iourney, it was told me that each Ascension day, a Venetian gally was set forth to carry Pilgrimes to *Ierusalem*. But it seemes that this custome is growne out of vse, since few are found in these daies who vndertake this iourney, in regard of the Turkes imposing great exactions, and doing foule iniuries to them. For the very Friars, which euery third yeere are sent into those parts, to doe diuine duties to the Papist Merchants there abiding; (the Friars formerly sent being recalled), vse to passe in no other then common Merchants ships.

In the end of *March* we had the opportunity of a ship passing into *Asia*, (which at that time of the yeere is not rare). This ship was called the lesse Lyon, and the Master, (whom the Italians cal *Patrono*) was *Constantine Coluri* a Grecian, (as most part of the Marriners are Greekes, the Italians abhorring from being sea men): Concerning diet, some agreed with the Steward of the ship (called *Il/Calco*) and they paid by the moneth foure siluer crownes, (each crowne at seuen lyres), and I marked their Table was poorely serued. For our part we agreed with the Master himselfe, who for seuen gold crownes by the month paid by each of vs, did curteously admit vs to his Table; and gaue vs good diet, seruing each man with his knife and spoone, and his forke (to hold the meat whiles he cuts it, for they hold it ill manners that one should touch the meat with his hand), and with a glasse or cup to drinke in peculiar to himselfe. Hee gaue vs wine mingled with water, and fresh bread for two or three daies after we came out of any harbour, and otherwise bisket, which we made soft by soaking it in wine or water. In like sort, at first setting forth he gaue vs fresh meates of flesh, and after salted meates, and vpon fasting dayes he gaue vs egges, fishes of diuers kinds, dried or pickled, sallets, sod Rice, and pulse of diuers kinds; Oyle in stead of butter, Nuts, fruit, Cheese, and like things. Also we agreed that if our iourney were ended before the moneth expired, a rateable proportion of our money should be abated to vs. Each of vs for his passage agreed to pay fise siluer crownes of *Italy*. And howsoeuer, I thinke they would not haue denied vs wine, or meat betweene meales, if we had beene drie or hungry; yet to auoide troubling of them, my selfe and my brother carried some flaggons of rich wine, some very white bisket, some prunes and raisins, and like things: And to comfort our stomackes in case of weakenesse, we carried ginger, nutmegs, and some like things; and for remedies against agues, we carried some cooling sirops, and some pounds of sugar, and some laxatiue medicines. Also we carried with vs two chests, not onely to lay vp these things, but also that we might sleepe and rest vpon them at pleasure, and two woollen little mattresses to lie vpon, and foure quilts to couer vs, and to lay vnder vs, which mattresses and quilts we carried after by land, or else we should haue beene farre worse lodged in the houses of Turkes: besides that many times we lay in the field vnder the starr y cannopy. In stead of sheetes we vsed linnen breeches, which we might change at pleasure.

Howsoeuer all Nations may vse their owne apparell in *Turky*, yet the clothes of *Europe*, and especially the short clokes, are most offensive to them, so as the wearer prouoketh them thereby to doe him iniuries. Therefore my selfe and my brother bought each of vs a long coat, of as course stufte as we could find, & a long gowne of a course and rough frize. Our swords, daggers, and European garments, we left in our chests, with a Flemmish Merchant lying at *Venice*, to be kept against our returne: and howsoeuer he falling banckerout, left the City before that time, yet our goods were by the publike Officer laid apart, and readily deliuered to vs at our returne.

Whereas we left our swords at *Venice*, know that no Turkes, (and much lesse Christians) carry any Armes, except when they goe some iourney, and that we were not ignorant, that howsoeuer Christians may defend themselves from theeues by the high way,

way; yet it was hard to distinguish between the Turkes violent extortions, with the iniuries of them, and the Ianizares by the high waies, and flat robberies by theesues, and that whosoever should draw a sword or a knife against these men, or any Turke scoffing and despising him, should be sure to die an ill death by publike Iustice (which notwithstanding I know not how any man carrying Armes could have the patience to endure). Therefore since the Turkes iourning in great troopes, were sufficiently armed against theesues, and in all euent are vnfaithfull fellow souldiers to a Christian ioining with them, (excepting the Ianizares, who howsoever they make a shew of feare of theesues, that they may seeme better to deserue their wages, yet haue seldome or neuer bene assaulted by them). For these and other reasons wee left our swords at *Venice*, (which reasons it would be tedious to vrge), and chose rather vnarmed then armed to suffer iniuries, which there cannot be auoided.

My selfe and my brother *Henry*, (who died this yeere in the moneth of *Iuly*) spent foure hundred and eighty pounds sterling, in this iourney from *England* to *Ierusalem*, and thence to *Haleppo*; and in my particular iourney (after his death) to *Constantinople*, and returne into *England*. If any say we spent lauishly, let him know that my dearest brothers death, and my necessary stay thereupon, and a desperate sicknesse into which I fell vpon griefe, very much increased the said expences. Adde that I being pressed with these miseries, had now spent all the money we brought in our purses, and then suffered great losse; by the money taken vpon exchange to be paid in *England*, and being weake after my sicknesse, was forced much to increase my charge, by taking a seruant to wait vpon me. From which extraordinary mischiefes, God deliuer all that vndertake this iourney, and yet I am deceiued if the ordinary burthens will not seeme more then enough heauy to them.

But I returne to the relation of my iourney. It is the Mariners fashion that being to goe to Sea, they will affirme they set sayle presently, that the Merchants and passengers may bring their goods on board, which done, they will not easily take them out againe, though that ship after long delaies should goe last out of the Hauen. Therefore wee kept our goods in our lodging, still inquiring after the *Scruano*, who dwelt hard by vs; and when he professed seriously, that hee would take shippe the next day, then we presently shipped our prouisions. So on Friday the 19 of *Aprill* (after the new stile) in the yeere 1596, we together with the Patron (our Master) went aboard. And the Patron returned that night to *Venice*, but we lodged in the ship. The Patron had some moneth past promised me and my brother, that we should set our chests (vpon which we were to rest) aboue the hatches, hard by the sterne, where (the shippe being great) wee had commodity to set them in a place couered ouer the head, but open on the side towards the prow, and this place was close at the other end, lying at the very doore of the Patrons cabbin, where he slept, and laid his priuate goods. And this place seemed to me very pleasant, and fit to rest in, since we were couered from raine; and the winds blew commonly vpon the sterne, while we were at sea, (for we sayled commonly with a fore wind, the winds being more constant in that sea; at set seasons of the yeere, then in our seas), and for the time of our abiding in Hauens, and otherwise in that calme sea, if the winds were contrary, yet in summer time; and in a clime so neere the *Æquinoctial* line, we could receiue no hurt, but rather pleasure by their coolnesse. Besides, being thus parted from the Mariners, we were free from lice, and all filthinesse, wherewith the French-men our consorts were much annoied; who slept vnder the hatches, and that the rather, because they wore woollen stockings, wee silke, (drawne ouer with linnen); and they slept in their apparell, we only in our doublets, and linnen breeches and stockings; which doublets of ours were lined with taffety, wherein lice cannot breed or harbour: so as howsoever I wore one and the same doublet till my returne into *England*, yet I found not the least vncleanlinesse therein. And giue me leaue to ioy in my good fortune, (as the common sort speake). Namely that the taffety lining of my doublet, being of greene colour, which colour none may weare vpon great danger, but onely they who are of the line and stocke of *Mahomet*, (of whom I could challenge no kindred), yet it hapened that by sleeping in my doublet

Anno 1596

let aswell by land as by sea, no Turke euer perceiued this myerrour. Neither did I vnderstand by any Christian, no not by our English Merchants at *Haleppo*, in what danger I was for the same, till I came to *Constantinople*, where our English Ambassadour told mee of the strict Law forbidding the vse of this colour; and that a poore Christian some few dayes before had been beaten with cudgels at *Constantinople*, and was hardly kept from being killed, because ignorantly he wore a paire of Greene shoo-strings. Whereupon I was yet in feare when all danger was almost past, yet would I not cast off my doublet, but onely more warily kept the lining from sight, till I entered the Greeke ship wherein I passed thence to *Venice*, and so was free from all danger.

I returne to my purpose. The Patron of our ship (as I said) returned to *Venice*; but we staid in the ship, to dispose all our prouisions fitly for the iourney. The next day, being the twentieth of Aprill (after the new stile), the Patron, Scriuano, and all the Merchants came aboard, and the following night being cleere, our ship was drawne out of *Malamocco* the Venetian Hauen, by little boats fastened to the ship by ropes, and making their way with oares, (for great shippes vse no sayles to goe out of this Hauen.)

Aprill, Anno
no 1596.

Vpon Sunday the 21 of Aprill, in the yeere 1596, being thus put to sea, wee set saile with a faire winde. Then all falling on our knees, we prayed vnto God for a happy Voyage, kneeling about the hatches, but praying euery man priuately and silently to himselfe. Some write, that in the Ships of *Venice*, they vse to pray publikely in Latin euery day after the Roman fashion, and some dayes to celebrate Masses: but in this our ship the Patron and most of the Marriners were Greekes, and onely the Scriuano (that is, Scribe) with some Merchants were Italians, and of the Roman Religion. Therefore euery day a Bell was rung at prayer time, but each man prayed priuately after his owne manner. There were besides in the ship many Easterne Christians, of diuers Sects and Nations, and Turkes, and Persians, yea, very Indians worshipping the Sunne, all which, at the ringing of this bell to prayer, went vnder the hatches. My selfe and my brother willingly prayed with them about the hatches, after the foresaid manner, whereof we thought no scruple of conscience to bee made, since Greekes prayed with vs, aswell as Italians and French, whose difference in Religion was well knowne to themselves, so as this our priuate prayer was voide of all dissimulation. And we were glad that no profession of our Religion was imposed vpon vs, in regard of our consorts, with whom we were to goe to *Ierusalem*, and of the Italians, who after our returne might perhaps meete vs in *Italy*.

Prayers being ended, they vsed a cerimony, which I liked well: for the sub-Patron giuing the signe with his siluer whistle, all the Marriners bareheaded, and turning their faces to the East, cryed with a loud voyce *Buon' viaggio, Buon' viaggio*, (that is, a good voyage), and the same signe giuen, did cease, and againe cried so threec times. Vpon Tuesday, the Patron with the Scriuano standing by him, stood vpon the Castle of the ship, and made a solemne Oration to the sub-Patron and the Marriners, standing vpon the lower hatches, whom he admonished how they should behaue themselves, and especially to refraine from swearing, blasphemy, and sodomie, vnder great penaltie. Then he wrote the names of the Marriners, and gaue euery man his charge. And lastly turning himselfe to the passengers, exhorted them to behaue themselves modestly.

And I must truly witnesse, that the Patron, the Scriuano, and the sub-patron, vsed all passengers courteously, yet so kept their grauitie, as they had due respect at all times, particularly at the Table, where they did first set downe, others expecting till they came, then the Friars did sit downe, and lastly the Lay-men in due order. Neither doe any sit or walke vpon the highest hatches, saue onely they who did eate at the Table of the Patron, but the rest and all the Easterne people (whom hee neuer admits to his Table) were on the middle Hatch, or at the Prow.

Vpon Wednesday in the morning, we did see vpon the shoare of *Italy*, the Mountaines of *Ancona*, which are two hundred Italian miles distant from *Venice*. Vpon

Thursday,

Thursday, the five and twentieth of Aprill, wee sailed by the Iland or Mountaine *Poma* (or *Pamo*), seated in the midst of the Gulfe of *Venice*, which was a high Rock, rising sharpe at the toppe, and uninhabited, where in the Autum they take Faulcons: and we sailed by the Iland Saint *Andrea*, (distant one hundred miles from *Ancona*) on the North side, and the shoare of *Italy* on the South side. And the same night wee sayled by the Iland *Ischa*, and the next morning being Friday, by the Ilands *Busa*, *Aulto*, *Catfa*, and towards the euening, by the Ilands *Cazola*, *Augusta*, and *Palaofa*: for in this Gulfe of *Venice* bee many Ilands, whereof the most are subiect to *Venice*, and the rest to *Raguza*, and other Lords, and some towards the North-shoare to the great Turke.

Heere great store of Dolphines followed our ship, and the voyce of the Mariners (as they vse to doe), and they playing about vs, did swimme as fast as if they had flowne. Then wee did see the Iland *Liozena*, being all of Mountaines, subiect to *Venice*, and inhabited by Gentlemen, where the Venetians had built a strong Fort vpon the Hauen for their Gallies. And after five miles wee did see the Iland *Curzola*, subiect to *Venice*, and hauing a Bishop. And the winde being high, wee cast anchor neere *Curzola*, but the winde soone falling, we set sayle againe.

From the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, to Thursday the second of May, the South-East winde (which the Italians call *Syrocco*) did blow very contrary vnto vs. The third of May being Friday, towards the euening, we were driuen vpon the Northerne shoare, and did see the Fort *Catara*, built on a Mountaine vpon the continent, against Turkish Pirates, and distant eightene miles from *Raguza*, the chiefe Citie of *Sclanonia*, which is free, yet payes tribute to the Venetians and Turks, their powerful neighbors. Not farre thence the Turks also had a Fort, built against the Venetians. *Raguza* is some one hundred miles distant from the Iland *Andrea*, and some foure hundred miles from *Venice*. *Raguza*

Vpon Saturday we sayled by the Promontorie of Saint *Mary* on the North side, and *Otranto* a Citie of *Apulia* in *Italy* on the South side, seeing them both plainely: for now we were passing out of the Gulfe of *Venice*, into the *Mediterranean* sea, by this Straight, some sixtie miles broad, and some two hundred miles distant from *Raguza*.

Here we did ouertake a ship of *Venice*, called *Ragazona*, and that we might enioy one anothers company, the Sea being calme for the time, our ship being the lesse (yet of some nine hundred Tunnes), was fastned to the Sterne of the other ship by a Cable, and towards the euening vpon the Greeke shore towards the North, wee did see *Vallona*.

Now we were come forth of the *Adriatique* Sea, otherwise called the Gulfe of *Venice*, which hath in length some sixe hundred Italian miles, and the breadth is diuers, sometimes two hundred miles, sometimes lesse, betweene *Ancona* and the opposite Hauen *Valdagosta* seuentie miles, and in the Straight we now passed sixtie miles broad. On Sunday the fifth of May we did see the Mountaine *Fanon*, (and as I remember an Iland) three miles distant from the Iland *Corfu*, and vpon the Greeke shoare beyond the Iland, we did see the most high Mountaines called *Chimera*, inhabited by the Albanesi, who neither subiect to the Turkes nor Venetians, nor any other, doe vpon occasion rob all; and the Venetians, and the Kings of *France*, and especially of *Spain*, vse to hire them in their warres. The sixth of May wee sayled by the Promontory, called the Cape of *Corfu* (the description of which Iland I will deferre till my returne this way.) On Tuesday the seuenth of May, wee sailed by the Iland *Paro* verie neere vs, and the Iland Saint *Maura* ioyned by a bridge to the continent of *Epirus*, and subiect to the Turkes, and the Iland *Ithaca* (vulgarly called by the Italians *Compare*) also subiect to the Turkes, and famous for their King *Vlysses*, and some foure miles distant from the Iland *Cephalonia*, which towards euening wee did see, being distant some one hundred miles from *Corfu*.

On Wednesday early in the morning, wee entered a narrow Sea, some two miles broad, hauing *Cephalonia* the lesse on the North side, and the greater *Cephalonia* on the South side, and wee cast anchor neere a desert Rocke (where of old there was

an Vniuersitie), and many of vs, in our boat (sent with Mariners to cut wood, and take fresh water), did go on land in the greater *Cepholania*, to refresh our selues, and to wash our bodies in the Sea water: but wee durst not goe farre from our Marriners, lest the inhabitants of those woodie Mountaines should offer vs violence. Both the Ilands are subiect to *Venice*, and abound with wines and small Currends, and in time of warre the Inhabitants retire to a Fort, built there by the Venetians, to be safe from the Turks. The Venetians euery third yeere chuse some of their Gentlemen, to be sent hether for Gouvernour and Officers.

The same Wednesday the eight of May, towards the euening, we set saile, and before darke night passed by the Promontary, called the Cape of *Cepholania*, and did see on the North side the Ilands *Corfolari* some ten miles distant, where the Nauy of the Pope, King of *Spaine*, and *Venetians* confederate, hauing *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, base brother to King *Phillip* of *Spaine* for their Generall, obtained a noble Victorie in the yeere 1571 against the Nauy of the *Turkes*, the Christians hiding there many of their Gallies, that the *Turkes* comming out of the Gulfe of *Corinth* (now called the Gulfe of *Lepanto*) might despise their number, and so be more easily drawne to fight. In the mouth of the said Gulfe, vpon the West shoare, is the Castle of *Toran* (or *Torneze*) seated in *Peloponesus*, a Prouince of *Greece*, which the *Turkes* call *Morea*, and in the bottom of the Gulfe, *Petrasso* is seated in the same Prouince, and *Lepanto* in the Prouince of *Achaia*, and of these Citie this Gulfe of *Corinth*, is in these dayes called sometimes the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, sometimes the Gulfe of *Petrasso*. In the Citie of *Petrasso* the English Merchants liue, hauing their Consull, and they trafficke especially for Currands of *Corinth*. Neere *Cepholania* great store of Dolphins did againe swimme about our ship (which they say doe foretell, that the winde will blow from that quarter, whether they swimme, and the same daie in the maine Sea, greater Dolphins, and in greater number, did play about our ship.

Zante.

On Thursday in the morning we did leaue on the South side the Iland *Zante*, subiect to the Venetians, and seuentie miles distant from *Cepholania* (the description of which Iland I deferre to my returne this way), and so we sailed close by the shoare of *Peloponesus* (or *Morea*) on the North side.

Peloponesus is almost an Iland, ioyned on the North side to *Achaia* by a narrow neck of land, which many of old haue attempted to cut, and to make that Prouince an Iland, and it containeth large Counties or Territories of *Greece*: Wee sayling along the South side of this Prouince, did see the Citie, *Coron*, *Modon*, and *Nauarin*, and somewhat lower towards the South, was a little Iland called *Striualli*, which is barren and inhabited by Grecian Monks called *Caloiri*, who came out to vs in a boat to begge almes, and the Patron of our ship in honour of our Lady (or Virgin *Marie*) of *Striualli*, saluted the Iland with some pieces of Ordinance. Vpon Friday the tenth of May we sailed by the foresaid City *Modon*, seated in *Greece*, and one hundred miles distant from the Iland *Zante*. The eleuenth day in the morning we sailed by the Promontory called the Cape of *Modon*, and within sixe howers sailing, were out of the sight of any part of *Morea*.

Candia.

But in the euening we came to the Cape of *S. Iohn* the first Promontory of the Iland *Candia*, distant some one hundred and fifty miles, (I alwaies vnderstand Italian miles, being now amongst the Italians) from *Modon*, the foresaid Citie of *Morea*, and these high Mountaines of *Candia* were yet couered on the top with snow. We sayled on the South side of *Candia*, and towards euening passed by the middle part of the Iland, and the thirteenth day by nine of the clock in the morning, wee sailed by the Cape of *Salomon*, being towards the East the furthest part of *Candia*, (the description of which Iland I deferre to my comming backe that way.)

At this time our Marriners, aswell Greekes as Italians, were greatly offended with one of our French Consorts, a Lay man, because at dinner time, according to the negligent fashion of the French, he turned the cleane side of his trencher vpward: for of all men the Marriners, and of all Marriners the Greekes and Italians are most superstitious; and if any thing in the ship chance to be turned vp-side downe, they take it for

an ill signe, as if the ship should be ouerwhelmed. Otherwise I neuer obserued, that either the chiefe or inferour Mariners euer vsed the least disrespect to any passenger, being rather louing and familiar to them in conuersation. And I remember that my brother *Henry* vsing to walke vpon the highest hatches, the Patron, and Scriuano, and others, did with smiling obserue his fast walking and melancholy humour, yet howsoeuer it was troublesome to them, did onely once, and that curteously reprove him, or rather desire him that he would haue respect to the Mariners, who watched al night for the publike safety, and were then sleeping vnder the hatches. Alwaies vnderstand that a man may not bee so bold in another mans house as in his owne, and may yet lesse be bold in a ship of strangers; and that an vnknowne passenger must of all other be most respectiue. And whereas Mariners are held by some to be theeuish, surely in the Hauen at the iournies end, (where theeuers easily find receiuers), it is good to be wary in keeping that belongs to you: but at sea no place is more safe then a shippe, where the things stolne, are easily found, and the offenders seuerely punished.

On Sunday the nineteenth of May, we came to the first Promontory of the Iland *Cyprus*, towards the West, and after eight houres sayling, we came to the old City *Paphos* (or *Paphia*), now called *Baffo*, and the wind failing vs, and gently breathing vpon this Castle of *Venus*, we houred here all the next night, gaining little or nothing on our way. This place is most pleasant, with fruitfull hils, and was of old consecrated to the Goddesse *Venus*, Queené of this Iland; and they say that Adamants are found here, which skilfull Iewellers repute almost as precious as the Orientall. A mile from this place is the Caue, wherein they faigne the seuen sleepers to haue slept, I know not how many hundred yeeres. The twenty one of May towards the euening, we entred the Port of *Cyprus*, called *Le Saline*, & the two & twentieth day obtaining licence of the Turkish Cady to goe on land, we lodged in the Village *Larnica*, within a Monastery of European Friars. Here some of vs being to saile to *Ioppa*, and thence to goe by land to *Ierusalem*, did leaue the Venetian ship, which sailed forward to *Scanderona*. The Turkes did conquer the Iland *Cyprus* from the Venetians, in the yeere 1570, and to this day possesse it, the chiefe Cities whereof are *Nicosia*, (seated in the midst of the Iland) and *Famogosta* (seated in the furthest part of the Iland towards the East). The Turkish *Basba*, or Gouvernour, vseth to chuse *Famogosta* for his seate, (though *Nicosia* be the fairer City), because it hath a good Hauen, and a most strong Fort, which the Venetians built. The Iland lieth two hundred & forty miles in length from the west to the East, and hath some eighty miles in bredth, & six hundred miles in compasse. This Iland is said to be distant some foure hundred miles from the Iland of *Candia*, (which is some two hundred and thirty miles long: but I speake of the next Promontories in both of them), and from *Venice* some two thousand two hundred and twenty miles; from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, some foure hundred and fifty miles, from *Alexandretta* (at this day called *Scanderona*), the Hauen of *Caramania*, eighty miles, from *Tripoli* of *Syria*, ninety miles; and from *Ioppa* a Hauen in *Palestina*, about two hundred and fifty miles, speaking of the vttermoost Promontories on all sides.

This Iland yeeldeth to no place in fruitfulness or pleasure, being enriched with Corne, Oile, Cheese, most sweet Porkes, Sheepe, (hauing tailes that weigh more then twenty pound) Capers (growing vpon pricking bushes) Pomegranats, Oranges, and like fruites; Canes or Reedes of sugar, (which they beat in mills, drawing out a water which they seeth to make sugar); with rich wines, (but gnawing or burning the stomacke) odoriferous Cipres trees, (whereof they make fiers,) store of Cotton, and many other blessings of nature. Neere the Promontory *Del Gatto*, so called of Cats that vse to kill Serpents, they take Falcons, which Hawkes the Gouvernours are commanded to send to *Constantinople*. They sowe corne in the moneth of October, and reape it in Aprill. I know not how it comes to passe, that in this Iland of *Venus*, all fruites taste of salt, which *Venus* loued well. And I thought that this was onely proper to the place at which we landed, where they make salt, till many Ilanders affirmed to me, that the very earth, the sweet hearbs, the beasts feeding there, and the fountaines of waters, had a naturall saltnes. The houses are built after the manner of *Asia*, of a little stone,

stone, one rooffe high, and plaine in the top, which is plastered, and there they eate and sleepe in the open aire.

By the assistance of a Venetian Merchant, seuen of vs hired a ship of a Greeke dwelling in *Cyprus*, for twenty eight zechines to *Ioppa* (now called *Iaffa*, or *Giaffa*), with condition that he should stay at *Ioppa* fiftene dayes to expect our returne from *Ierusalem*, and should thence carry vs to *Tripoli* in *Syria*. The most part of these zechines wee left in the hand of the Venetian Merchant, to be deliuered to the Master of this ship at his returne, if he brought our testimonie vnder our hands, that hee had performed all couenants with vs: for wee also conditioned with him, that hee should stay longer then fiftene dayes at *Ioppa* (if neede were) for our returne, we paying him a zechine for euery day aboue fiftene, which he should stay there for vs. We might haue hired a ship or Barke for ten zechines directly to *Ioppa*, without these conditions of staying there, and carrying vs to *Tripoli*. And because the Turkish Gouvernors of Cities vse to impose great tributes vpon Christians driuen into their Hauens, & somtimes by tricks of fraude to bring them in danger of life, onely to spoile them of their money, some of our Consorts would haue added another condition, that the Master should not carrie vs to any Port, but that of *Ioppa*, had not the rest iudged it vnreasonable, to tie him for performance of that, which was onely in the power of God, according to the windes, which might force him to take harbor. My selfe did familiarly know an English Gentleman, who shortly after comming to *Scanderona*, and there taking ship to passe by this shoare to *Ioppa*, and so to *Ierusalem*, if an honest man had not forewarned him, had by the treason of a *Ianizarc* in the way bin sold for a slaue to the inland Turks, whence he was like neuer to be redeemed, being farre remoued from Christians, who onely trade vpon the Coasts. And he was so terrified with this danger, as he returned into *England* without seeing *Ierusalem*, to which he had then a short iourney, only carrying with him a counterfet testimonie and seale that he had been there, because he had put out much money vpon his returne.

I formerly said, that we lodged at *Cyprus* in a Monastery, whence being now to depart, the Friers of our company, and also the Lay-men, gaue each of vs eight lires of *Venice* to the Guardian of the Monastery, and one lire to the Frier that attended vs, in the name of gift or almes, but indeede for three dayes lodging and dyet.

Vpon Friday the twentie foure of May, we seuen Consorts (namely, two Franciscan Friers, one Erimitan Frier, and two Lay men, all Frenchmen, and my selfe and my brother) hired a boat in the Hauen for foure lires of *Venice*, to carrie vs to the *Cyprian* Barke we had hired, and we carried with vs for our food, a cheese costing foure Aspers, a Iarre of Oyle costing sixe Aspers, and a vessell of Wine (called *Cuso*, somewhat bigger then an English barrell, and full of rich Wine, but such as fretted our very intrals) costing one Zechine, and foure soldi of *Venice*, and two Turkish aspers; and egges costing twenty three aspers, beside Bisket which we brought out of the Greeke ship. In twilight (for the nights vse not here to be darke) we set saile, and were forced to goe backe towards the West, along the shoare of *Cyprus*, to the Promontory called *Capo di Gatti*, that is, the Cape of Cats, that we might from thence (according to the Marriners experience) fetch a faire winde. So we sailed that euening thirtie miles (of *Italy* I meane) and the next day twentie miles to a Village of *Cyprus* called *Lemisso* (where Christians ships vse to put in.) Here we cast anchor, & all the six & twentie day of May expected a winde, which we got at midnight following. *Ioppa* is no more then two hundred fiftie miles from *Cyprus*, and may easily be run in two nights and a daies saile with a faire winde, yet howsoeuer the wind was most fauourable to vs, wee could see no land till Wednesday the twenty nine of May, at which time we found our selues by the ignorance of the Marriners to be vpon the Coast of Egypt, neere the Citie *Damiata*, which we might see seated vpon the banke of *Nilus*, and they said it was some fixe miles from the Sea. Now our Marriners seeing the shoare, knew better to direct our sayling, and the night following we lay at anchor neere this shoare. Vpon Thursday we coasted the land of the Philistines, and first did plainely see the Citie *Gaza*, and after thirtie miles sayle the Citie *Ascolon*, neere which we cast anchor for that night.

Vpon

Vpon Friday being the last of May, after two miles saile, we entered the Hauen of *Ioppa*. From hence we sent a messenger hired for fourteene meidines, to the Subasha *Ioppas* of *Ramma*, intreating him that he would giue vs leaue to passe to *Ierusalem*, and send vs a souldier to protect vs. The foresaid shore of the Philistines, seemed to be a wild narrow and sandy plaine, neere the sea, with mountaines pleasant and fruitfull, towards the East vpon *Palestine*. The City of *Ioppa*, mentioned in the scriptures, had some ruines of wals standing, which shewed the old circuit thereof, but had not so much as any ruines of houses; onely we did see the exactors of tribute come out of two ruinous Towers, and some ragged Arabians and Turkes, lying (with their goods) within certaine caues, who also slept there, or in the open aire. These goods are daily carried hither and from hence, vpon the backs of Cammels, whereof we might see many droues laded both come and goe. For this cause we would not land, but thought better to lie in our shippe, especially since the place afforded no entertainment for strangers, and our Mariners brought vs egges and fruites, and we had with vs wine and bisket, which notwithstanding we did hide, lest the Arabians or Turkes should take it from vs, if they came to our Barke. The Hauen is of little compasse, but safe for small Barks, and was of old compassed with a bricke wall, the ruines whereof still defend it from the waues of the sea. The situation of *Ioppa* is pleasant, vpon a hill declining towards the sea, and the fields are fertile, but were then vntilled. Here the Prophet *Ionas* did take ship, as it were to flie from God, and the *Machabei* (as appeares in the first booke and twelfth chapter) here burnt the ships: and the Apostle *Peter* lodging in the house of *Simon*, was taught the conuersion of the Gentiles by a vision; and here he raised vp *Tabitha* from death, as the Holy Scriptures witnes.

Vpon Munday the third of Iune, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the Subasha of *Ramma* sent vs a Horseman or Lancyer to guide vs, and with him came the Atalla, (that is, interpreter, whom the Italians call *Drogomano*, who was a Maronite Christian, that vsed to guide strangers). They brought vs Asses to ride vpon, (which they vse there in stead of Horses, excepting onely the souldiers), and with them came a Muccaro (so they call those that hier out Asses, Mules, or Cammels). We presently landed about noone, and when my brother leaped vpon land, and according to the manner, bended downe to kisse it, by chance he fell, and voided much blood at the nose: and howsoeuer this be a superstitious signe of ill, yet the euent was to vs tragically, by his death shortly after happening. Here for our carriage (namely our shirts, for the rest we had left in the Barke;) we iointly paid fise meydines for casar, (that is Tribute) and the Officers of *Ioppa* extorted from each of vs for his person, halfe a Spanishe Reale, neither would they be pleased, till each of vs gaue them two meydines in gift. Then we iointly gaue sixe meydines to our Muccaro for his dinner, and fise of free gift. Our Asses had pannels in stead of saddles, ropes for bridles, and ropes laid crosse the pannels, and knotted at the ends in stead of stirrups. The same Monday in the afternoone, we rode ten miles to *Ramma*, through a most pleasant plaine, yeelding time and hysope, and other fragrant herbes, without tillage or planting, growing so high, as they came to the knees of our Asses. By the way on our left hand, not farre out of the high way, lay the ruines of the City *Lydda*, where Saint *Peter* cured one sicke of *Lydda* the palsie; and Saint *George* is said to haue suffered martyrdom, and that his head is yet kept in a Greeke Church. We also passed by a Village, hauing a moschee or Turkish Church, and being full of pleasant Orchards of Figge-trees, Oliue-trees, Pomegranates, (bearing buds of flesh colour, and being like a Barbery tree, by little and little couered with a greene rinde) and many kinds of fruites; the abundance whereof in these parts, we might easily guesse, when wee bought in the Port of *Ioppa* more then a thousand Abricots for six Aspers, at which time, lest we should surfet on such dainties, (the vntemperate eating whereof we had read to haue often killed many Europeans) we durst not eate them raw, but sod the most part of them. Now vpon the third of Iune they had almost gathered in their Haruest, and all the fields were full of Cotten, growing like Cabbage two foote high, and yeelding a round Apple, out of which they gather the Cotten. This Cotten is sowed in Aprill, and gathered in September,

Ramma.

tember, and great quantity thereof is carried from hence into *Europe*.

At *Ramma* we were brought into a house, where Pilgrimes vse to be lodged, and it was of old great & strong, but at this time more fit to lodge beasts then men. Some say it was the House of *Ioseph* of *Arimathia*; others say it was *Nicodemus* his house, and there was a fountaine of water; and a Court yard to walke in, but the roomes were full of dust, and we hardly got straw to lie vpon. There were yet some marbles and ruines of building, that shewed it to haue beene a faire house. The Maronite Christians brought vs victuals, and they sold vs a pound of bisket for sixe meidines, twelue eggs for one meidine, a Cheese for one, Rice for two, some two English quarts of wine for five, a salet for one, and twelue Cakes, (they hauing no leauened bread) for foure meidines. We that were Lay-men gaue each of vs sixe Zechines, and each of the Friars five, into the hands of our Interpreter, to be given to the Subasha for tribute, or rather for our safe conduct. I know that fauour is done to Friars, especially by these Ministers belonging to Monasteries, and we committed the ordering of our expences to one of the Franciscan Friars, who had best experience, so as it may be the Interpreter restored to the Friars their money, or part of it: but I am sure these my eies did see them pay so much. One in the name of the Subasha, brought vs for a present some flaggons of a medicinall drinke, made of cooling hearbes, and sold in the Tauernes, as we sell wine. We iointly gaue five meidines to a watch-man, appointed to keepe our doore, and protect vs from wrong, who being a man of very great stature, was called *Goliath*, and he walked all night at our gate, where he did sing or rather houle with his hoarse voice continually. Some write that there is onely due, one Zechine to the Subasha, another to the Captaine of the Arabians, and twenty five meidines for Casar (or Tribute), and halfe a Zechine to the Muccaro, who let out their Asses to Pilgrimes, and that the guide deceiues the Christians of all the rest. I am sure that the guide being of experience, deliuers the Christians from many iniuries offered them by the Arabians and others, for which fauour they cannot sufficiently require him; and if any deales sparingly with him, he complains of them to the Guardian of the Monastery at *Ierusalem*, who neuer suffers him to be sent away discontented, neither wants he power himselfe to deceiue the Christians at his pleasure, if he beare that mind. At *Ramma* we iointly gaue one Zechine to our Muccaro, of whom we hired our Asses.

The house of
the good
thiefe.

And the fourth of *Iune*, hauing him onely to conduct vs, we tooke our iourney before day towards *Ierusalem*, being thirty miles distant, (I meane of *Italy*). As we rode before day, our Muccaro warned vs to be silent, lest we should waken the Arabians, Turkes, or Theeues, who then slept, and were like if they awaked to offer vs violence, or at least to extort some money from vs. The Arabians are not vnlike the wild Irish, for they are subiect to the great Turke, yet being poore and farre distant from his imperiall seat, they cannot be brought to due obedience, much lesse to abstaine from robberies. After we had rode ten miles, we did see vpon a hill not farre distant, on our right hand, the ruines of the House (or Pallace) of the good Thiefe crucified with our Saviour, which ruines yet remaine, and shew that the house was of old stately built; as if he had beene a man of some dignity, banished for robbing of passengers: and when he was brought to the Magistrates hand, had beene condemned to death for the same. From hence to the very City of *Ierusalem*, the Mountaines or Rockes doe continually rise higher and higher, till you come to the City, our way hitherto hauing beene in a pleasant plaine, rich in corne and pasture. These mountaines which we after passed, seemed stony and barren, but yeelded fragrant hearbes, and excellent corne growing betweene the great stones, and some vallies were pleasant, as the vally of *Eieromia*, (as I thinke the Prophet), where of old was built a stately Church, which as then stood little ruined; and neere it is a pleasant fountaine, where the passengers vse to drinke and to water their Asses. They say that the said Prophet was borne there, and that the place was of old called *Anatob*. I said that excellent corne growes betweene the great stones of these Mountaines or Rockes, neither are they destitute of Vines, and many fruites. In the said valley of *Hieromy*, certaine Arabians which seemed to be mowers of corne, flew vpon vs like fierce dogges, yet our Muccaro sent them away

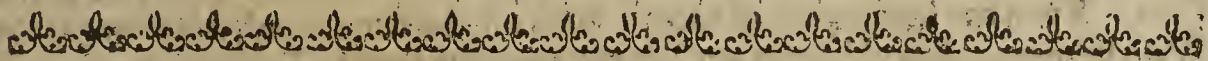
conteng

content with the gift of a bisket, and in like sort in another narrow passage of the mountaines, he paid some meidines for casar, which he neuer demanded of vs, being content with the money we had paid him at *Ramma*. Vpon a high Rocke we did see the ruines of the Castle *Modon*, where the Machabees were buried. Then we descended into the Valley of *Terebintho*, (so called of a Tree bearing a black fruit like an Olive, & yeelding a kind of oyle), where we passed ouer a Torrent by a bridge of stone, and this is the place famous for the victory of *Dauid* against *Goliath*.

Modon.

Dauid and Goliath.

We had now some two miles to *Ierusalem*, yet in the very Hauen, we wanted little of perishing. For it happened that a Spachi (or Horse-man vnder the great Turkes pay) riding swiftly, and crossing our way, suddenly turned towards vs, and with his speare in his rest, (for these horse-men carry speares & bucklers like *Amadis of Gaule*) he rushed vpon vs with all his might, and by the grace of God his speare lighting in the pannell of the Asses, neuer hurt the French-man his Rider, but he did much astonish both him and vs, till our Muccaro enquiring the cause of this violence, he said, why doe not these dogges light on foot to honour mee as I passe; which when we heard, and knew that we must here learne the vertue of the beasts on which we rode, we presently tumbled from our Asses, (for we had no other stirrups then knotted ropes), and bended our bodies to him. Neither did we therein basely, but very wisely: for woe be to that Christian who resists any Turke, especially a Souldier, and who beares not any iniury at their hands. We had but one mile to *Ierusalem*, when we did see large ruines (on this West side of the City) of an old City or Village. Somewhat after noone the fourth of Iune, we entered *Ierusalem* vpon the West side, at the Gate of *Ioppa*, (written *Iaffa*, *Giaffa*, and *Zaffa*, by diuers Nations). At this gate we staid, till two Friars came out of the Latine Monastery, and likewise the exactors of Tribute came to vs, and to them we paid each man two zechines for tribute due to the great Turke, or at least extorted from vs, which done, the two Friars being Italians, did lead vs to the Monastery of the Latines.



CHAP. II.

The description of the City of Ierusalem, and the territory thereof.



Am vnskillfull in Geography, and much more in the making of Mappes: but according to the faithfull view of my eyes, I will first draw the situation of *Ierusalem*, and after explaine it, as well as I can. And first I thinke good to professe, that by my iourney to this City, I had no thought to expiate any least sinne of mine; much lesse did I hope to merit any grace from God; but when I had once begun to visite forraigne parts, I was so stirred vp by emulation and curiosity, as I did neuer behold any without a kind of sweete enuy, who in this kind had dared more then my selfe. Thus affected, I thought no place more worthy to be viewed in the whole world, then this City, where howsoeuer I gaue all diuine worship to God, and thought none to be giuen to the places, yet I confesse that (through the grace of God) the very places stricke me with a religious horror, and filled my mind prepared to deuotion, with holy motions. In like sort I professe, that I will faithfullly relate the situation of the City, and the description of the monuments made to me by the Friars, making conscience not to adde or detract, but as neere as I can to vse their owne words. Yet doe I not my selfe beleue all the particulars I write vpon their report, neither doe I perswade any man to beleue them. But for many monuments, the scripture giues credit to them, and it is not probable in so great difference and emulation, (whereof I shall after speake) of Sects of Christians there abiding, and being most apt to note errors one in another, that any

Ierusalem.

T

appa-

apparant fictions could be admitted: as on the contrary, it is most certaine, that some superstitious inuentions (wherewith all the sectes are more or lesse infected) haue in time obtained, to be reputed true, and religiously to be beleued. Howsoeuer he that conferres the situation of the City and of the monuments, with the holy Scriptures, and with the old ruines of *Rome*, and other Cities, shall easily discern what things are necessarily true or false, and what are more or lesse probable.

And it will notoriously appeare, that the Citie is now seated in the same place, in which it flourished when our Sauour liued there in the flesh. Neither let any man object to me the prophecies of the fatall and irreparable ruine thereof, which all Diuines vnderstand of the Temple to be vtterly demolished; and for my part, I would rather admit (if necessitie require) any figuratiue speech; then I would bee so wicked or so blockish, as not to beleue the holy Scriptures, or that which I did see with these eyes. Vpon the West side, the Citie could neuer haue been more enlarged then now it is, since Mount *Caluerie* (without all doubt) was of old without the walles, which now is inclosed within them, so as rather it appeares the Citie hath been so much enlarged on that side. In like sort on the East side, the Citie is so compassed with the Valley of *Iehosephat*, and the famous Mount *Oliuet*, as it appeares the City could not that way haue been larger then now it is. On the North side I did neuer reade nor heare any, that described this Citie to haue been larger then now it is, yet in respect of huge ruines still remaining there, vpon a large Plaine of the highest part of the Citie, if any should confidently affirme that they belonged to the old Citie, for my part I could not gaine-say it. From the Plaine of this highest part of the Citie it declines by little and little (if you except some little Hilles within the walles) from the North to the East (where the Temple of *Salomon* is seated vpon the lowest part of Mount *Moriah*) and likewise it declines from the North to the South Gates, whereof the one is called *Sterquilinea*, of the filth there carried out, the other *Presentationis*, because the Virgin *Mary* entered there, when she presented Christ to the Priest in the Temple, which gates (as the whole Citie) are seated vpon Mountaines, yet lower then any other part of the Citie. Vpon the higher part of Mount *Sion*, on the same South side towards the West, lie many ruines of houses, and it is most certaine, that the Tower of *Dauid*, and other famous houses there, which are now without the walles, were of old inclosed within them, and that the City extended somewhat further towards the South, then now it doth. Yet the Hill of *Sion* is so compassed with knowne Vallies, and those Vallies with high Mountaines, as this extent could not be great.

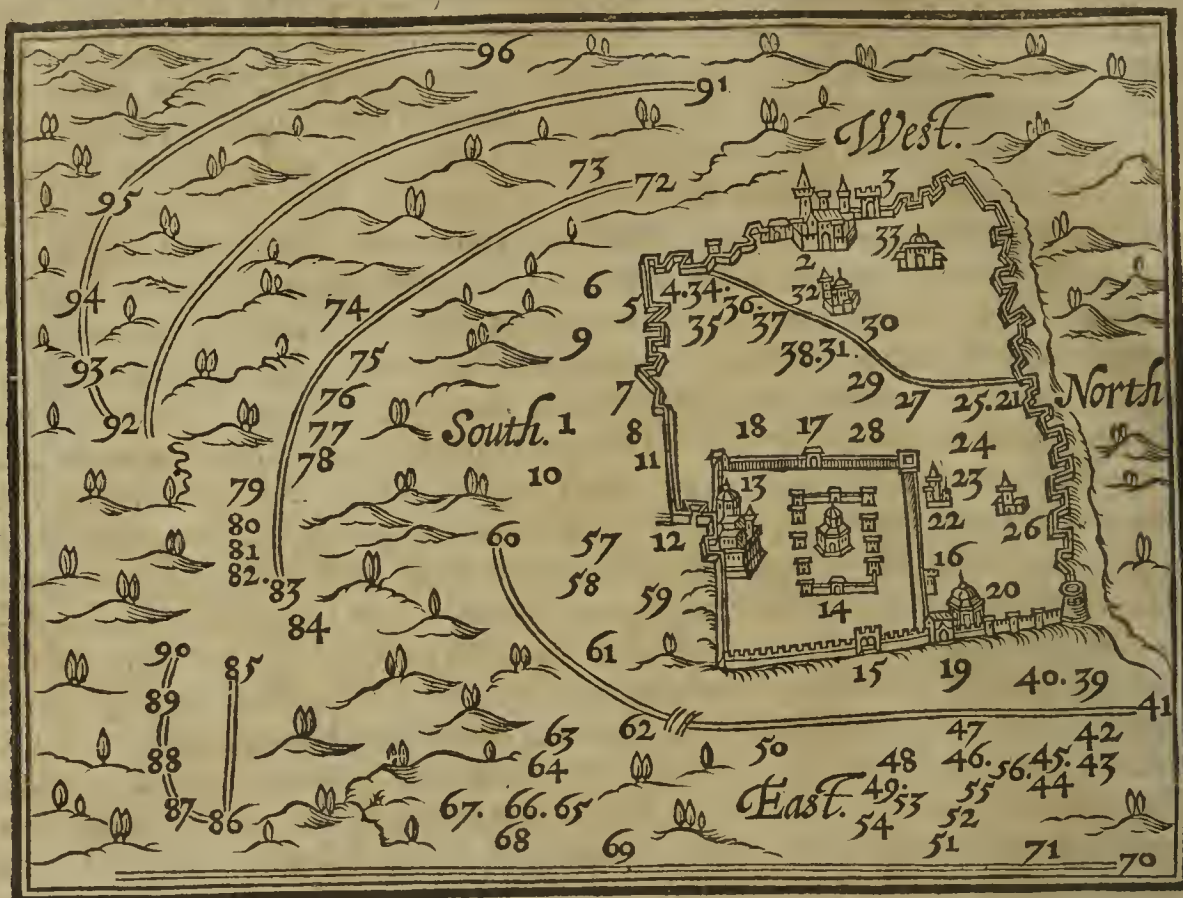
Ierusalem was of old called *Moria* (where they write that *Adam* was created of red earth), & is seated vpon Mount *Moriah*, vpon the top wherof towards the North-west is Mount *Caluery* (where they say that *Abraham* was ready to sacrifice his sonne *Isaac*, and where without doubt our Sauour Christ suffered), and in the lowest part of this Mountaine, the Temple of *Salomon* was seated. The Citie was after called *Salem*, and thirdly, *Iebus*, and fourthly *Ierusalem*, and at this day the Turkes haue named it *Chutz*. It is compassed with stately walles (the like whereof I did neuer see) of red and blacke stone more then an Elle long, and about halfe an Elle broad. I call them stately, for the antiquitie, wherein for the most part they much excell the Roman walles. I numbred seuen Gates. The first of *Damasco*, (of old called the Gate of *Ephraim*) on the North side. The second of Saint *Stephen* on the East side (which of old had the name of the beasts for sacrifice brought in that way.) The third the golden Gate, also on the East side (which at this day is shut and bricked vp.) The fourth the Gate of presentation on the South-side, leading into the Temple of *Salomon*, but at this day shut vp. The fifth *Sterquilinea* also on the South side, so called of the filth there carried out. The sixth, the Gate of *Syon* also on the South side, neare that part of Mount *Syon*, which at this day is without the walles, but this Gate hath been newly built. The seuenth of *Ioppa* towards the West also newly built. In generall, the Gates are nothing lesse then fortified, only as it were to terrifie the Christians, who enter at the Gate of *Ioppa*, they haue braggingly fortified the same, and planted great Ordinance vpon it. And howsoeuer the Citie seemes strong enough against sudden tumults, yet it is no way able to hold

hold out against a Christian Army well furnished, neither doe the Turkes trust to their Forts, but to their forces in field.

The houses here, and in all parts of *Asia* that I haue scene, are built of Flint stone, very low, onely one storie high, the top whereof is plaine, and plastered, and hath battlements almost a yard high, and in the day time they hide themselves within the chamber vnder this plastered floare from the Sunne, and after Sunne-set, walke, eate, and sleepe, vpon the said plastered floare, where as they walke, each one may see, their neighbours sleeping in bed, or eating at table. But as in the heate of the day, they can scarce indure to weare linnen hose, so when the Syren or dew falls at night, they keepe themselves within dores till it be dried vp, or else sling some garment ouer their heads. And with this dew of the night all the fields are moistened, the falling of raine being very rare in these parts towards the Equinoctiall line, and in this place particularly happening onely about the month of October, about which time it falles sometimes with great force by whole pales full. The houses neare the Temple of *Salomon*, are built with arches into the streete, vnder which they walke drie, and couered from the Sunne, as likewise the houses are built in that sort, in that part of the Citie, where they shew the house of *Herod*, in both which places the way on both sides the streete is raised for those that walke on foote, lying low in the midst for the passage of laded Ases. In other parts the Citie lies vninhabited, there being onely Monasteries of diuers Christian Sects, with their Gardens. And by reason of these waste places, and heapes of Flint lying at the dores of the houses, and the low building of them, some streetes seeme rather ruines then dwelling houses, to him that lookes on them neere hand. But to them who behold the Citie from eminent places, and especially from the most pleasant Mount *Oliuet* (abounding with Oliues, and the highest of all the Mountaines), the prospect of the Citie, and more specially of the Churches and Monasteries (which are built with elevated Globes couered with brasse, or such glistering mettall) promisseth much more beauty of the whole Citie to the beholders eyes, then indeed it hath. The circuit of the walles containeth some two or three Italian miles.

All the Citizens are either Tailors, Shoemakers, Cookes, or Smiths (which Smiths make their keyes and lockes not of Iron, but of wood), and in generall poore rascall people, mingled of the scumme of diuers Nations, partly Arabians, partly Moores, partly the basest inhabitants of neighbour Countries, by which kind of people all the adioyning Territorie is likewise inhabited. The Iewes in *Turky* are distinguished from others by red hats, and being practicall, doe liue for the most part vpon the sea-coasts, and few or none of them come to this Citie, inhabited by Christians that hate them, and which should haue no traffique, if the Christian Monasteries were taken away. Finally, the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* at this day are as wicked, as they were when they crucified our Lord, gladly taking all occasions to vse Christians despitefully. They esteemed vs Princes, because wee wore gloues, and brought with vs shirts, and like necessaries, though otherwise we were most poorely appareled, yet when we went to see the monuments, they sent out their boyes to scorne vs, who leaped vpon our backs from the higher parts of the streete, we passing in the lower part, and snatched from vs our hats and other things, while their fathers were no lesse ready to doe vs all iniuries, which we were forced to beare silently and with incredible patience. Hence it was that *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, being sicke, and carried into *Ierusalem* vpon the backs of like rascalls, when he met by the way a friend, who then was returning into *Europe*, desiring to know what hee would command him to his friends, hee earnestly intreated him to tell them, that he saw Duke *Robert* caried into heauen vpon the backs of *Diuels*.

The description of the Citie and the Territorie.



Now followes the explication of the Citie described: and first the small Line drawne within the present walles on the West side of the Citie, shewes the old walles thereof, before Mount *Caluery* was inclosed within the walles by the Christian Kings, for now there remaine no ruines of the old walles, this line being onely imaginative.

(1) Mount *Sion* without the walles, for part of it is yet inclosed with them.

(2) The faire Castle, which was built by the Pisans of *Italy*, while yet they were a free State, and the building is not vnlike to the Italian Castles. It was now kept by a Turkish Agha and Garrison, hauing great store of short Iron Ordinance of a huge boare, lying at the Gate for terrour of the people. I remember that when wee walked (after Sunne-set) vpon the top of the *Latine* Monastery (as those of *Asia* walke vpon their houses), this Agha sent a souldier to vs, commanding vs to goe from beholding the Castle, or else he would shoote at vs, whom we presently obeyed. Thus they suspect Christians, and suffer them not to enter this Citie with Armes, but narrowly search their baggage.

(3) The Gate of *Ioppa* (*Zaffa*, or *Griaffa*) in some sort fortified, where for terrour to the Christians, they haue planted some Ordinance, for the other Gates haue none, neither are fortified at all, and all the Christians enter at this Gate.

(4) The Gate of Mount *Sion*, no whit fortified, and newly built (as it seemes) by the Turkes, as also that of *Ioppa* is.)

(5) The ruines of the house or Pallace of the High Priest *Caiphas*, where they shew a place with a pillar, vpon which the Cock crowed when *Peter* denied Christ; and a place where the fire was made, at which *Peter* warmed himselfe; and a tree in the place where he denied Christ; finally, a narrow prison, in which Christ was shut vntill the day brake, and so he was led to *Pilate*. And the Sect of the Armenian Christians keeps this monument.

(6) The old Monasterie of the Latine Christians, called *il Santo Cenacolo*, which the Turkes haue taken from the Christians, and turned to a Mahumetan Mosche or Church, and no Christian may enter this place, kept by the Santons or Turkish Priests, except he will giue an vnreasonable reward, which giuen, yet he is not free from danger,

danger, if other Turkes see him enter. Here Christ did wash his Apostles feet, did eate his last Supper with them, did appeare to them after his Resurrection, the doores being shut, and againe after eight dayes appeared to *Thomas* doubting. Here the holy Ghost descended vpon the Apostles, and the Apostle *Matthew* was chosen by lot. The Italian Monastery (noted with the figure 33) hath all these representations painted, and to these pictures the Pope hath giuen as large indulgences for Papists, as if they had seene the other places, from which the Turkes keepe them as vnwashed dogges. The Sepulcher of *Dauid* is not farre from this place, kept by the Turkes, forbidding entrie to the Christians. And here they shew the ruines of the Tower of *Dauid*, or of his Pallace, on the South side of the Church-yard giuen to Christians of *Europe* for buriall, in the same place where *Dauid* of old droue out the Iebuzites. In like sort on the South side of this old Monastery, is the place where they say the Virgin *Mary* died. (7) Here they shew a place where the Iewes strove in vaine to take the body of the Virgin *Mary* from the hands of the Apostles, as they carried it to be buried in the Valley of *Iehosaphat*.

(8) The Caue wherein they say *Peter* vsed to bewaile the denying of Christ.

(9) Here they say the Apostles hid themselves, whilst Christ suffered on the Crosse.

(10) Here they shew the field *Acheldamus*, bought by the Iewes for a buriall place, with the thirtie pence *Iudas* brought back to them. And here looking into a huge caue of the Mountaine, we did see infinite whole bodies imbalmed of dead men, and standing vpright. And this place is giuen for buriall to the Christians of *Asia*.

(11) the Gate *Sterquilinea*, at which the filth of the Citie is carried out, and cast into the Brooke *Cedron*. And Christ betraied by *Iudas*, was brought into the Citie by this Gate (as they say), which Gate is old, and nothing lesse then fortified.

(12) The Gate by which the Virgin *Marie* entring into the outer Temple, is said to haue offered Christ then an Infant to the hands of *Simion*, which Gate they say, in honour of our Redeemer, was shut vp by the Christian Kings, and so remaines to this day. (13) The outer Temple where they say Christ was exhibited to *Simion*, and the Italians call it the Temple of the Presentation.

(14) In this large circuit compassed all with walles, of old the Temple of *Salomon* stood. At this day it was ouer-growne with grasse, and in the middest thereof the Turkes had a Mosche for their wicked worship of *Mahomet*, neither may any Christian come within this circuit, much lesse into the Mosche, either being a capitall offence, which they say some curious Christians had tried with losse of life, after they had been drawne to enter into it by some Turkes vaine promises.

(15) The golden Gate at which Christ entered on Palme-Sunday, shut vp by the Christian Kings, and so remaining.

(16) *Probatica Piscina* without the Gate of the Temple, where the Angell troubling the waters, the first diseased man that entred them was healed. It was at this time dried vp.

(17) The beautifull Gate where *Peter* and *Iohn* made the man walke, who was lame from his mothers wombe.

(18) *Salomons* house, of old hauing a Gate leading into the Temple, and it is now inhabited by the Turkish Cady, who hath an Episcopall office. Here I did see pleasant Fountaines of waters, and did looke into the circuit where the Temple stood, through an Iron grate, when the said Magistrate called vs before him. And I remember we were bidden put off our shooes before we entred in to him, where hee sat vpon a Carpet spread vpon the ground, with his legges crossed like a Tailor, and his shooes of (as the Turkes vse.)

(19) This Gate of old had the name of the Droues of cattell brought in for sacrifices: but at this day is called the Gate of Saint *Stephen*, because the Iewes drew out that Protomartyr by this Gate, and so stoned him.

(20) Heere they say was the house of *Anna*, wherein shee bare the Virgin *Marie*.

(21) The Gate of *Damasco*, of old called the Gate of *Ephraim*.

(22) The house of *Pontius Pilate*, in which the Turkish Sangiaco (who is the military Gouvernour of the City and Prouince) did then dwell, so as no Christian might come into the house without giuing a reward. The Fryars say that in this house are heard noises, whippings, and lighes, nightly to this very time, and each man the more superstitious he is, the more incredible things he tels thereof. They say that the staires vpon which Christ ascended, when he was brought to *Pilate*, were long since carried to *Rome*, and these be the staires which I said the Romans call Holy (vulgarly *Scale Sante*), and doe worship with great superstition. They be of marble, but for my part let euery man beleue as he list, whither they were brought from thence, and be the same staires that Christ ascended or not. Onely I am sure that here they shew the place void in the very streete, where staires haue beene of old; yet must I needs say, that marble staires ill besit the poore building of this house. Here the Souldiers spoiled our Redeemer of his garments, and in scorne attired him with purple.

(23) The Arch of *Pilate*, which is a gallery of bricke, built ouer the street, from one wall to another, whence *Pilate* shewed Christ to the people, saying; behold the man, doe with him what you will.

(24) Here they say the Virgin *Mary* fell downe fainting, when Christ was led to Mount *Calvary*.

(25) Here they say that Christ fainting, the Iewes tooke his Crosse, and laied it vpon *Symon* of *Cyren*. (26) The Pallace of King *Herod*.

(27) Here they say Christ vttered these words; Daughters of *Syon* weepe not for me, weepe for your selues, &c.

(28) Here they say the rich glutton dwelt, and not farre hence they shew the house where *Mary Magdalen* washed Christs feete with her teares, and dried them with the haire of her head.

(29) Here they say *Veronica* dwelt, and that this woman gaue her white handkercher to Christ when he did sweat blood, who wiping his face therewith, left the liuely print of it therein: about which handkercher the Romans and the Spaniards contend, both saying that they haue it, and shewing it for an holy relike to the people.

(30) The Gate of old called Iudiciall, now not extant, by which Christ was led to Mount *Calvary* to be crucified, for this mountaine now inclosed within the wals, was then without the wals. And the way from the house of *Pontius Pilate* (noted with the figures 22) to this gate, is called the dolorous way by the Italian Christians, because Christ was led by it to his passion. (31) The prison from whence the Angell brought *Peter*, breaking his chaines, and opening the iron doore, and it is seated vnder the ruines of the Pallace, which since that time belonged to the Knights of *Ierusalem*.

(32) The Church which the Christians built ouer the Sepulcher of Christ, of which I will after write more largely, making a rude Mappe thereof, as I haue done of the City.

(33) The Monastery of the Franciscan Friars, in which we did lodge, being seated on the highest part of Mount *Calvary*, which since hath beene called the Mount of our holy Sauour. And this is called the new Monastery, in respect of the old (noted with the figure 6) and onely hath the monuments of the old painted, to the visiting whereof, the Pope hath giuen large indulgences. The Franciscan Friars conducting vs, shewed vs some other monuments within the wals. And not farre from the gate of *Syon*, (noted with the figure 4) they shewed vs (34) the house of the High Priest *Anna*, where Christ was examined by the Pharises, and there they shewed vs an Oliue tree, (which must needs be old), to which they say Christ was bound. (35) The Church of the Apostle Saint *James*, whom the Spaniards call Saint *James* of *Gallicia*, and worship for their protecting Saint, who was called *James* the greater, and they say was here beheaded. This Church is statly built, for the pouerty of the Armenians, who built it, and maintained there an Archbishoppe, to keepe it, and to performe there the rites of their religion.

(36) The place where they say Christ appeared to the three *Maries* dwelling together, vpon the very day of his resurrection, where the Christians built three Churches, vvhich

which the Turks haue conuerted to 3 Moschees, yet bearing no reuerence to the place, because they beleue not that Christ died, and much lesse beleue that he rose againe.

(37) The house of the Euangelist Saint *Marke*, mentioned in the twelfth Chapter of the Acts. This is the house of *Mary* the Mother of *John*, surnamed *Marke*, whither *Peter* came when the Angell deliuered him out of prison; into which *Herod* had cast him, (noted with the figure 31). At this day there was an obscure Church, kept by the Syrian Priests.

(38) Here they shew the Iron gate, which *Peter* found miraculously opened, and by the same entring into the other City, came to the house of Saint *Marke*.

We going out at Saint *Steuens* Gate towards the East, descended into the vally of *Iehosaphat*, and here they say (39) the bridge stood, by which the Queene of *Saba* passed ouer the Brooke *Cedron*, and that the Crosse of Christ was made of the wood of this bridge.

(40) In this place they say the Protomartyre Saint *Steuens* was stoned. (41) This smal line without the Easterne gates, shewes the bed of the brook *Cedron*, (or *Kidron*) which is very narrow, hauing not at this time one drop of water, so as we passed ouer the stony bed with drie feet. But of old when *Ierusalem* flourished, and had many conduits of water drawne to it, then it is probable that it was filled with water. And at this day, when any raine falls, the water runnes swiftly from the mountaines on the North side, according to this blacke line, through the most pleasant vally of *Iehosaphat*. This vally extendeth it selfe on both sides of this brooke, some two Italian miles in length, but is very narrow, and it hath on the West side the wals of the City, where *Salomons* Temple stood vpon the lower part of the Mount *Moriah*, and it hath vpon the East side the most high Mount *Oliuet*, and it hath on the North side mountaines somewhat (but not farre) distant from the City, and vpon the South-side mountaines a little more distant. Many interpret the Prophet *Ioell*, in his third Chapter and second verse, as if Gods Tribunall at the day of iudgement should stand in this vally, and thereupon the Iewes when they die in remote parts, will be brought to be buried in this vally, for the expedition of their triall. But the best Diuines doe teach, that the word *Iehosaphat* signifies the Iudgement of the Lord, and that the Prophet may be interpreted figuratiuely, namely, that as the Lord often defeated with great slaughters the enemies of his Church in this valley, so in the day of iudgement he will strike the wicked vwith like confusion.

(42) Beyond the Brooke is a stately Sepulcher for the most part vnder the earth, into which we descended by some fiftie staires, and about the middle descent, on the left hand towards the City, vnder an Altar, lie the bodies of *Ioseph*, and *Ioachim*, and on the right hand the body of *Anna* (namely, of the Husband, Father, and Mother of the Virgin *Mary*.) In the bottome is a Church, in the middle whereof, vnder a stone raised some few feete from the ground, they say the Apostles buried the Virgin *Mary*. This Church (so they call all places where they haue Altars to sing Masses) is very darke, hauing no light but by one window or vent, made through the earth, and vpon this monument lies part of the bed of the Brook *Cedron*. On the right hand the Turks (who greatly reuerence the monuments of Christ while he liued), haue made themselves an Oratory. But for the monument it selfe, the Franciscan Friars of the Latin Church haue alone the priuiledge to keepe the same, and the Altar thereof, for their singing of Masses.

(43) Here is a Caue, at the foote of Mount *Oliuet*, in which they say Christ vsed to pray, and did sweat bloud.

(44) Here they shew a place where they say (beleue it who list), that S. *Thomas* after the Virgines buriall, did see her both in body and soule assumed into heauen, and that she casting her girdle to him, gaue it for testimony thereof, that all others might beleue it. In my opinion they did well to make Saint *Thomas* see it, for otherwise hee would neuer haue beleued it.

(45) The place where they say the Virgin was wont to rest, when she visited the places frequented by her Sonne in the time hee liued heere, and where she beheld the

stoning of Saint *Stephen*, and prayed for him.

(46) The stone where Christ, leauing *Peter*, *James*, and *Iohn*, said, that his soule was heavy vnto death, and went aside to pray, warning them to watch.

(47) Here is a little circuit inclosed with a low wall, where they report the Garden to be, at the foot of Mount *Oliuet*, where Christ vsed to pray; and was betrayed by *Iudas* with a kisse.

(48) The place where they say, the Village of *Getsemany* was of old seated. Round about this place the Turks doe bury their dead (as they do also in a field on the North side without the walles); for they neuer burie within Cities, excepting onely the monuments of their Emperours.

(49) Here they say Saint *James* the lesse did lye hidden, till hee heard that Christ was risen againe the third day after his Passion.

(50) Here be two old Sepulchers, almost of a round forme, built of Free-stone, or rather cut out of the liuing stone, wherof the one is called the Sepulcher of *Abfolon*, the sonne of *Dauid*, the other of King *Manasses* (or as others say, of the King *Ezekias*.) And considering the antiquitie, they seeme no Plebeian Sepulchers, but stately and fit for Princes, being foure Elles from the ground in height.

(51) Here is the top of Mount *Oliuet*, the highest of all the Mountaines that compass *Ierusalem*, and here, in a Chappell, they shew in stone the print of Christs feete when he ascended into Heauen. And this Chappell is kept by a Turkish *Zanton*, that is a kinde of their Priests, and the Turkes giue such reuerence to the monuments of Christ liuing on earth, as they are much offended with Christians, if they creepe not on their knees, and with their shooes off to this and like monuments. To the keeper hereof we gaue a few meidines for reward.

(52) Here they say Christ did weepe ouer the Citie and rich Temple of *Salomon*, and in this place is the fullest prospect to view the Citie and Temple.

(53) Here they shew the ruines of the house, wherein the Apostles assembled did write the Creede.

(54) Here they say Christ taught his Disciples to pray in the forme euer since receiued, and here was a Church built by the Christians of old.

(55) Here they say Christ foretold the signes of the day of Iudgement.

(56) Here they say the Angell foretold the Virgin shee should die at three dayes ende.

Vpon Thursday the sixth of Iune, we being to goe to *Bethania*, hired each of vs an Asse for foure meidines, that place being scarce two Italian miles from the citie. Of our company we were foure Lay-men, and because the Friers our consorts pleaded themselves to be free from such expences, we were content to yeeld to them, and gaue jointly into the hands of the Fryer our guide two zechines, wherewith he was to giue small rewards, and to pay the Muccaro, who furnished vs with Asses: for we meant not to eate till our returne, the place being no further distant, and there being no dwellings, but onely the ruines of houses. What our guide spent I know not; for he neuer offered to giue vs account, and because he was a Frier, wee would not trouble him in demanding it. We went out by the Gate *Serquilinea* (noted with the figure (11) on the South side.

(57) First, we came to the Fountaine *Siloe*, to which Christ sent the blind man to wash his eyes, and there we found Turkish women washing, who beate vs away with stones.

(58) Here they shew a monument of the Prophet *Elia*, but what it was I remember not.

(59) Here they shew a Fountaine, where they say, the Virgin washed Christs clothes when he was an infant.

(60) The Mount of *Offence*, opposite to Mount *Sion*, which Mount lies beyond the Brooke *Cedron*, and extendeth Eastward towards *Bethania*, and vpon the top thereof they shew the ruines of the Pallace which *Salomon* built for his Concubines, and of the Altar, vpon which hee sacrificed to Idols. Betweene this Mount and that of Mount

Sion,

Sion, they shew the Valley of the sonnes of *Hinnon* towards the West, and there they shew a place, wherein the Iewes offered their children to the Idoll *Molech*, (that is, *Saturne*); yet we reade, that this Valley lies by the entry of the East-Gate, *Jeremiah*, chap. 19. vers. 2.

(61) Here they say, the Prophet *Isaiah* was cut in pieces with a Sawe, at the command of King *Manasses*.

(62) Here is a bridge ouer the Brook *Kedron*, or *Cedron* of one Arch, & built of stone, whereby they passe when the bed of the Brooke is filled with water, which now wee passed drie footed. And here they shew a place, where they say Christ fell vpon the stones of the bed where the brook should runne, when he being betraied by *Iudas*, was drawne into the Citie in a great presse of the Iewes. And vpon these stones are the prints of hands and feete (as they say, his.)

(63) The way leading to *Bethania* ouer Mount *Oliuet*.

(64) The place where they say *Iudas* hanged himselfe, and burst; after he had betraied his Lord. Not farre hence they shew a figge tree, which they say Christ cursed, because it had leaues without fruit.

(65) Here descending from Mount *Oliuet* towards the East, we did see farre off the valley *Jordan*, to which the Mountaines decline by little and little. And now we were come to *Bethania*, where we did see the House of *Simon* the Leaper, not yet ruined, and inhabited by a Moore, to whom we gaue a few meidines.

(66) Here they shew stately ruines of a Pallace, which they say belonged to *Lazarus*. And not farre thence is a Chappell, built ouer the stately sepulcher of *Lazarus*, the key whereof the Friars our guides had with them. For the Turkes putting great religion in reuerencing this place, haue an Oratory neere it; and enter into the Sepulcher by another way. Here they say Christ raised *Lazarus* out of his graue. At our going forth, wee were forced to giue some few meidines to certaine Turkes and Arabians, (I know not whether they had the Place in keeping, or no).

(67) The House of *Mary*. (68) The House of *Martha* her sister.

(69) The stone vpon which they say Christ did sit, before he did see the sisters of *Lazarus* bewailing his death, and it is some halfe mile from *Bethania*.

(70) This small line sheweth the bed of the Riuer *Jordan*, running through a most pleasant valley, which Riuer we did see some ten Italian miles distant. On the North-side of *Ierusalem*, (I cannot say whether beyond *Jordan* or no), we did see many Towers, hauing globes of glistering mettall, and that very distinctly, the day being cleere: also we did see the wals of a City neere the Riuer *Jordan*, and they said, that it was *Iericho*. Further towards the North they shewed vs from farre off a place, where they say our Sauour was baptized by *Iohn*. And they affirme vpon experience had, that the water of *Jordan* taken in a pitcher, will very long keepe sweet, and that it corrupted not, though they carried it into forraigne parts. This water seemed very cleere, till it fell into a Lake, where they say *Sodome* with the other Cities stood of old, before they were burnt by fier from Heauen. And the day being cleere, we did plainly see, and much maruell that the cleere and siluer streame of *Jordan*, flowing from the North to the South, when in the end it fell into the said Lake, became as blacke as pitch.

The Friars our guides seriously protested, that if any liuing thing were cast into this Lake of *Sodom*, it could not be made to sinke, whereas any heauy dead thing went presently to the bottome. Also that a candle lighted cannot be thrust vnder the water by any force, nor be extinguished by the water, but that a candle vnlighted will presently sinke. I omit for breuities sake, many wondrous things they told vs, of the putrification of the aire, and other strange things with such confidence, as if they would extort beliefe from vs. We had a great desire to see these places, but were discouraged from that attempt, by the feare of the Arabians and Moores: for they inhabite all these Territories. And I said before, that the Arabians, how soeuer subiect to the Turk; yet exercise continuall robberies with all libertie and impunitie, the Turkes being not able to restraints them, because they are barbarous, and liue farre from their chiefe power, where they can easily flye into desert places. Yet these Barbarians doe strictly obserue

serue their faith to those that are vnder their protection. And all the Merchants chuse one or other of the Arabian Captaines, and for a small pension procure themselves to be receiued into their protection, which done, these Captaines proclaime their names through all their Cities and Tents (in which for the most part they liue), and euer after will seuerely reuenge any wrong done to them, so as they passe most safely with their goods. All other men they spoile, and make excursions with their leaders, and sometime with their King, to the sea side, as farre as *Ioppa*, and much further within Land, spoyling, and many times killing all they meet.

When we returned from *Bethania*, we declined to the North side of Mount *Oliuet*, and came to the ruines of (71) *Bethphage*, where Christ sent for the Colt of an Ass, and riding thereupon, while the people cried *Hosanna* to the Highest, and laid branches and leaues vnder his feet, did enter into *Ierusalem*. Vpon Friday the seuenth of Iune towards the euening, we tooke our iourney to *Bethlehem Iuda*, and we foure lay conforsts, (the Friars by our consent still hauing the priuiledge to be free from these expences) deliuered iointly foure zechines to the Friars our guides, for our charges, whereof they gaue vs no other account, then they did formerly, yet they onely disbursed some small rewards, since we went on foot, and were otherwise tied to satisfie the Friars of the Monastery, vnder the name of gift or almes, for our diet there: but since they vsed vs friendly, we would not displease them for so small a matter.

We went out of the City by the gate of *Ioppa*, on the West side, and so along (72) this line passed by a paved causey beyond Mount *Sion*, and then ascended another Mountaine to *Bethlehem*.

(73) Here they shew the Garden of *Vria*, and the Fountaine wherein *Bersheba* washed her selfe, which at that time was drie. And from the place where the Tower of *Dauid* was seated vpon Mount *Sion*, (noted with the figure 6), is an easie prospect into this garden.

(74) Here they show the Tower of Saint *Simion*.

(75) Here is a Tree of Terebinth, which beares a fruit of a blacke colour, like vnto an Oliue, yeelding oyle; and vnder this tree they say the Virgine did rest, when shee carried Christ to be presented in the Temple. For which cause the Papists make their beades of this tree, and esteeming them holy, especially when they haue touched the rest of the monuments, they carry them into *Europe*, and giue them to their friends, for great presents and holy relikes.

(76) Here they shew a fountaine called of the Wise-men of the East, and they say that the starre did here againe appeare to them, after they came from *Herod*.

(77) Here they shew the ruines of a house, wherein they say that the Prophet *Habakkuk* dwelt, and was thence carried by the haire of the head to feede *Daniel* in the Lions Den at *Babylon*.

(78) Here they shew the Fountaine of the Prophet *Elias*, and the stone vpon which he vsed to sleepe, vpon which they shew the print of his head, shoulders, and other members, which prints haue some similitude, but no iust proportion of those members. From a rock neere this place we did see at once both *Ierusalem* & *Bethlehem*.

(79) Here they shew a Tower and ruines, where the Patriarck *Iacob* dwelt, and here againe we did see both Cities.

(80) Here is an old stately Sepulcher, in which they say *Rachel*, *Iacobs* wife was buried. It is almost of a round forme, built of stone and lime foure foote high, hauing the like couer aboue it, borne vp by foure pillars. There betwo other Sepulchers, but nothing so faire, and all three are inclosed within one wall of stone.

(81) Here they shew the Fountaine, for the water whereof *Dauid* thirsted, yet would not drinke it, when it was brought with the hazard of blood.

(82) Here the City *Bethlehem* is seated, which then was but a Village; hauing no beauty but the Monastery.

(83) Here the Monastery is seated, large in circuit, and built rather after the manner of *Europe*; then *Asia*, which the Italian Franciscan Friars, (called Latines, and more commonly Franckes) doe possesse: but other Christian sects haue their Altars in the Church

Church by speciall priuiledge, and the Turkes themselues comming hither in Pilgrimage, doe lie within the Church: for the Turkes haue a peculiar way by a doore of Iron, (made of old, and kept by them) to enter into the Chappell, where they say Christ was borne. This Monastery seemes strong enough against the sudden attempts of the Turkes or Arabians, yet the Friars in that case dare not resist them, liuing onely in safety by the reuerence which that people beares to this place, and by the opinion of their owne pouerty. The greater Church is large, and high, in which I numbred twenty foure pillars, but my consoorts being more curious, obserued that the pillars were set in foure rankes, euery ranke hauing eleuen pillars seuen foote distant one from the other, whereof many were of porphery, and had beautifull spots. The highest rooffe of the Church on the inside, is painted with Histories of the Scripture, with a rich painting that shineth with gold and glasse as if it were enameled, (called in Italian *Alla Mosaica*), and the pauement is rich, with stones of marble, porphery, and Iaspar.

From the lesse Church called of Saint *Katherine*, we entred a Caue vnder the earth, where the Friars gaue euery one of vs a lighted waxe candle in his hand. Let them place what religion they will therein, I am sure the Caue was so darke, as we could not haue passed it without a light. In this Caue wee did first see the bones of the Infants killed by *Herod*, then the Sepulchers of *Eusebius*, and of Saint *Ierome* in his Chappell, for they hold that he long dwelt there. Then they did lead vs into a more darke place, where they say he did liue an austere life fifty yeres space, and translated the Bible out of Hebrew into Latine, and wrote many volumes. But the place seemed to me more fit to dull the braine, then to yeeld such fruites of wit, by reason it was darke, and digged deepe vnder ground.

From this Caue we ascended by ten marble staires into a Chappell, all couered with marble, and lying in length from the West (at which end we entered) to the East. And from this West end, as well Turkes as Christians of all sects, goe vpon their knees to the Easterne end, and there kisse a marked stone in the pauement, in which verie place they say the Redeemer of the World was borne. By this stone on the South-side lieth a little Chappell, hauing two doores onely diuided with a pillar. In which Chappell at the right hand or West-side, is a manger, raised from the ground, and all of marble, in which they say Christ was laid after his birth: and in the wall they shew a stone hauing (as they say) the liuely picture of Saint *Hierome*. In the said little Chappell on the left hand or East side, they shew a place, where they say Christ was circumcised, and shed the first drops of his precious blood for the sauing of mankind: And there they shewed another place, where they say the Wise-men of the East adored Christ, and offered to him their gifts. The wals of both Chappells, the pauements, and all things, are couered with marble. The rooffe on the inside, is painted with the foresaid rich pictures, glistering like enamelled worke. To conclude, all things are stately and rich, and remain so vnder the Turkish tyranny, yet more rich in the Chappell of Christs birth, then in the greater Church, where all things then began to fall to ruine, because the Turkes beleue not that Christ died. The Turkes doe so reuerence this monument of Christs birth, as they creepe groueling vpon hands & knees to kisse the said stone; yet in the meane time they despise the monuments of his death, because they beleue not that he died.

From hence going backe the same way we entered, they shew vpon the right hand, a hole in the highest rooffe of the Church, by which they say the starre that conducted the Wise-men, fell from aboue into the bowels of the earth. Can he forbear laughter who considers the bignes of the starres, yea, euen of Comets, as some write that was, specially finding no mention of this falling of the starre to be made in the holy Scriptures. The City or Village of *Bethlehem*, is distant from *Ierusalem* some five miles, (in *Turky* I alwaies vnderstand Italian miles), and we came hither from the Western gate of *Ierusalem*, through a faire way, and mountaines planted with Vines, Oliues, and fruitfull Trees. *Bethlehem* is seated vpon Mountaines, and hath pleasant hils on the East and South-sides, a pleasant plaine on the North-side, ending in great mountaines towards *Ierusalem*.

Christs
birth.

As

(84) As wee went out of *Bethlehem* to visit the Monuments, here they shewed vs the field, in which the Angell made knowne the birth of Christ to the Shepherds, and the Caue wherein they did lie by day, to shun the heate of the Sunne.

(85) Here they say the Patriarch *Lot* planted the first Vine.

(86) Here beyond pleasant Hilles, wee did distinctly see the Plaine of *Jordan*, and the dead Sea, with the situation of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

(87) Here they say *Bethania* was seated of old.

(88) Here we did see the ruines of a house, in which, they say, *Ioseph* the Virgins Husband did dwell.

(89) Here they say the Virgin hid her selfe from the tyranny of *Herod*.

(90) Here they say that King *Salomon* had his Garden. The Franciscan Friers sent out of *Italy* each third yeere into these parts, did courtesously intertaine vs at *Bethlehem*, and at our first comming, in imitation of Christ, they washed our feet. It happened that my brother fell sicke here of an Ague, and so when our consorts vpon *Saturday* in the euening returned to *Ierusalem*, wee were forced to stay here that night. But the next day in the euening we came to them at the Monastery of *Ierusalem*. And because they made haste to returne homeward, wee went forth the next day, being Munday the tenth of Iune early in the morning to see the Mountaines of *Iudea*. And that day it happened, that I was troubled with ~~weaknesse~~ of body, whereof I made good vse, as I shall hereafter shew, which makes me name it.

a weaknesse

We went out of the Citie at the Gate of *Ioppa* on the West side, and vpon our right hand they shewed vs (91) this place, where they say that *Salomon* was anointed King.

(92) Thence we went right forward to a Fountaine in the Desart, where they say, *Phillip* the Apostle did interpret the Scriptures to the Eunuch of *Candace*, Queene of *Ethiopia*, and baptized him.

(93) Here they say is the Desart, in which *Iohn Baptist* preached, and they shewed vs his Caue cut out of a Rocke, and a long stone therein, vpon which he vsed to lye, and a pleasant spring issuing out of the Rocke, where hee vsed to drinke, and another stone vpon which he vsed to sit.

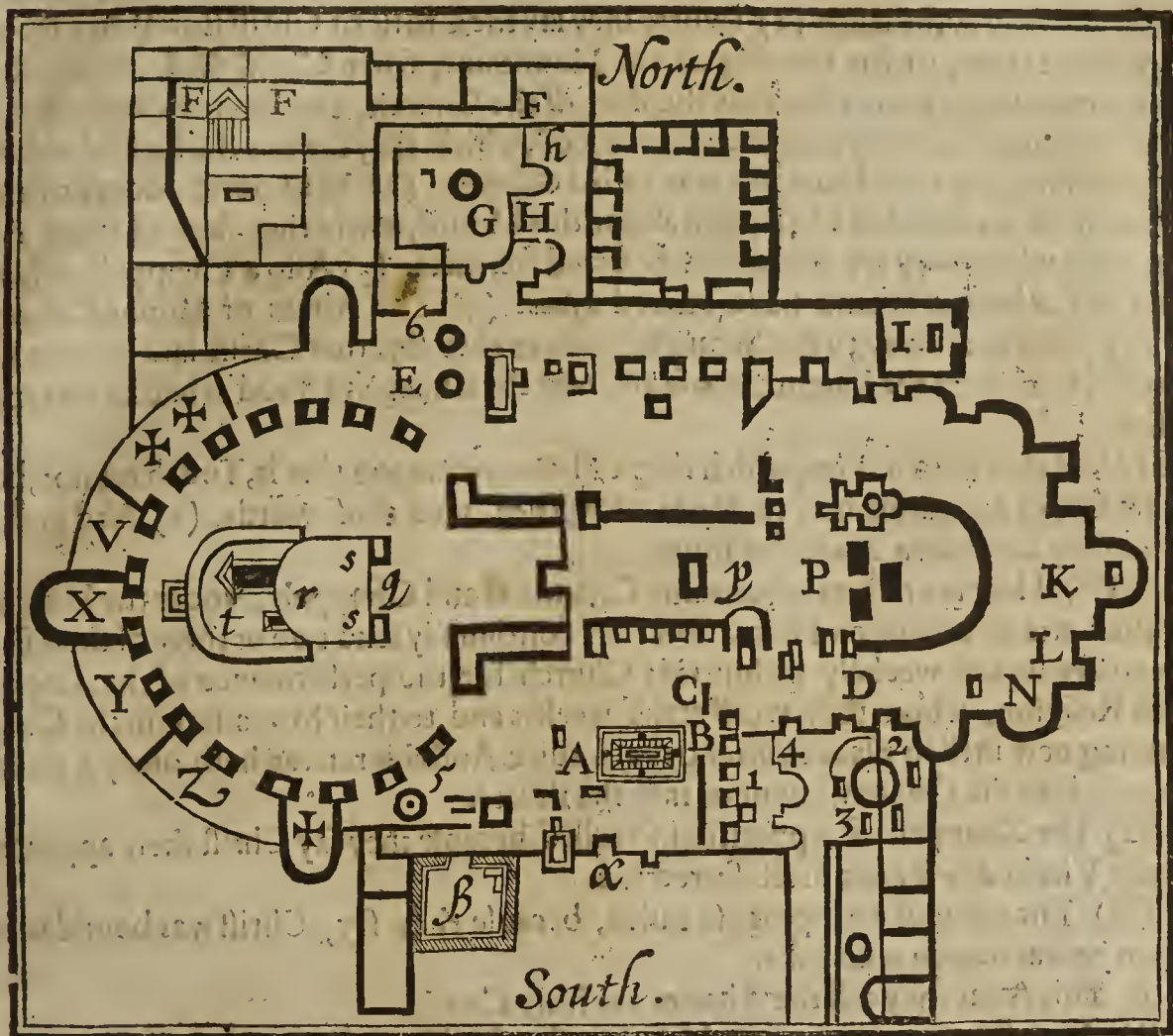
(94) Here we came to the Mountaines (or Mountanous places) of *Iudea*, and here they say the Prophet *Zacharias* dwelt, where a woman of the Moores kept the Church of old built there.

(95) From hence a Musket shot, or little more, is another house, which, they say, belonged to *Zacharias*, and in one of these houses, he pronounced the Song, *Blessed bee the Lord God of Israel, &c.* And when the Virgin visited *Elizabeth*, the Babe here sprang in her wombe; and the Virgin here pronounced the Song, *My soule doth magnifie, &c.* And *Iohn Baptist* was borne here.

(96) From this place, they say, the Tree was taken, vpon which the Crosse of Christ was made, and Greeke Friers keepe the Church that was here built. This place is two miles distant from *Ierusalem*, whether we returned the same way we came out, and entered the Citie by the West Gate of *Ioppa*.

The Church built vpon Christs Sepulcher of old by the Christians at *Ierusalem*, is formerly noted by the figure (32); and wee entered the same vpon Tuesday the eleuenth of Iune towards the euening, at which time the Turkish Cady sent vs his Officer to open the dore of it, to whom we payed for tribute after the dore was opened each of vs nine zechines, and besides gaue the Officer or Ianizare a small reward for himselfe. But it is the custome, that he that hath once payed this tribute, may any time after enter this Church, without paying any thing, if he can watch the opportunity of other Christians entering the same.

*The rude, but true figure in plaine of Christs Sepulcher and the Church built
ouer it at Ierusalem.*



(*) By this one and only dore being of brasfe, and on the South side of the Church, entrance is giuen into the said Church. They say there was of old another dore not farre from this towards the East, but now it was not extant.

(*) This marke shewes where the Belfrey stands, which is of ancient building, and now in great part was ruined, while the Turkes admit no vse of any Belles.

(A) A Marble stone called the stone of Vnction, where they say the body of Christ was imbalmed, before it was buried. And it is compassed with grates of Iron, hauing aboute it nine Lampes continually burning, maintained by the nine Sects of Christians.

(B) The Sepulcher of Godfrey King of Ierusalem, to which other lesse Sepulchers are adioyning, erected to Kings and Queenes of his Family. And this Sepulcher hath this Epitaph in Latin :

*Here lyes worthy Godfrey of Bullon, who conquered all this Land to the worship of Christ,
whose soule may it rest in peace. Amen.*

(C) The Sepulcher of Baldwin his brother, and successor in the Kingdome, with this Epitaph in Latin :

*King Balduinus. another Iudas Machabeus, the Hope of his Countrey, the Life of the
Church, the strength of both.*

These verses added :

*Quem formidabant, cui Dona, Tributa ferebant,
Ægypti Cesar, Dan, ac homicida Damascus.
Whom Egypt, Dan, Damascus homicide,
With gifts and Tributes gladly pacifide.*

(D) Here is Mount Caluary, and the staires to ascend thereunto, the walles of al the building vpon it, the Altars, and the pauements, all flaine with Marble; the rooffe on

the inside glisters with the foresaid rich painting, which seemes to be enameled. And diuers Altars are proper to diuers Nations or Sects, for their Rites of Religion. To these Altars vpon the Mountaine, we ascended by some twenty staires; and there they shewed vs three holes, wherein the three Crosse of Christ and the two thecues were created. And at the figure (I) (where they say the Crosse of Christ stood) they shewed vs stones rent, or the rending of the Mountaine, when Christ died. Vnder this Mountaine in the corner towards the dore of the Church, they bade vs looke in at a little window, and there they shewed vs a scull, which they say was the scull of *Adam*, of which they say the Mountaine was called *Golgotha*. (2) Without the doore of the Church we ascended to a Chappell about this Mount, where they shewed vs an Altar, vpon which they say *Melchisedeck* offered sacrifices. (3) Also a Chappell, where they say *Abraham* would haue offered *Isaac*. (4) The Altars of Mount *Calvary*. (5) A place in the way to the Sepulcher, where they say, that Christ laid downe his Crosse, and where the Virgin *Marie* and *Iohn* the Euangelist stood while he was crucified.

(E) Here they shew a stone, which they call *Noli me tangere*, that is, Touch me not; because Christ appearing here to *Marie Magdalen*, vsed those words. (6) And in this place they say *Marie Magdalen* stood.

(FFF) Here is a retreat of certaine Chambers and Chappels, vnder the keeping of the Latin or European Friers. For they continually send two or three of their Friers to bee locked weekly within this Church for the performance of the Rites of their Religion, whom they recall at the weekes end to their Monasterie in the Citie, sending new in their place to attend that seruice. And this retreat hath onely a doore to passe into the Church, but none into the streete.

(G) The Chappell of Apparition, so called, because they say Christ there appeared to the Virgin *Marie* after his Resurrection.

(H) The pillar of whipping, so called, because they say, Christ was bound to it, when he was beaten with rods.

(h) This Altar they call the Altar of the holy Crosse.

(I) A most narrow prison, in which they say Christ was shut vp for a little time.

(K) The Chappell where they say, that the Souldiers diuided Christs garments.

(L) Here we descended some fiftie staires into a caue vnder the earth, which they haue made a Chappell, and here they say, the Empreſse *Helena* found the Crosse of Christ, and thereupon built this Chappell, in which they say, foure pillars many times make a sound of groaning and sighing, and they shew the very place where the Crosse of Christ, and where the Crosse of the two thecues were found.

(N) After Christ was beaten, they say he was forced to sit here, till they crowned his head with Thornes.

(P) The Chauncell of the Church.

(p) A hole in the pavement of this Chauncell, which the Greekes (hauing the Chauncell to keepe) hold to be the middest of the World.

(q) This place lies open ouer head, hauing the Sepulcher on the West side, and two little Marble walles raised some two foote on the North and South sides, within which wals the place is paved with Marble. The walles are so high, as a man cannot conueniently sit vpon them. And in this place they vse to pray, before they enter the Sepulcher.

(r) The outward Chappell or Porch of the Sepulcher, (as I may so terme it) where the Angell is said to haue appeared to the women. And therein lies a foure-square stone, fitted to the little dore of the Sepulcher, vpon which stone roled from the dore, they say the Angell did sit, after Christ was risen.

(ss) These be seats on both sides of this outward Chappell, in which seates they vse to pray. (t) In this Chappell (so they call the Sepulcher it selfe), and vnder the stone noted with blacke, they say the body of Christ was laied. And this stone is raised as high as an Altar, and couered with Marble, as all the walles bee. The little dore by which they enter this Chappell or Sepulcher, is scarce 3 foote high, and 2 broad, so as they

they enter it with difficulty, bending downe their bodies; as if they crept into a caue. The very stone couering the Sepulcher (or place where Christs body did lie) is somewhat raised from the ground, and hath seuen foote in length, and some fixe in bredth. This Sepulcher lyes vnder the first Globe of the Church, as the Chauncell lies vnder the second, and it lyes vnder the middle of that Globe; neither hath the Church any window, but the Globe hanging ouer the Sepulcher, is open in the rooffe, and so giueth light to all the Church. And in the very Sepulcher, the burning Lampes giue light; besides that the dores lye open. And because raine must needes fall from the open Globe, the Sepulcher hath a couer borne vp with pillars of Marble, and laid ouer with Lead to receiue the raine. The Sepulcher within and without is beautified with marble, and was cut out of a Rocke before the Church was built. The Franciscan Friers are for the most part Italians; but are vulgarly called Francks; of the French who are in league with the Turkish *Ottoman*, and they haue the priuiledge of singing their Masses in the Sepulcher (not of free grant, but because they are best able to pay for their priuiledges); yet it is free for any of the Christian Sects to come into the Sepulcher. They say, that from the situation of this Sepulcher, the custome came among Christians, to be buried with their feet & face towards the East, as expecting the resurrection.

(V) A Chappell kept by the Sect of the Gosti.

(X) The Sepulchers of *Ioseph of Arimathea*, and of *Nicodemus*.

(Y) The Chappell of the Iacobites.

(Z) The Chappell of the Abissines.

(X) The Chappell of the Armenians.

(X X) The Chappell of the Georgians.

Some write, that this Church hath the forme of a Crosse, and if the retreat or chambers of the Italian Friers with the Chappell of Aparition on the North side, and the two Towers of the Belfrey on the South side, be ioyntly considered with the Church, (which seeme rather fastned thereunto then of the same building), a superstitious man may faigne to himselfe the figure of a Crosse, but shall neuer plainly demonstrate it to others. Aboue the rooffe of the Church on the outside, are two faire Globes, whereof the greater couered with leade, lies ouer the Sepulcher, and the lesse, all made of stone, is ouer the Chauncell. And this greater Globe, on the inside of the Church is beautified with engrauen Ceder trees; and borne vp with pillars of Marble; and the lesse hath faire pictures of the foresaid rich painting, shining like enameled worke. The breadth of the Church vnder both Globes, containes seuentie paces, and the length 140 paces and in generall as well within as without, it retaines only the shaddow of the old magnificence.

We entred the Church on Tuesday in the afternoone, and were locked there in all the night following, and almost all the next day, to fulfill our deuotions. But I formerly said, that the Italian Friers haue chambers of retreat within the Church, in which we did eate and rest at our pleasure. Yet these chambers and the like retreats (wherein the Priests of other Sects with their wiues, children and family doe lodge, and eate, and performe the rites of their Religion), haue not any one dore into the streete, but all enter the Church, and goe forth by the foresaid onely dore of the Church towards the South, and the key of this dore is kept by the Turkes, who open it at set times, to admit strangers, and once euery weeke, to let the Friers returne to their Monasteries, and to receiue new Friers into the Church, which are sent from thence, to performe the seuerall rites of Religion. And this dore hath a grate or little window, at which the inclosed Friers may talke with their friends without, and receiue meate sent them from their Monasteries.

Nine sundry Sects of Christians haue their Monasteries within this City, by whom the great Turke and his officers haue great profit, and the Turkes themselues repute all the monuments and places holy, which Christ in his life frequented: but this monument of his death, and other like they despise, and keepe them onely for their profit. From the said Monasteries, Friers are weekly sent to performe their seuerall rites, and at the weekes end they are recalled to the Monasteries, and new sent in their place,

*Nine Sects
of Christi-
ans.*

which custome I thinke they take from the Iewes. For when *David* diuided the twentie foure Families of the sonnes of *Aaron* into twentie foure courses, that each of them might one after the other in due order performe the holy offices in the Temple, *Iosephus* writes, that these courses, or Families in order one after the other liued in the Temple from Sabbath to Sabbath, to performe those duties.

Of these nine Christian Sects, each hath priuiledges to keepe this or that monument within the Citie, and in the field, in which places they performe the rites of their Religion. And according to the number of the Sects, they maintaine nine Lampes continually burning in the foresaid common Church vpon the stone of Vnction, as many vpon the Sepulcher, and as many vpon Mount *Caluarie*. The nine Sects are thus called; Franks (namely, the Italians), Georgians, Greekes, Sorians, Costi, Abissines, Armenians, Nestorians, and Maronites.

1. The
Franks.

The Religion of the Franks (namely, Papiſts) is so well knowne, as I will omit it here, and referre it to his due place. I will onely say, that they haue the keeping of the Sepulcher, the Chappell of Aparition (and therein of the pillar of whipping) and of one Altar vpon Mount *Caluarie*, for the performance of their rites.

2. The
Georgi-
ans.

The Georgians are a warlike Nation, inhabiting *Media*, and the Caspian Mountaines, and haue their name of Saint *George*, whom they haue chosen their protecting Saint. They haue a King, and making warre valiantly sometimes vpon the Turkes, sometimes vpon the Persians, could neuer bee conquered by either. Yea, if they bee oppressed by either, they easily finde helpe from the other, out of their mutuall hatred. Therefore they pay no tribute to the Turkes, but by singular priuiledge freely enter into *Ierusalem* armed, and with banner displaid. Neither dare the Turkes offer them the least iniurie, lest when they returne home, they should reuenge it vpon the Turkes lying neare them. Their very women are warlike, like the Amazons, and carrying bowes, shew valour both in countenance and behauiour. The men weare long haire on their heads and beards, saue that they all are shauen like Clerkes vpon the Crowne of the head, the Lay-men in a foure-square, the Priests in a round forme. They expressely follow the Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Greekes, and in their Diuine seruice vse the Greeke tongue, otherwise speaking their owne language (as I thinke Caldean.) These in the Church of *Ierusalem* haue the keeping of Mount *Caluarie*, and the Altar there built ouer the place, where they say the Crosse of Christ stood, and in the Citie they keepe the house of the High Priest *Annas*.

3. The
Greekes.

Of the Greekes Religion I must speake at large in his due place. Now I will onely say, that in the Church they keepe the Chauncell, and therein shew a hole in the pavement compassed with Marble, which they say is the very middle point of the world. * Against which opinion I argued with them, and obiected, that the earth is round, and that in a Globe the center is in the midst, all centers in the outside being but imaginarie, and to be placed wheresoeuer the measurer will. Also that in measuring (after their manner) the outside of the earth, *Palestina* was farre distant from the Equinoctiall line, which diuideth the World into equall parts. And if *Palestina* were iust vnder that line, yet that all the countries hauing the same Meridian, should be the midst of the World, as well as *Palestina*. They answered, that *David* saith in his Psalmes; *In the midst of the World I will worke their saluation*. To which I replied, that the midst of the World was there taken for the face, and in the sight of the World, so as none should be able to denie it. Whereupon they grew angry, and said, that the Scripture must be beleeued, in spite of all Cosmographers and Philosophers. It had been vaine to dispute further with them, there being not one learned man among these Greekes at *Ierusalem*. And to say truth, (if you except the Greeke Ilands vnder the Venetians), they haue few or no learned men. For my part, I neuer found in all the vast Empire of *Ottoman* any learned Greeke, but onely one, called *Milesius*, who was after made Patriarke of *Constantinople*. And these Greekes, as in this point, so in all other, follow the literall sense of the Scriptures. For which cause they also beleue the corporall presence of Christ in the Sacrament. And

whereas

* *Therevots Voy. to the Levant* part. 1. p. 128. Lond. 1687.
Bryant's Mythology Vol. 1. p. 240. Lond. 4^{to} 1775.
Athalia Researches Vol. 3. p. 137. Lond. 8^{vo} 1799.
Paulinos Voy. to E. Indies p. 326. 330. Lond. 8^{vo} 1800.

whereas Saint Paul saith, *Let the Bishop be the husband of one wife, &c.* they so interpret it, as if the Priests wife die within few dayes after his mariage, yet he may neuer marry againe.

The Sorians are so called of *Syria*, in which Prouince they liue, hauing their owne Patriarke, neither could they euer bee brought to consent to the Roman faith: for whatsoeuer the Romanes challenge due to the Seat of *S. Peter*, that they say rather belongeth to them, in respect Saint *Peter* was Bishop of *Antioch*. They agreed with the Greekes in many things, they denie Purgatorie, they fast foure Lents in the yeere, they permit their Priests to marrie, they vse the Greeke tongue in their Diuine seruice, and otherwise speake their owne language (which I take to be the Arabian tongue.) In *Ierusalem* Church they keepe the Sepulchers of *Ioseph of Aramathia*, and of *Nicodemus*, and in the Citie they keepe the house of Saint *Marke*, noted with the figure (37.)

4. The Sorians.

The Costi are Egyptians, dwelling about *Numidia*. They retaine the heresie of *Arrius*, and follow the Ceremonies of the Abissines. This I write vpon the report of the Italian Friers, who are to be blamed if it be not true. These in the Church keepe the Chappell, wherein *Godfrey* and his Regall Family lye buried, and the Caue vnder Mount *Caluerie*, where they say the scull of *Adam* lies, and haue also their proper Altar vpon Mount *Caluarie*.

5. The Costi

The Abissines inhabit the South parts of *Africk*, and they are subiect to their King *Preti-Giani*. They receiued the Christian faith of the Eunuch baptized by *Phillip*, and themselves are baptized not onely with water, but with the signe of the Crosse printed in their flesh with hot Iron, gathering that fire is as necessary to Baptisme as water, out of those words of *S. Iohn Baptist*; *I baptise you with water, but he shall baptise you with the Spirit and fire.* Also they vse the Iewes and Mahometans circumcision, like wary Notaries, who fearing to faile in their assurance, neuer think they haue vsed words enough; yet doe they greatly hate the Iewes, and thinke their Altars defiled, if they doe but looke vpon them. They giue the Sacrament of our Lords Supper to very children, and they (as all the rest excepting the Franks, that is, Papists), giue it in both kindes. When they sing Masse or Psalmes, they leape and clap their hands, and like the Iewes vse Stage-Players actions. They vse their owne, that is, the Egyptian tongue, in Diuine seruice, and obseruing a Lent of fiftie dayes at one time, do greatly macerate their bodies. In the Church they keepe the Chappell adioyning to the Sepulcher, and the pillar where they say Christ was crowned with Thornes.

6. The Abissines.

The Armenians are so called of the Prouince *Armenia*, which they inhabite, and they call their chiefe Bishop *Catholicon*, whom they reuerence as another Pope. They disagree with the Greekes, and rather apply themselves to the Franks; yet they keepe not the Feast of Christs birth, but fast that day. They keepe the Roman Lent, but more strictly, abstaining from Fish, and very Oyle (which they vse for butter), but vpon some Holy-dayes in that time, they eate flesh. They mingle no water with the Wine of the Sacrament, as the Papists doe, but with them, they lift vp the bread, (yea and the Cup, also) to be worshipped. Of old, with reseruatiō of customes, they ioyned themselves to the Roman Church; but finding the Pope to giue them no helpe against their enemies, they quickly fell from him. The very Lay men are shaued like Clerkes vpon their heads, but in the forme of a Crosse, and their Priests keepe the haire of their heads long, in two tufts, placing therein great Religion. In the Church they keepe the pillar, where they say the garments of Christ were parted, and lots cast vpon his Coate, and in the Citie, the place where they say Saint *Iaines* was beheaded, and the house of the High Priest *Cayphas*, vpon Mount *Sion*.

7. The Armenians.

The Nestorians are so called of the Monke *Nestorius*, who infected the Persians, Tartars, and Iewes with his heresie. They giue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and that to children as well as men. They vse the Caldean tongue in diuine seruice, and otherwise the Arabian. In the Church they keepe the prison, where in they say Christ was shut vp.

The Nestorians.

The Maronites inhabite *Phenicia*, and the Mount of *Libanus*, and they vse the Sy-

9. The Maronites.

rian tongue in their diuine seruice, namely, (as I thinke) the Arabian. And they said, that these men for pouerty were lately fled from *Ierusalem*. Some make mention of a tenth sect, namely, the Iacobites, (named of *Iacob*, Disciple to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*); who liue mingled among Turkes & Tartares, inhabiting partly *Nubia* in *Afrike*, partly the Prouinces of *India*. I remember not to haue seene any such at my being there, neither yet to haue heard any mention of them; yet others write that they admit circumcision as well as baptisme; and besides print the signe of the Crosse by an hot Iron, in some conspicuous part of their body, that they confesse their sinnes onely to God, not to their Priests, that they acknowledge but one nature in Christ, that in token of their faith they make the signe of the Crosse with one finger, and giue the Sacrament of our Lords Supper in both kinds, yea, to Infants, as well as to those who are of full age.

I cannot omit an old Spanish woman, who had for many yeeres liued there, locked vp in the Temple, lodging euery night at the doore of the sepulcher, and hauing her diet by the Friars almes. Shee said that shee came to *Ierusalem* to expiate her sinnes by that holy pilgrimage, that shee had then bene there seuen yeeres, and in that time had alwaies liued in the Church, and that shee would not refuse any opportunity to goe backe into *Spaine*, but otherwise would die there, & thereby thought to merit much of God. Neither doe I thinke shee lost the hope of this vaine merit, since it was not easie to find a man who would carry an old woman, and beare her charges so long a iourney.

The stone of vnction in the Church, is common to all the nine Christian sects, neither doe the Keepers of any other monuments refuse any Christian to enter into them, but onely by priuiledge keepe their Altars priuate to themselues. Most of the sects haue their Monasteries in the City, and (as I formerly said) each of them hath the priuiledge to keepe some monuments, as well within as without the wals. But some of the sects only come to *Ierusalem* at solemne feasts, and dwelling neere the City, easily maintaine a Friar or two, to keepe their monuments, and so are freed from the necessity of building a monastery in the City.

Vpon Wednesday the twelfth of Iune towards euening, the Turkes did open the Church to let vs out, and each of vs Lay-men gaue the chiefe Turke thirty meidines, and the Doore-keeper twenty of free gift; and for the waxe candles burnt the night before in the Church, each gaue sixty meidines to one of our Italian Friars. This done, we returned to the Monastery, where we lodged, with great ioy that we were presently to goe backe to *Ioppa*.

I formerly said that the Franciscan Friars with whom we lodged, were of Europe, whether at three yeeres end they were to be recalled, and some fifty new Friars to be sent hither in their place, which still each third yeere vse to be changed. And these Friars are called the Family of Frankes, for the great Turke permits them as French to liue there, and forbids the comming of any Spanish or Roman Friars: yet are they for the most part of *Sicily*, *Naples*, or *Rome*; but denying their Countrey, affirme that they are Venetians, and if they were knowne to be subiects to *Spaine* or *Rome*, they should incurre great danger. Of them some few are indeed Venetians, and at this time sometwo were Frenchmen. All these liue of the almes of the Merchants in the East of their Religion, who for the most part are Italians, and especially Venetians: yet hath the Monastery also some rents of Lands giuen to it of old in *Sicily* and in *Spaine*; and from thence they bring with them euery third yeere at their first arriual, a present of great value to the Turkish Ottoman. I said formerly, that of old the Venetians yeerly sent a gally to carry Pilgrimes to the Holy Land, till the Christians were so oppressed by exactions of the Turkes, as they rarely vndertooke that iourney, and so the Venetians also left that custome. From that time this Family of Frankes, (so these Friars are called) vseth to passe in a Venetian ship to *Cyprus*, and from thence to *Ioppa*, in the Holy Land, hiring there a Græcian barke to that purpose; and in like sort the old Family vpon the arriual of the new, returns into *Italy*. And as soone as this family arriueth, they disperse themselues, the greater part abiding at *Ierusalem* and *Bethlehem*, and

and some single men or couples being sent to doe the office of Priests at *Cayro* (or *Babylon*) in *Egypt*, at *Haleppo* in *Asia*, (where most part of their Merchants reside) and at *Scanderona*, (of old by all, and still by Christians called *Alexandretta*). These Friars thus dispersed, are not onely maintained by the Merchants to whom they are sent, but they also send from them large almes to the rest at *Ierusalem*; and they often change places, that all may equally beare these burthens.

We being now to take our iourney from *Ierusalem*, many Christians and Iewes brought vs diuers toies, to buy and carry with vs, being of no worth, saue onely that they were far fetcht, namely, beades for Papists to number their praiers, and also crosses, both made of the earth whereof they say *Adam* was formed, or of the Olive trees of Mount *Oliuet*, or of *Terebinth*, (vnder one of which trees they say the Virgin *Mary* rested, when shee carried Christ an Infant to be presented in the Temple), and round stones called *Corniol*, of yellow colour, and others of white, called the Sea-water of *India*. Also girdles of the Virgin *Mary*, & glistering stones of litle price (as all the rest are.) Among which they attribute to the stone of *Iudea*, the vertue to prouoke vrine, to the Eagles stone called *Aquilina*, the vertue to expell poyson, to facilitate the birth of children, to heale the falling sicknesse, to restore weomens milke, and so to diuers stones, diuers and incredible virtues. Besides, our Franciscan Friars gaue each to his friend and the Guardian to vs all, *Agnos Dei*, Dust and litle stones taken from the fore said monuments, for a great treasure to be carried to our friends at home. Moreouer they gaue to each of vs freely and vnasked (as it seemes of custome) as well to vs Laymen as to the Friars, a testimony vnder the seale of the Monastery, that we had bene at *Ierusalem*, and for better credit, they expressed therein some markable signes of our faces and bodies.

Now there remained nothing but the Epilogue of the Comedy, that we should make some fit present to the Guardian of the Monastery, in satisfaction for our diet, and the curtesie of the Friars towards vs, which my selfe and my brother thought very fit to be done: but two of the Friars our consorts, either wanting money, or vsed to eate of free cost, did not onely refuse to giue any thing, but perswaded the French Laymen to ioine with them in deniall thereof. The third Friar our consort, and for his experience vsed by the other as a Conducter, hearing this, did vehemently reprove them, vsing these words in French; *Que voulez vous doncques payer en blanche?* (that is, what will you then pay them in white?) which phrase they vse when a man requites a curtesie in words, or faire written promises, not really. They on the other side, no lesse angry, answered that it was vnfit and irreligious for Friars to extort gifts from Christian Pilgrimes. My selfe and my brother laughed to our selues hearing this difference, for we found now, and had often heard, that these Friars were most deare Hosts, and that as they in *England*, who referre their payment to pleasure, are alwaies ouer-paid, so these Friars asking nothing for diet, yet vnder the title of gift or almes, expect more then any the most greedy Host could demand: yet lest we should prouoke them, either to hinder our departure, or to doe vs any shrewd turne, as they most easly might doe: yea, lest they should surmise my selfe and my brother to be authours or partners of this conspiracy, I perswaded the French Laymen our consorts, that how soeuer the Friars still remained obstinate to giue nothing, yet we foure should present the Guardian some fixe zechines. This effected, the Guardian dismissed vs for good sons, yet in truth we were wel contented with this faire occasion to restraîne our gift, which howsoeuer it were farre from bounty, yet was it free from base sparing, since we gaue at *Bethlehem* for our diet another present to those Friars, and while we visited the monuments of *Ierusalem*, being daily abroad, and commonly dining in Villages, we were onely beholding to these Friars for some ten suppers, besides that we had alwaies professed pouerty (most safe to strangers). To which may be added, that in this Prouince, (whether for abundance of all things, or want of mony) all things were sold at cheap rate: for when we went out to see the mountaines or hill Countrey of *Iudea*, and dined in a Village, I remember we bought twenty egges for a meidine, and a pound of mutton for fve meidines, foure cakes for one, and a hen for two meidines and a halfe. In

the Monastery they gaue vs enough of mutton, hennes, and fallers, and of good wine, but somewhat sharpe; and the Friars our consorts did eate continually with the Friars, and we Lay-men by our selues, the Friars onely once inuiting vs to eate with them in the publike Refectory.

If this discourse makes any surmise that we did some things against our conscience while wee liued in this Monastery, let him reade the foure and twentie Precept of Dissimulation in the Chapter of Precepts, the third Part, and the first booke, wherein I haue explaned my opinion of the outward reuerence of the body shewed in time of the Papists Diuine seruice. And for the rest, let him know, that I now confesse (as I did formerly) that we therein erred, that we did not first goe to *Constantinople* or *Haleppo*, from whence hauing a Ianizare to guide vs, chosen by our Ambassador or Merchants, we might haue escaped many of those troubles, which now we indured being alone, and that with no greater charge then now we were at, since these troubles increased our charge; and might also easily haue obtained any courtesie at these Friars hands, or at least haue seene *Ierusalem* safely, though they were ill affected to vs. But since many things diuerted vs from this course, and now we were fallen into these Italian Friars hands, we thought best to bring our selues out of this danger by discretion and moderation in our deeds and words. Also I confesse, that in those dayes my conscience was not so tender, as since (by the grace of God) I haue found it; yet was it neuer so vn sensible, as it could haue passed ouer the worshipping of an Idoll, or the denying of my faith. If I had here gone to Masse, it would seeme no wonder to our English Gentlemen, who haue liued any time in *Italy*; and I am confidently of opinion, that no man returnes home with more detestation of the Papists Religion, then he who well instructed in the truth, hath taken the libertie to behold with his eyes their strange superstitions, which one of experience may well see, without any great participation of their folly. For my part, as I had alwaies been vnwilling to bee present at their Masse, so I abhorred from the receiuing of the Lords Supper with them. And this was the highest mischiefe, which we could be forced to incurre at *Ierusalem*. Now for the Communion of our Lords Supper, except it be in great sicknesse and danger of death, they neuer impose it so earnestly on any man, as hee may not with discrete answeres put it off till another time, without all suspicion of contrarietie in Religion. For their Masses, they neuer sing or mumble them, but in the mornings, and that fasting. Now we came the fourth of Iune in the afternoone to *Ierusalem*, and the fifth and sixth dayes we went abroad before full day, to see the monuments, and returned not to the Monasterie till night, at which time the greatest offence to our conscience that could happen, was to heare them sing Psalmes in their Chappell. Vpon Friday the seventh of Iune we tooke our iourney to *Bethlehem*, where my brother falling sick, we had scarce leasure to satisfie our curiositie, much lesse to bee present at any vnpleasing rites of their Religion. Vpon Saturday, the eight of Iune, our consorts returning to *Ierusalem*, we tooke occasion by my brothers sicknesse to stay at *Bethlehem*, and came not to *Ierusalem* till Sunday at night. On Munday the ninth of Iune we visited the Mountaines or Hill Countrey of *Iudea*, at which time my brother was so ill disposed, as our Consorts themselves doubted his death, and for my part I was all the day troubled with a ~~weaknesse~~ of body. And because the greatest danger of our participating with them in their Rites, was like to be, when we should be locked with them in the Church of the Sepulcher, which onely remained to be seene by vs, I made such vse of this my brothers and my owne weakenesse, as increasing their opinion of his danger, and my selfe ~~weaknesse~~ to make them thinke my sicknesse the greater, it happened that in the euening our consorts burning with desire of returning homeward, appointed the next day for the visiting of the Sepulcher; but I in respect of my owne and my brothers weakenesse, desired to haue it deferred some few dayes, till the very Friars our consorts, impatient of delay, and yet vnwilling to incurre the blame of leauing vs behind them, made free offer to vs of that which wee most desired, saying, that in their chambers within the Church, they had beds for vs to rest vpon, and that they would prouide vs meate, and all necessaries,

which

weaknesse

taking many
occasions

which we could haue staying in the Monastery. We gladly took this condition, and so being locked vp in the Church of the Sepulcher vpon Tuesday the eleuenth of Iune in the afternoone, after we had satisfied our curiositie, we laid vs downe vpon the beds, and onely forbearing meate for auoiding of suspition, we rested there till Wednesday the twelfth of Iune in the afternoone, when we came forth, and returned to the Monastery. The thirteenth day we had no thought but of making vs ready for our returne, and the next day early in the morning, wee departed from *Ierusalem*. So as in all this time, the Friers themselues our conorts, had no leasure to bee at a Masse, but onely the Sunday when we were at *Bethlehem*, and in the Church of the Sepulcher, when vpon pretence of sicknesse we rested on our beds. Otherwise we professed our selues Catholiques, as the Papists will be called, yet enemies to the King of *Spaine*, as the enemy of our Queene and Country. And when our superstitious conorts, being now to leaue *Ierusalem*, had gathered great heapes of stones from the monuments, to carrie into their Country, and had receiued of the Guardians gift, for great treasure, holy beades, Agnus Dei, and like trash, wee so refused to take any such burthen, as still we bewailed our misfortune, that we being not to returne the right way home, as they did, but to passe to *Constantinople*, could not carrie such reliques with vs, lest they should fall into some Turks hands, who might abuse them. And when our conorts at *Bethlehem* printed the signe of the Crosse with inke and a pen-knife vpon their armes, so as the print was neuer to be taken out, wee would not follow them in this small matter, but excused our selues, that being to passe homethrough many Kingdomes, we durst not beare any such marke vpon our bodies, whereby wee might be knowne. Besides, it was some aduantage to vs, that the Frenchmen our conorts were of their Kings partie, and professed no lesse hate against *Spaine* then our selues.

To conclude, the Friers of our conorts told me and my brother, that the Guardian would make vs Knights of the Sepulcher, so we would craue that honour, which was neuer granted to any but them that craued it, in which case they offered to be intercessors for vs. I well knew that they had offered this honour (as they termed it) to a Plebeian Frenchman our consort, and had heard, that the Friers vsed this art to get money from Pilgrimes, making no difference to whom they gaue this title. And for my part, I neuer affected titles, thinking better to be of an interiour condition with plenty, then of high degree with want. Therefore I so answered them, as giuing due thanks for their courtesie, yet I professed, that if I were worthy of that title, I might not craue it, nor receiue it offered, in respect of the oath imposing militarie duties vpon me, and the profession of seruice to the King of *Spaine*, the publique enemy of our Country; besides that, I should be tied thereby, to hate and prosecute all of the reformed Religion, which many of my friends and kinsmen professed. It is true that if wee had had a Janizare to guide and protect vs, wee might haue lodged in *Ierusalem* with some Christian, who would haue shewed vs the monuments, without troubling the Italian Friers. And it is well knowne, that the great Turke giues libertie to all Religions. But the other Sects of Christians being poore, and these Friers being full of money, as well the Christians as Turkes depend greatly vpon them, so as if they would, they might easily haue brought vs into danger, neither could wee haue had such convenient diet and lodging with any other, as with them. And howsoeuer by our Merchants helpe, we might haue obtained letters from the Italian Merchants at *Haleppo*, for our entertainment and good vsage in this Monastery, yet since for the foresaid reasons we had at *Cyprus* committed our selues to the protection of the Friers our conorts, we had now no meanes but honest dissembling to free our selues from danger: For it had been easie for these Friers secretly to haue drawne vs into danger of life, and we knew that Papists make no conscience, or rather thinke it meritorious to vse like practises against those of our Religion. And if they would not practise against our liues, yet we knew that they might haue cast vs into many dangers, both here and in our returne through *Italy*, if wee should haue prouoked them to wish vs ill. Therefore this our foresaid dissembling may well bee excused, especially since thereby wee did not in any sort wound our consciences to my best remembrance.

Now

Now that this dissembling might proue more profitable and honest, it behooued vs thorowly to know our comforts, and so to apply our selues to them. Of which the two French Lay-men were yong, and of no experience in the World; and one of the Friars was more simple then simplicity it selfe; so as small art was required to deceiue these. The second Friar had beene a Souldier in the warre of *France*, and had made himselfe Friar after the peace, onely to escape the priuat reuenge of some, whose friends he had killed, for they neuer seeke reuenge of those that put on a religious habite, and to gaine this mans loue, it was sufficient to vse good fellowship towards him. The third Friar had a sharpe wit, ioined with the wisdom of experience, so as all the rest chose him for their guide, and to gouerne their expences. And because he might easily incense our comforts, and the Friars at *Ierusalem* against vs, we thought good to gaine his good will, by all good respects to him; so as howsoeuer we were not ignorant to manage our owne affaires; yet ioining our selues to the rest, we made him also gouernour of our expences, to witnesse our confidence in his loue, and cared not to beare some losse, so we might bind him to vs vnder the title of friendship, which we easily effected with him, being of a curteous disposition. To conclude, I did often experience his good will, and howsoeuer I found him louingly and courteously to make vs respected, as well of our comforts as the Friars at *Ierusalem*, yet I perceiued by many and cleere arguments, that he thought vs to differ from him in religion. For in particular when I refused (for the foresaid reasons, and with due modesty) the Friars offer to make me Knight of the Sepulcher, he smiling, said to me, (alluding to my name) in the French tongue; *En verité vous estes fin, &c.* That is, in truth you are crafty as your name imports, but I will endeaour to make the Guardian interpret your excuse to the best. Besides his friendship, it was no small aduantage to vs, that our stay at *Ierusalem* was so short, as the time permitted them not to inquire after our religion. By the foresaid art we freed our selues from all danger; yet would I not aduise any by imitating vs, to incurre the like, who can haue the foresaid better commodities of performing this iourney, since it would bee hard for any so to disguise their condition, who haue not first had good practice and acquaintance with Friars in *Italy*, as my selfe had. Besides that, all our skill was sharpened to greater warinesse, by a late Tragical example of others, the memory whereof was daily and houely before our eies.

For we beheld vpon the wall in the chamber where we lodged, the names written of *Henry Bacon*, and *Andrew Verseline*, (two English Gentlemen), of *Abraham Serwent*, *Frederichson*, and *Henry Vonwildt*; *Peter son Van Narden*, (two Flemmings), whose names were written there vpon the foureteenth of August, 1595, and lay before vs, both sleeping and waking, warning vs like so many prodigies or visions to take wary heed to our steps. These foure comming in company to *Ierusalem*, had beene receiued into this Monastery, and when they had seene the monuments within and neere *Ierusalem*, they went to *Bethlehem*; where it happened that vpon a health drunke by the Flemmings to the King of *Spaine*, which the English refused to pledge, they fell from words to blowes, so as two of them returned wounded to the Monastery of *Ierusalem*. Then these Italian Friars, (according to the Papists manner, who first make the sicke confesse their sinnes, and receiue the Lords Supper, before they suffer Physitian or Apothecary to come to them, or any kitchen physicke to be giuen them): I say the Friars pressed them to confesse their sinnes, and so to receiue the Lords Supper, which when they refused to doe, it was apparant to the Friars, that they were of the reformed Religion, (whom they terme heretikes). Whereupon the Friars beganne to neglect them (I will not say to hate them): and while the two which were wounded staid for recouery of their health, and so detained the other two with them, it happened that the third fell sicke. So as none had their health now, but Master *Verseline*, who louingly and like a seruitt more then a friend, prouided all necessaries for his companion Master *Bacon*, till at last himselfe also fell sicke, and was the first of them that died. Then within eight daies space, all the rest died, either for that they were neglected by the Friars, (which I thinke sufficient in that Countrey to cast away any in their case), or by their too much care, namely by poison (as some suspect): for the Friars haue one of
their

their order, who is skilfull in physicke, and hath a chamber furnished with cooling waters, sirops, and other medicines most fit for that Countrey. When they were dead, the Friars gaue into the Turkes hands, the bodies of the two Flemmings and Master *Yerselme*, (who had little store of crownes, which belonged to the great Turke, as heire to all strangers), and the Turkes permitted them to be buried vpon Mount *Syon* without the wals, in the Church yard proper to the Christians of *Europe*: But Master *Bacon*, ouerliuing the rest, and now seeing his life to depend vpon the Friars care of him, shewed a Nouice Friar long bracelets of peeces of gold twined about his arme, and promising to giue them all to him, and greater rewards if he would goe with him into *England*, so as he would take care of him in his sicknesse, he had perswaded the young Friar to goe with him into *England*, and to promise him faithfull seruice there: yet when this Nouice at his confession made this knowne, and after verified as much to the Guardian and chiefe Friars, I know not whether the hope of this booty made him die sooner, but I am sure he liued very few daies after. And giue me leaue to tell the truth, these Friars either to gaine his money, (which was due to the Great Turke), or for feare that inquisition should be made by the Turkes after the cause of his death, appearing by manifest signes vpon his body (as others suspected and reported), I say these Friars buried this Gentleman in a yard of their Monastery secretly, which if the Great Turke or any of his Magistrates had knowne, no doubt they would gladly haue taken this occasion to extort much money from the Friars, since by the like forged accusations, they vse sometimes to oppresse them; the very Turkes hauing at other times themselues buried dead bodies within the circuit of the Monastery, and after caused them to be digged vp, as if they had beene casually found; and then crying that their Ottoman was deceiued, put the Friars to pay large ransomes for redeeming of their liues. And let no man wonder that these hungry Gouvernours of Cities and Prouinces in *Turkey*, should vse like frauds to intrap Christians, (as they doe very frequently,) since they buy their Offices, and many times are recalled, before they be warme in their seats, if any man at *Constantinople* offer larger summes for their employment.

So as this one Prouince of *Palestine*, and one City of *Ierusalem*, (though hauing small or no trafficke), hath had in one yeeres space foure Zaniacci, the old being recalled to *Constantinople*, as soone as his successour had outbribed him there. And this is one of the greatest mischiefes in this Empire, since starteling flies sucke much more, then those that are fully gorged. The foresaid Zaniacco is chiefe Gouvernour for military and ciuill affaires of all *Palestine*, and lies at *Ierusalem* in the house of *Pontius Pilate*. His Substitute or Liefetenant is called *Carake*, who cast one of our consorts for a time into prison, because he complained of the Turkish exactions, and his owne po- uerty. The third Magistrate is called *Cady*, who gouernes Ecclesiastiall matters, and dwelt in *Salomons* house (as they call it) at *Ierusalem*, neere the yard of the old Temple of the Iewes, (in which now a Turkish Mosche was built); and of this man we had our leaue to enter the City, and to see the sepulcher, and being called before him, we were commanded to put off our shooes, he sitting crosse leg'd (like a Tailor) on the ground vpon a Turkey Carpet. The fourth Magistrate was called *Agha*, who kept the Castle of *Ierusalem*, and when we walked one euening on that part of the rooofe of our Monastery, whence we had the fairest prospect into the City, he sent a messenger to command vs to retire from beholding the Castle, or otherwise he would discharge a peece of Ordinance at vs.

CHAP. III.

*Of our iourney from Ierusalem, by land to Ioppa, by Sea to Tripoli in Syria, by land to Hal-
leppo and Scanderona, and of our passage by Sea to the Iland Candia.*

June 14.
Ann. 1596.



Pon Friday the fourteenth of Iune, in the yeere 1596 we went out of *Ierusalem*, and by the same way, and in the same manner as wee came, rode backe to *Ramma*, deliuering to our guide as many zechines as before, to pay for the Turkish exactions, and to our *Muccari* for their Asses which we had hired. Neither did any memorable thing happen to vs by the way, saue that when we came neere to *Ramma*, and by chance rode ouer the place of buriall for the Turks, where some women were then mourning for their dead friends, they thinking it a reproch that we should ride ouer

their graues, did with inraged countenances fling stones at vs, till wee appeased them by dismounting from our Asses. The fifteenth of Iune we came backe to *Ioppa*, where our guide gaue three meidines to a Ianizare, that hee would beate with a cudgell certaine Arabians, who had offered vs wrong by the way, which hee did readily and roundly. Then without delay we went aboard our little Greeke Barke, which (according to our bargaine at *Cyprus*) staid here for our returne. For the Master thereof was further tied to transport vs from hence to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, neither had he yet receiued full paiement for transporting vs hither, the money being left in *Cyprus* with an Italian Merchant, who was to pay it him at his returne, if hee brought a testimony vnder our hands, that he had performed his bargaine to vs. This condition we made prouidently, and by aduice of experienced men, for otherwise the Master of our Barke, vpon any profitable occasion, would haue left this port before our returne from *Ierusalem*, and wee should hardly haue found another Barke here, in a place not much frequented with ships. Besides that the restraint of the money, not to be payed but vpon a testimony brought vnder our hands, was a good caution, that he should not vse vs ill, nor any way betray vs. The sixteenth of Iune vpon Sunday by twilight of the morning, we set sayle from *Ioppa*, and coasting the shoare of *Asia*, had the land so neere vs euery day, as wee might easily distinguish the situation of the Cities and Territories.

Casaria.

And first we passed by the Citie called *Casaria Philippi*, seated in a Plaine, and twentie five miles distant from *Ioppa*, which of old was a famous Citie, but now for the most part ruined, and become an infamous nest of Turkes, Moores and Arabians. Here Christ raised to life the daughter of *Tairus*, and healed the woman, which for twelue yeeres had a flux of blood. And here Saint *Peter* did baptize the Centurion

Antipatris.

Cornelius, and Saint *Paul* in the presence of *Felix* disputed with *Tertullus*. Here *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian* landing, when hee came to destroy *Ierusalem*, cast great multitudes of Iewes to wilde beasts to be deuoured. In the right way to *Tripoli*, *Antipatris* was not farre distant, which *Herod* did rebuild, and thither the souldiers did leade Saint *Paul*, by the command of the Tribune *Lyfias*, but we could not see this Village. Next, we did see the Pilgrims Castle, now called *Tortora*. Then we sailed by the Promontory (hanging farre ouer the Sea) of the Mountaine *Carmelus*, made famous by the abode of the Prophet *Elias*. Then we passed within sight of the old Citie *Ptolemais*, after called *Achon* and *Acri*, seated in a faire playne within a Creeke of the sea of the same name, and compassing the Citie. And such a faire plaine lyes all along the Coast from *Ioppa* to *Tripoli*. This Citie was famous by the armies of *Europe*, passing to conquer these parts, and at this day it hath a large circuit, compassed with walls, and a commodious Hauen, and is thirtie five miles distant from *Casaria*. From hence sailing twentie miles, we passed by the Citie *Tyrus*, then called *Sur*, the ruines whereof witnesse the old magnificence. The seate thereof seemed most pleasant, being built vpon a low Rocke, in the forme of a Peninsule, which Rocke was part of a high Promontory

Carmel.

Achon.

Tyre.

montory

montory hanging ouer the sea. And it may appeare how strongly it was fortified of old by *Quintus Curtius*, relating the difficulties with which *Alexander* the Great took and subdued the same. When we had sailed some ten miles further, we did see the ruines of *Sarepta*, where the Prophet *Elias* lodged with a widdow, in the time of a great famine. After we had sayled some twenty miles further, we did see and passed by the City *Sydon*, now called *Saetta*, seated on the North-side of a Promontory, and lying towards the West and South, to the very sea side. These most pleasant Territories are inhabited by wicked people, but God sent vs a faire wind, by which we escaped from them, into whose Ports if we had beene driuen, they would haue taken all iust and vniust occasions to extort money from vs, if they did vs no worse harme. Mention is often made in the Holy Scriptures of *Sydon*, *Tyre*, and these Territories, as well in the old as new Testament, the particulars whereof I omit. Here first we did gladly see the hils and high tops of Mount *Lybanus*, being a very pleasant and fruitful mountaine, the wines whereof are carried as farre as *Haleppo*. The Castle *Barutti* is some two miles distant from the Promontory of *Saetta*, and it is seated vpon the North-side of a hil, hanging ouer the sea. Here they say that Saint *George* deliuered the Kings daughter, by killing a Dragon: And to this place, as also to *Tyre* and *Sydon*, there is great concourse of Merchants, who haue their chiefe trafficke at *Damascus*, and especially at *Haleppo*. From hence we passed ten miles to *Biblis*; then after ten miles saile, we passed by *Petrona*, and againe after ten miles saile by a Promontory, which the Italians call *Capo Pese*.

Lastly we passed ten miles sailing by a most pleasant plaine, and so vpon Thursday the seuenteenth of Iune. landed at *Tripoli* of *Syria*, (so called for difference from *Tripoli* in *Africke*). The Hauen is compassed with a wall, and lies vpon the west-side of the City, wherein were many little Barkes, and some Shippes of *Marfiles* in *France*. The Hauen is fortified with seuen Towers, whereof the fourth is called the Tower of Loue, because it was built by an Italian Merchant, who was found in bed with a Turkish woman, which offence is capitall as well to the Turke as Christian, if he had not thus redeemed his life. Vpon the Hauen are built many store-houses for Merchants goods, and shops wherein they are set to sayle. The City of *Tripoli* is some halfe mile distant from the Hauen, to which the way is sandy, hauing many gardens on both sides. In this way they shew a pillar fastned vpon a hill of sand, by which they say the sand is enchanted, lest it should grow to ouerwhelme the City. Likewise they shew other pillars, vnder which they say great multitudes of Scorpions were in like sort enchanted, which of old wasted all that Territory; and they thinke that if these pillars were taken away, the City would be destroyed by the sand and Scorpions. The length of the City somewhat passeth the breadth, and lieth from the South to the North, seated vpon the side of an hill, so cut by nature as it conueyes a brooke into the streetes. Vpon the West side of the City, towards the South corner, is a Castle vpon a high hill, which the French men built of old to keepe the Citizens in subiection, and therein the Great Turke to the same end. keepes a garrison of Souldiers, vnder his Agha or Gouvernour of the City. Vpon the East side are two bridges ouer the foresaid brooke, whence many pleasant fountains spring, which running from the South to the North, passe through the streetes of the City, and then water the gardens. Beyond this brooke are fruitfull hils, and beyond the hils Mount *Lybanus* lies, so high as it hinders all further prospect, which mountaine is very pleasant, abounding with fruitfull trees, and with grapes yeelding a rich wine. Vpon the North side without the gates, are many most pleasant gardens, in which they keepe great store of silke-wormes: for the Turks sell their raw silke to the Italians, and buy of them the stufes wouen thereof. The building of *Tripoli* and of these parts, is like to that of *Cyprus* and *Ierusalem*. The streete that leades to the way of *Haleppo*, is broad, the rest narrow, and the aire and waters are vnhealthfull. Mount *Lybanus* (as I formerly said) is incredibly fruitfull, and the plaine of *Tripoli* reaching ten miles, is more fruitfull then can easily be expressed, bearing great store of pleasant fruites, whereof one among the rest is called *Amazza-Franchi*, that is, kill Frankes (or French), because the men of Europe died in great numbers by eating

eating immoderately thereof. The plaine of *Tripoli* did of old yeeld two hundred thousand crownes yeerely to the Count thereof, as Historians write. And howsoever the old trafficke of *Tripoli*, is for the most part remoued to *Damascus* and *Haleppo*, yet the City of *Tripoli* still yeelds foure hundred thousand crownes yeerely to the Great Turke.

It may seeme incredible, but it is most certaine, that here and throughout *Syria*, they haue sheepe of such bignes, as the very tailes of them, hanging in many wreathes to the ground, doe weigh twenty five pounds, and many times thirty three pounds.

A Christian who vseth to entertaine the French, did very well intreat vs here: and when I did see a bed made for me and my brother, with cleane sheetes, I could scarcely containe my selfe from going to bed before supper, because I had neuer lien in naked bed since I came from *Venice* to this day, hauing alwaies slept by sea and land in my doublet, with linnen breeches and stockings, vpon a mattresse, and betweene couerlets or quilts, with my breeches vnder my head. But after supper all this ioy vanished by an euent least expected: For in this part of *Asia* great store of cotten growes (as it were) vpon stalkes like Cabbage, (as I formerly said in my iourney from *Ioppa* to *Ierusalem*); and these sheetes being made thereof, did so increase the perpetuall heat of this Countrey, now most vnsupportable in the summer time, as I was forced to leape out of my bed, and sleepe as I had formerly done.

My Host told me a stranger thing, namely that in *Alexandria* of *Aegypt*, seated vpon one of the mouthes of the Riuer *Nilus*, there was a Doue-cote, & that also at *Cairo* (or *Babylon*,) farre within the Land of *Aegypt*, there was another Doue-cote; and because it much concernes the Merchants, to haue speedy newes of any commodity arriuing, he assured mee that they vsed to tie letters about the neckes of the Doues at *Alexandria*, and so to let them loose, which Doues hauing formerly bred in the Doue-cote at *Cayro*, did flie thither most swiftly, and the Keeper of them there taking the Letters they brought, vsed to deliuer them to the Merchants. This I beleued not, till I came to *Haleppo*, and telling it for a fable to the English Merchants there, they seriously affirmed the same to be true: Moreouer the Host of *Tripoli* told me newes from *Constantinople*, namely, that the Greekes had burnt great part of the City, (which he thought to be false, and onely inuented to oppresse them in other parts); and that the Ianizaries had raised a great tumult against the Subasha of the City, who vsed great seuerity towards them, by restraining them from drinking wine, and from keeping harlots; and that some one hundred of these seditious Ianizaries were drowned in the Hauen, and the rest were daily sought out to be punished. Moreouer that *Halil Basha* the Admirall of *Turkey*, was parted from *Constantinople* with sixty Gallies, hauing taken many Greeke and Armenian Christians by force, to row in his Gallies; besides that, for want of Marriners, he had left there twenty Gallies, which were prepared to keepe that narrow sea. Finally, that the Great Turke was presently to goe with his Army into *Hungary*, but was not yet departed from the City.

Now the French-men our consorts went aboard a ship of Marsiles to returne into *France*. But my selfe and my brother being to goe by Land to *Haleppo*, agreed to giue our Muccaro nine piastri, for two Asses to ride vpon, and their meate; and for three tributes (called *cafarri*) which he was to pay for vs by the way, (comming to some twenty meidines). They call him Muccaro, who lets out Mules, Asses, or Horses; and they call him Malem, who conducts the Merchants goods. Moreouer we were forced to giue a suger-loafe to the value of a Zechine, to the Gouvernour of the City, and a Piastro to the Scribe or Clerke of the City, for the priuiledge to goe without a Ianizare to conduct vs, (so they pretended, omitting no occasions to extort from Christians). But we couenanted not to pay the nine piastri to our Muccaro, till our iourney was ended, onely giuing one piastro into his hands for earnest, and pretending that we would pay the rest at *Haleppo*, where we were to receiue money; lest they thinking that we had store of crowns with vs, should practise any treason or oppression against vs. This Piastro we gaue him in hand, to buy meat for his beasts, and the other eight we paid after at *Haleppo*, and besides gaue him of free gift a zechine for his faithfull seruice

service to vs by the way. We were to take our iourney with the Carauan going from *Tripoli* to *Haleppo*. The Turkes call a Carauan the company of Merchants, passengers, and driuers of loaded Camels, keeping together, for safety against Theeues, and vsing to lodge in the open field. For in *Turkey* they make iourneies in great troopes, neither did I euer see any ride alone, but onely a horseman of the Armie, and that very rarely.

Vpon Saturday the two and twentie of Iune, we went out of *Tripoli* at the North Gate, and passed ouer a Bridge of the foresaid Brooke, and from eight of the clocke till Noone, we passed along the Sea-shoare, and ouer high Mountaines, then ouer an vntilled Plaine, seeing not one Village, nor so much as the least house by the way. Then at last comming to a little shade of Fig-trees, we rested there the heate of the day, and fed vpon such victuals as we had, while our Muccaro and the rest gaue meate to their beasts. At three of the clock in the after-noon we went forward in the like way, and late in the euening we came to a Village, neere which we lodged in the open field, in a pleasant plot of grasse, neere the banke of a Riuer, planted with some trees. Vpon Sunday wee rose early, and for two howers space passed a Promontory of the Sea; then turning towards the Land, wee passed through wilde and vntilled Hilles and plaine fields, and at Noone we rested vnder the shaddow of some Brambles, refreshing our selues with meate and sleepe, and giuing meate to our Asses. At three in the afternoone wee went forward, and passed by the Castle *Huff*, in which some say *Iob* dwelt, and which they say was possessed by the French, while they had the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*. *Huff*. Also we passed by a Monastery of Saint *George*, then possessed by Christian Friers, and seated in a pleasant Valley, yeelding trees of Figs and Oliues. And towards euening, we incamped (as I may terme it) in the open field at the foot of a high Mountaine. They say *Iob* did of old possesse this Territorie, and that not farre hence in the way leading to *Damascus*, there is a Citie now called *Hemps*, and of old called *Huff*; which the Christian Inhabitants to this day call the Citie of *Iob*, and the Valley not far distant the Valley of *Huff*, and the Turkes haue built a Mosche or Church in this Citie, which they thinke to be built vpon the very ruines of the house wherein *Iob* dwelt, and that his body was carried from hence to *Constantinople*. Others obiect, that according to the Scriptures, *Iob* could not dwell here, because they write, that hee dwelt among the Idumeans, and was robbed by the Sabeans. I dare not affirme that he dwelt here, but I dare boldly say, that I know more then *Socrates* did, euen two things, whereas he knew but one: first, that the Arabians to this day make excursions into these parts, robbing the Carauans that goe from *Haleppo* to *Tripoli*, so as if *Iob* were aliue, and had an hundred thousand head of cattell, they were as like to rob him here, as in any other place. Secondly, I know that we passed a sad night in this place, and neuer had more need of *Iob* his patience then here.

For it happened that one of the women (which the leaders of the Carauan vse to haue for their attendance) lighting a fire to make ready their supper, by chance some sparke or flame brake out of the stones wherewith it was compassed, and set the drie hearbs of the field on fire, which being neglected at the first, did spread it selfe for a great compasse. Whereupon the Gouvernour of the Prouince dwelling vpon the Mountaine, and beholding the fields on fier, sent to vs one Ianizary, armed onely with a cudgell, who fell vpon the men of our Carauan, being some hundred in number; beating them with his cudgell, till they fell vpon the fier with the vpper long garments they vse to weare, and so extinguished it. In the meane time my selfe and my brother went aside, lying out of his sight, by the aduantage of a high ground betweene him and vs, where wee were astonished to see one man armed onely with a cudgell to beate a hundred men (and the very Zantons or Priests) armed with swords and many Calliwers. The fire being put out, we thinking all safe, ioyned our selues to the company againe, but soone espied our errour: for the Ianizare droue vs all before him like so many Calues, to appeare before the Gouvernour, and satisfie him for this damage. And if at any time we went slowly, hee wheeled his cudgell about his head, and crying *Wohome Rooe*, presently struck them that were next him. My brother

and my selfe treated with him by the way, to giue him a reward that he would dismisse vs : but when he gaue this warning, we were the first to run from him, with laughter to see our men thus driuen like beasts, and commending to our selues the honesty of the man, who first gaue warning before he struck. Then presently assoone as wee did see the Gentleman pacified, we returned againe to him, with our Muccaro to interpret our words, and told him, that we were the seruants of a Christian Merchant, and had no goods in the Carauan, nor any thing to doe with them, and offering him a reward, so he would let vs returne. For we knew that the Turks would take any occasion to oppresse vs as Christians, and that the Gouvernor would haue dealt worse with the Carauan, if he perceiued that Christians were with them. Thus we often fled from him when he gaue the said signe of anger, (for howsoeuer wee offered him a gift, yet wee could not otherwise escape his blowes), and often we returned to him being pacified offering him a gift to dismisse vs, which at last wee obtained, giuing him a zechine. When we were dismissed, wee were in no lesse feare of some violence, while wee returned alone and vnarmed, to the place where our baggage lay : but going forward betweene hope and feare, at last we came safe thither, and there hid our selues til our comforts should returne, who after an howers space returning, told vs, that the chiefe of the Carauan, being the cause of the fire making, had paid ten piastris for the damage : and the Gouverneur swore, that if the fire had gone ouer the Mountaine into the plaine field of Corne, hee would haue hanged vs all vpon the highest trees, on the top of the Mountaine. This Tragedy ended, wee refreshed our selues with meate and sleepe.

Vpon Monday early in the morning, we set forward, and spent eight howers in ascending the Mountaine, which was very high, but the way easie, with many turnings about the Mountaine, which of it selfe without manuring yeelded many wilde, but pleasant fruits, seeming to passe in pleasantnesse the best manured Orchards. Vpon the top of the Mountaine we met some horsemen of the Army, not without feare of some violence to be offered vs, till we vnderstood that they were sent out to purge the high waies of theeues. They were armed with Launces, Shields, and short broad Swords, so as a man would haue said, they had been the Knights of *Amades de Gaule*. Neither is it vnprobable, that those fictions came from the horsemen of *Asia*, since wee did see some mile from *Tripoli*, a Bridge called the Bridge of *Rodomont*, and a Fountaine neere *Scandaronia*, called the Amazons Fountaine, and many like monuments in these parts. When wee had passed the foresaid high Mountaine, wee came into a very large and fruitfull Plaine of Corne, which was yet vncut-downe. Here we refreshed our selues and our beasts with meate, resting neere a Fountaine (for the Turkes require no better Inne for their beasts and themselves, then a Fountaine of cleere water.) After dinner we went forward in this Plaine, and did see some Villages, which in this vast Empire are very rare, and neere one of these Villages wee did sit downe at night, supping and resting in the open field. Vpon Tuesday early in the morning, we tooke our iourney, and for sixe howers passed in the same Plaine, hauing not so much as the shaddow of one tree, and came to the City *Aman* (which in the Scripture the second of the Kings, *Hamath*, the seuenteenth Chapter, is called *Hamath*) being some three dayes iourney from *Damasco*. This Citie is of large circuit, and pleasantly seated vpon two Hilles, (for the third Hill of the Castle hath nothing but ruines), hauing a Riuer running by it, and abounding with Orchards of Palmes and fruitfull trees, and neere the same were sixe Villages in sight. Here we rested part of this day, and the next night, the Master of our Carauan hauing businesse in the City, neither imported it where we lodged ; for they haue no publike Innes, nor beds in any house, nor Cookes, but euery man buyes his meate, and can dresse it. But to the end wee might be ready to goe early with the Carauan in the morning, most of vs lodged in poore houses of the Suburbs. My selfe and my brother being to sleepe in the yard vpon our owne quilts, and the yard declining from the house to the bottome, where our beasts were tied, wee laid our selues downe vpon the top of the Hill, but in the morning found our selues tumbled downe between the feet of the Asses & Camels, when I could not remember the English Innes without

without fighting. This Citie hath great traffique, and aboundeth with necessaries to sustaine life, and here our Muccaro bought for vs, lower Curds (vulgarly caled *Misb Masb*) for two meidines, a cheese for sixe, three hennes for three meidines, twenty eggs for foure meidines, Cucumers for three, milke for five, Aqua vitæ (which they call *Harach*, and drinke as largely as Wine) for ten meidines, foure pounds of wine for one zechine, Bisket (for the Turkes haue no other bread but cakes baked on the harth) for thirty meidines, which things we prouided for our Supper, and to carry with vs by the way, yet might we haue bought, and did buy most things by the way, excepting Wine and Bread, which are hardly found, and must be carried by those that will haue them. The guide of our Carauan was detained here by his businesse most part of the next day, being Wednesday, and in the meane time it fortunately happened, that a Turkish Bascha, returning with his graine from his Gouvernement, and being to goe our way, rested here, so as his company freed vs the rest of our iourney from feare of theeuers.

Vpon Wednesday in the afternoone we set forward, in the company of this Bascha, and iournied all night in this Plaine, wherein there was not the shadow of one tree, and at eight of the clock the next morning, we did sit downe in the open field, resting vnder the ruines of old walles. Here the Ianizaries of the Bascha inquired curiously after the condition of me and my brother, so as our Muccaro aduised vs to giue them halfe a piastro, which they receiuing, promised to defend vs from all iniury, but in the meane time they did so swallow our wine, as when it was spent, we were forced to drinke water, to which we were not vsed. Vpon Thursday at three of the clock in the afternoone, we set forward, and about midnight we came to the Citie *Marrha*, where our Muccaro and diuers others payed each of them ten meidines for casar or tribute, and at the Citie Gate a man was hanged in chaines (also the next day we did see another impaled, that is sitting and rotting vpon a stake fastned in the ground, and thrust into his fundament and bowels.) Vpon Friday before day wee set forward, and passing a stony barren way, but full of Walnut trees, vpon which many birds did sit and sing, wee came in foure houers space to an Hospitall, which they call *Caon*, and it was stately built of stone, in a round forme, with arches round about the Court-yard, vnder which arches each seuerall company chose their place to eate and rest, both which they must doe vpon the ground, except they bring Tables and beds with them. Neither were any victuals there to be sold or dressed, but every man bought his victuals in the Village adioyning, and dressed it after his manner. The same Friday at foure in the afternoone, wee went forward, and riding all night, did vpon Saturday early in the morning sleepe an hower in the open field, while meate was giuen to our beasts.

Then going forward, we came by Noone, the same day being the nine and twentie of Iune, (after the Popes new stile, which I haue followed hitherto, being in company of Italians and Friars), to the famous Citie of *Haleppo*, where the English Merchants liuing in three houses, as it were in Colledges, entertained my brother and mee very curteously. And *George Dorington* the Consul of the English there, led vs to the house, wherein he liued with other Merchants, and there most courtcously entertained vs, with plentifull diet, good lodging, and most friendly conuersation, refusing to take any money for this our entertainment. And howsoeuer wee brought him onely a bill of exchange for one hundred Crownes, yet when we complained to him, that we now perceiued the same would not serue our turnes, hee freely lent vs as much more vpon our owne credit. Yea, when after my brothers death my selfe fell dangerously sicke, and was forced to goe from those parts before I could recouer my health, so as all men doubted of my returne into *England*, yet he lent me a farre greater summe vpon my bare word, which howsoeuer I duly repayed after my comming into *England*, yet I confesse, that I cannot sufficiently acknowledge his loue to mee, and his noble consideration of poore and afflicted strangers.

The Citie *Haleppo* is said to haue the name of *Halep*, which signifies milke, because the Prouince is most fruitfull, or of the word *Aleph*, as the chiefe Citie of *Syria*, and to haue been called of old *Aram Sobab* (mentioned the second of *Samuel*, the eight Chap-

ter and third verse), or at least to be built not farre from the ruines thereof. The Trafficke in this place is exceeding great, so as the goods of all *Asia* and the Easterne Ilands are brought hither, or to *Cairo* in *Egypt*. And before the Portugals found the way into East *India*, these commodities were all brought from these two Cities. And the Venetians and some free Cities of *Italy* solly enioyed all this trafficke of old. But after that time, the Portugals trading in East *India*, serued all *Europe* with these commodities, selling them, yea and many adulterate Druggs, at what price they listed, cutting off most part of this trafficke from the Italians. At last the French King making league with the great Turke, the Merchants of *Marsiles* were made partners of this trafficke, and in our age the English, vnder the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, obtained like priuiledge, though great opposition was made against them by the Venetians & French Merchants. And the Turkey company in *London* was at this time the richest of all other, silently enioying the safety and profit of this trafficke, (vnderstand that when I wrote this, the trafficke into the East Indies was nothing at all or very little knowne to the English or Flemmings.

This City lies within Land, the Port whereof (called *Alexandretta* by the Christians, and *Scanderona* by the Turkes) I shall hereafter describe. The building of this City (as of all houses in *Syria*) is like to that of *Ierusalem*, but one rooffe high, with a plaine top plaistered to walke vpon, and with Arches before the houses, vnder which they walke dry, and keepe shops of wares. The City is nothing lesse then well fortified, but most pleasantly seated, hauing many sweet gardens. The aire was so hot, as me thought I supped hot broth, when I drew it in; but it is very subtile, so as the Christians coming hither from *Scanderona*, (a most vnhealthfull place, hauing the aire choaked with Fens), continually fall sicke, and often die. And this is the cause, that the English Factors imployed here, seldome returne into *England*, the twentieth man scarcely living till his prentiship being out, he may trade here for himselfe. The Christians here, and the Turkes at the Christians cost, drinke excellent wines, whereof the white wines grow in that territory, but the red wines are brought from Mount *Libanus*. Moreouer all things for diet are sold at cheape rates, and indeed the Turkes want not good meat, but only good Cookes to dresse it. The English Merchants can beare me witnes, that these parts yeeld sheepe, whereof the taile of one wreathed to the ground, doth weigh some thirty or more pounds, in fat and wooll. In one of the City gates, they shew the Sepulcher of Saint *George*, where the Turkes maintaine Lampes continually burning: for among all the Christian Saints, they onely reuerence Saint *George*. In a garden of the suburbs I did see a Serpent of wonderfull bignes, and they report, that the male Serpent and young ones, being killed by certaine boyes, this shee Serpent obseruing the water where the boyes vsed to drinke, did poyson the same, so as many of the boyes died thereof; and that the Citizens thereupon came out to kill her, but seeing her lie with her face vpward, as complaining to the Heauens that her reuenge was iust, that they touched with a superstitious conceit, let her alone: finally that this Serpent had liued here many ages, and was of incredible yeeres. Moreouer they shew a well neere to the City, in which they report, that a chest of treasure was of old cast, so as it might be seene by passengers, and that some attempting to take it out, were assaulted and affrighted with Diuels.

In this City my selfe and my brother *Henry* lay sicke some few daies, but by the helpe of a Iew Physician, we soone recovered our health, and for feare of wanting money, and especially out of our desire to returne home, wee made too great haste to beginne our iourney for *Constantinople*. If we would haue expected eight daies, the *Cassenda*, (so they call a troope of Horsemen, guarding the great Turkes treasure), was in that time to goe for *Constantinople*, in whose company wee might safely and swiftly haue performed this iourney, namely in sixeteene daies, whereas those who followed the slow pace of Cammels, scarcely arriue there in thirty daies. But this Prouince being extreemely hot in this time of summer, and wee being scanted of money for our long iourney, all mention of longer staying was most vnpleasing to vs. Moreouer Master *George Dorington*, (neuer to be named by me without mention of loue and respect)

spect), did at this time send a *Caravan*, (that is, Camels loaded with goods) of his own to *Constantinople*, and being to make a present to a *Cady*, returning from his gouernement to *Constantinople*, that he would take his *Caravan* into his protection, and to passe in his company, and louingly making offer to vs, to recommend vs in like sort with his goods to the same *Cady*, we were easily perswaded to take this iourney presently, in the company of his seruants, and of a curteous English Merchant, called Master *Iasper Tyant*, being then to goe for *Constantinople*. This our conclusion proued greatly to the losse of Sir *Iohn Spencer*, Merchant of *London*, whose goods these were which Master *Dorington* sent with vs. For my brother dying by the way, and the great Turke being heire to all Christians and strangers, dying in his Empire, the Turkes either thought, or fraudulently pretended that these goods belonged to my brother, and so tooke them into the great Turkes store-houses, and kept them there, till they had vniustly extorted good summes of money from Master *Dorington*, besides the great losse which was sustained by the seruants and Camels hired in vaine.

Being now to enter this iourney, we hired for seuentie one piastri, a Camell to carry our victuals, an ambling Mule for my brother, and a horse for my selfe, and so much we presently gaue into the hands of our Muccaro, with couenant that he should pay for the meat of the beasts. Moreouer we presently laid out one hundred and twenty piastri for diuers necessaries, namely, two long chaires, like cradles couered with red cloth, to hang on the two sides of our Camell, (which chaires the Turkes vse to ride in, and to sleepe vpon Camels backs, but we bought them to carry victuals), for bisket, and a tent wherein we might sleepe, and for like prouisions. But behold, when all this mony was laid out, and the very euening before the day in which we were to begin our iourney, my brother *Henry* fell sicke of a flux. Being amased with this sudden chance, we stood doubtfull for a time what to do, til the consideration of the great summes of money we had laied out, and of the difficulty to get more, made vs resolute to take this fatall iourney, yet with this purpose, when we came to *Scanderona*, some foure daies iourny distant, to goe no further, except in that time he recouered his health, propounding this comfort to our miserable estate, that there we might haue commodity of conuenient lodging with an Englishman, there abiding factor for our Merchants.

Vpon Thursday the last of Iune, (that I may now follow the old stile, taken here from the English, and generally vsed in *Turkey*, among the very Christians, howsoeuer hitherto I haue followed the new stile, taking it from the Venetian shippe in which I came, and from the Friars at my abode in *Ierusalem*); I say the last of Iune we went out of *Haleppo*, passing ouer stony hils, and by the Village *Hauaden*, where the Iewes say the Prophet *Ieremy* was buried. Then riding forward all that night, at last we sate downe at eight of the clocke in the morning, and pitched our Tents neere a Village, where I did see a pillar erected to *Pompey*, and here we rested and refreshed our selues the heat of the day. This kind of iournying was strange to vs, and contrary to our health: for we beganne our iourney at foure in the afternoone, to shun the heat of the day past, and rode all night; so as we not vsed to this watching, were so sleepy towards the Sunne rise, as we could not abstaine from nodding, and were many times like to fall from our horses. To which mischiefe we could find no other remedy, then to ride swiftly to the head of the *Caravan*, and there dismounting, to lie downe and slumber, with our horses bridle tied to our legges, one of vs by course walking by vs, to keepe vs from iniuries, and to awaken vs when the last Camel passed by, lest we should there be left a pray to theeues. And we hauing some two hundred Camels in our *Caravan*, did in this sort passe the sleepy houres in the morning, till seuen or eight of the clocke, at which time we vsed to pitch our tents, and rest. Moreouer this greatly afflicted vs, that spending the morning till ten or eleuen of the clocke in pitching our Tent, preparing meat, and eating, we had no time to rest, but the extreme heat of the noone day, which so pierced our tents, that we could no more sleepe, then if in *England* vpon a Summers day we had lien neere a hot sea-cole fire. And howsoeuer wee lessened this heate, by flinging our gownes ouer our Tent, betweene the sunne and vs, yet for my

The last of
Iune.

part I was so afflicted with want of sleepe, and with this immoderate heate, as I feared to fall into a Lunacy, what then should a man think would become of my sickly brother in this case?

Antioch.

Vpon Friday the first of Iuly, towards euening, wee tooke vp our Tents, supping while our Muccaro loaded our beasts, then we rode ouer Mountaines all night, and the next morning againe pitched our Tents neere a poore Village. And our Muccaro bought vs some fresh victuals in the Village, according to the manner of *Turky*, where the very Cities yeeld no Innes. Vpon Saturday towards euening, wee set forward, and rode that night ouer a large Plaine, and next day after Sunne-rise wee came to *Antioch*, a citie of *Asia*, famous for the Patriarchate, and by Histories sacred and prophane. Vpon the east-side, and vpon the top of a high Mountaine, lye great ruines of the old walles and houses, whence the seat of the citie declineth to the Plaine on the West side. In which Plaine our Carauan rested the heat of this day, neere the pleasant and large Fountaine of water, wherein the Scriptures record so many to haue been baptized together, as first in this place the faithfull had the name of Christians. This Fountaine hath faire building, and seemes of old to haue been very stately, and here wee pitched our Tents in the midst of the Gardens of this Plaine within the walles. For howsoeuer the ruines of the walles shew, that of old the circuit of the citie was very large, yet scarce the hundreth part thereof was now filled with houses. Vpon the West side without the walles, the citie is all compassed with a Riuer, and a great Fen, and vpon the East-side with Mountaines, which situation makes it naturally strong. Here first wretched I perceived the imminent danger of my most deare brothers death, which I neuer suspected til this day, much lesse had any iust cause to feare it. A Turke in this Carauan troubled with the same discaise of a Flux, went to the ground more then twentie times each nights iourney, and yet liued; whereas my brother only three or foure times descended from his Mule to that purpose, which filled vs with good hope. But here first I learned by miserable experience, that nothing is worse for one troubled with the Flux, then to stop or much restraine the course thereof. For my brother stopping this naturall purge, by taking Red wine and Marmelat, experienced men did attribute (all too late) his death to no other thing. I could not hire a horse-litter by any endeouour of our Muccaro, nor for any price, though I offered an incredible summe for that, or like commoditie to carrie him, and we thought it very dangerous to stay here among the Turkes, after our Carauan departed, especially since *Scanderona* was but fiae and twenty miles distant, where wee should haue the commoditie to lodge with an Englishman, and so to get all necessaries for his recovery. Therefore vpon Sunday in the euening, wee put all our prouisions in one of the foresaid couered chaires or cradles, caried by the Camell, and made my brother a bed in the other cradle, where (as we thought) he might commodiously rest. And I promised the Muccaro halfe a piastro for euery time my brother should descend from the Camell to ease himselfe, for wee were to ride before with the horsemen, and hee was now to come behind with the Camels. So we set forward, and my selfe twice in the night, and once towards morning, left the horsemen, and rode back to my brother, to know how he fared, and when hee gaue mee no answere, I returned to the horsemen, thinking that he slept. Then towards morning I was so afflicted with my wonted desire of sleepe, as I thought an howers rest worth a Kings ransome. Therefore my selfe and Master *Iasper Tyant* our louing consort, rode a good pace to the Village *Byland*, where we were to pitch our Tents, that we might make all things ready to receiue him.

Byland.

But within short space our Muccaro running to our Tent, and telling me, that hee had left my brother ready to giue vp his last breth in the first house of the Village, seemed to say to me, Goe quickly and hang thy selfe. With all possible speede I ran to this house, imbraced my dying brother, and confounded with sorrow, vnderstood from his mouth, how farre the euents of our nights iourney had been contrary to our hope. For whereas my selfe aduised him to leaue his Mule, and lie in the chaire vpon the Camels backe, he told me that he was shaken in pieces with the hard pace of the Camell.

Camell. And whereas I had offered the Muccaro halfe a piaſtro, for each time hee ſhould light to eaſe himſelfe, he told mee that he had often asked this fauour of the Muccaro, but could neuer obtaine it, he excuſing himſelfe by feare to be left behind the Carauan, for a prey to theeues. And whereas the Camels hinder parts being higher then the fore parts, I had laied my brothers head towards the hinder parts, and raiſed it as high as I could with pillowes and clothes, for his better eaſe, it happened (which I being ignorant of the way could not foreſee) that we all the night aſcending mountaines, his feet were farre higher then his head; whereupon he told me, that moſt part of the night he had lien in a trance, which was the cauſe that he could not anſwer me, at ſuch times as I came to inquire of his health. Thus miſchiefe lighted vpon miſchiefe, to make my wretched ſtate moſt miſerable: Why ſhould I vſe many words in a caſe, from the remembrance whereof my mind abhorreth. Therefore I will ſay in a word; My moſt deere brother *Henry* vpon Munday the fourth of Iuly, (after the old ſtile), the yeere of our Lord 1596, and of his age the ſeuene and twentieth, died in my armes, after many louing ſpeeches, and the expreſſing of great comfort in his Diuine meditations.

Iuly 4.
Anno
1596.

The Turkes preſently ſnatched all things that were his, as belonging to the Great Turke; yea, my ſelfe caſt his ſhirts, with many other things of good value, and whatſoeuer I could ſee that was his, out of the Tent into the Turkes hands, and as a man halfe out of my wits, could indure to ſee nothing that might renew the bitter remembrance of him. The Turkiſh Officers in the Great Turkes name ſeized vpon all the goods of Sir *Iohn Spencer*, which Maſter *Dorington* ſent with vs, as if they had belonged to my brother, neither could they be releaſed, without great bribes, after the contrary was proued. Preſently I ſent for the Engliſh Faſtor lying at *Scanderona*, who ſcarcely obtained with the paying of ſiue zechines, to haue my brothers body buried in the open fields: beſides, the Ianizares, Turkes, and Moores, came in ſeueral ſwarmes to me in this miſerable caſe, threatening to hinder his buriall, or to dig him vp after hee was buried, except I would ſatiſſie their inſatiable extortions. And had not the ſaid Engliſh Faſtor taken vpon him to ſatiſſie theſe people; and taken vp my purſe full of zechines, which I caſt among them in a rage, ſurely for my part I had willingly giuen my ſelfe and all that I had with me, to them for a prey. One thing aboue meaſure afflicted me, (which I thinke *Iob* himſelfe could not haue ſuffered), namely, that while my ſelfe and my brother were in our laſt imbraces, and mournfull ſpeeches, the rascal multitude of Turkes and Moores, ceaſed not to girne & laugh at our ſighes and teares; neither know I why my heart-ſtrings brake not in theſe deſperate afflictions: but I am ſure from that day to this I neuer enioied my former health, and that this houre was the firſt of my old age.

Towards the euening the ſame fourth day of Iuly, we deſcended with the ſaid Engliſh Faſtor, (taking care to haue our baggage carried) from the mountaines towards *Scanderona*, little diſtant frō this place, in the furtheſt Northerne part of the vally vpon the ſeaſhore. From hence *Iaſper Tyant* our louing conſort in this miſery, returned back to *Haleppo*; but my ſelfe not knowing what to reſolue, nor hauing power to thinke of diſpoſing my ſelfe, remained at *Scanderona* in the Engliſh Faſtors houſe. The next night while I lay waking, I heard multitudes of Woolues, (as I thought) howling vpon the mountaines of *Byland*, and in the morning I vnderſtood by the Engliſh Merchant, that a kind of beaſt little bigger then a Foxe, and ingendered betweene Foxes and Wolues, vulgarly called *Iagale*, vſed to range vpon theſe mountaines in troopes, and many times to ſcratch the bodies of the dead out of their graues; whereupon I hired an Aſſe to carry me, and a Ianizare to accompany me, and went to ſee the place of my brothers buriall, from which part I thought to heare thoſe howlings: And there beyond my expectation, I found that they had ſcratched vp the earth almoſt to his body, and the Turkes made no doubt, but that theſe beaſts hiding themſelues from day light, would according to their manner, returne the next night to deuoure his body. Therefore I hired many poore people to bring ſtones, whereof I made ſuch a pile round about his body, as I preferred that prey from their curſed iawes, which done, I returned to

Scanderona,

Scanderona.

Scanderona (so called by the Turkes, which the Christians call *Alexandretta*).

This is a poore Village, built all of straw and durt, excepting the houses of some Christian Factors, built of timber and clay in some conuenient sort, and it lies along the sea-shoare. For the famous Citie of *Haleppo* hauing no other Hauen, the Merchants doe here vnloade their goods, but themselves make haste to *Haleppo*, staying as little here as possibly they can, and committing the care of carrying their goods thither vpon Camels to the Factors of their Nation; continually abiding here. The pestilent aire of this place is the cause that they dare not make any stay here: for this Village seated in *Cilicia* (now called *Caramania*), is compassed on three sides with a Fenny Plaine; and the fourth side lies vpon the Sea. In the way to *Haleppo* (as I remember) towards the East, there is in this Plaine a Fountaine of cleare water, some mile distant from this Village; and howsoever all other waters falling out of the Fen are most vnwholsome, yet the goodnes of this Fountaine is so much prized, as the Merchants vse to carrie their meate thither, and eate there vnder a pleasant shade. Not farre from this Fountaine, there stands an old Castle at the foote of the mountaines, which they call the Castle of *Penthesilea*, Queene of the Amazons. On the same side, beyond the Fen, is a most high mountaine, which keepe the sight of the Sunne from *Scanderona*, and being full of bogges, infects the Fenny Plaine with ill vapours, and beyond this mountaine, my dearest brother lies buried. On the other side towards the North (as I remember) in the way leading to *Constantinople*, the like Fenny Plaine lies, and the mountaines, though more remote, doe barre the sight of the Sunne, and the boggy earth yeelding ill vapours, makes *Scanderona* infamous for the death of Christians.

Tarsus.

On the same side, *Asia* the lesse stretcheth it selfe into the sea towards the West, and in the next shoare thereof, is a pleasant Village, now called *Bias*, which of old was called *Tarsus*, where Saint *Paul* was borne, being sixe miles from *Scanderona*, and seated in the same Prouince of *Cilicia*, and abounding with fruits, silke-wormes, and all things necessarie to sustaine life.

Scanderona

Scanderona on the South side towards *Palestina* is also compassed with the like fenny Plaine, but farre more large then on the other sides. Finally, on the West side, towards the Sea and *Italy*, is a safe Hauen in the furthest part of the *Mediterranean* Sea, towards the East. And into this Sea the Prophet *Jonas* was cast, and preserved miraculously by a Whale, was in this part cast vpon the shoare, they say, that the Owes of the Sea doe here much increase the malignitie of the aire, yet the Sea men vse to sleep in their ships, and seldome to come on land, till the Sunne be risen aboue the mountains hiding it, and hath drawne vp the ill vapours. The foresaid mountaines of *Cilicia* are held for part of Mount *Taurus*, which in *Scythia* is called *Caucasus*, and in these parts *Amanus*. I haue formerly said, that these parts neere the Equinoctiall Line haue seldome any raine, but the earth is commonly moistned with the dew falling after Sunne-set. But while I staid here, a great tempest fell of thunder, haile, and raine vpon the seuenth of August, and the raine did not fall by drops, but by pailefuls, as wee reade it falles, but much more violently, towards West *India*, and neere the Equinoctiall Line, and as no violent thing is perpetuall, so this tempest soone passed.

Shortly after I came to this vnhappy Village *Scanderona*, the griefe of my mind cast me into a great sicknesse, so as I, who in perfect health had passed so many Kingdomes of *Europe*, at this time in the very flower of my age, first began to wax old. This sicknesse brought the first weakenesse to my body, and the second, proceeding of another griefe after my returne into *England*, tooke from mee all thought of youthfull pleasures, and demonstratiuely taught me, that the Poet most truly said, *Cura facit canos*, that is, Care maketh gray-headed.

While I languished here in a lasting sicknes, it hapned that vpon occasion, I looked vpon the two testimonies, giuen to my brother and my selfe at *Ierusalem*, of our hauing been there; and I was not a little astonished, to see that they being both at the same time cut out of the same skin of parchment, and written with the same hand and inck, yet that of my brother was in all parts eaten with wormes, when mine was altogether

untou-

vntouched. And after I did more wonder, that to this day the same Testimonie giuen to my brother is no more eaten with wormes, then at that time it was, and mine still remains vnperished.

My foresaid sicknesse was so vehement and so long, that all men doubted I would neuer recouer, so as my friends in *England*, after they had heard of my brothers death, were aduertised within few weekes that my selfe also was dead. But for my parr, though my nightly dreames, that I was walking in the caues and sepulchers of *Italy*, might haue somewhat discouraged me, and though I had no other Phisitian, then the Barber-Surgeon of a ship, yet could I neuer doubt of recouering my health, but my minde still presaged that I should returne home. Yet when diuers times I began to recouer, and presently by the heate of the clime, and ill aire of the place, had been cast downe againe, I resolved to follow their counsell, who perswaded me to trie if the aire of the sea would strengthen me. Therefore my deare friend Master *George Dorington* hauing sent me one hundred zechines for my expences, the great summes of money which I had being all spent, by the accidents of my brothers death, and my sicknesse (the particulars of which expence I omit, because in this griefe and weakenesse I had no minde to note them, onely for a taste remembring, that I paid a piaströ each day to a poore man, who continually cooled my heate with a fan.

Master *Dorington*, I say, hauing sent me money, and I hauing provided all necessities for my iourney, at last vpon Thursday, the tenth of October (after the new stile) and in the yeere 1596, I was carried aboard a French Ship of *Marsiles*, partly by the helpe of Porters, partly in a boate, being so weake as I could not stand. This ship was called *Iohn Baptist*, and the Christian name of the Master was *Simon*, with whom I had couenanted, that I paying him thirtie piaströ (or duckets) for my selfe and my seruant, he should set vs on land in some good Hauen of the Iland *Candia*, and if it were possible, in the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Candia*, and lying on the North side of the Iland, whence I was now resolved to take my iourney to *Constantinople*, leauing all thought of going by land. Vpon Friday the eleuenth of October, we sayled prosperously: but after, the windes grew so contrary, as we were driuen to the South of *Candia*. Therefore the French Marriners murmuring against vs, as hereticks causing their ill passage, and there being no hope left with those windes to set vs on land at *Candia* the chiefe Citie, the Master of our ship sent vs in his boat with some few Marriners which hee least esteemed, that we might sayle to land, being fiftie miles distant.

Thus vpon Thursday the three and twentieth of October, hauing sayled eight howers in great danger, towards the euening we landed vnder a Promontory of *Candia*, where there was neither citie, village, house, nor cottage, so as plenty of raine falling that night, yet we were forced to lie in an open boat, where my companion (or seruant) not knowing our danger slept soundly, but my selfe durst neuer close mine eyes, fearing lest these Marriners (being *Marsilians*, who at that time little loued the English), should offer vs violence to gaine our goods. This confort (or seruant of mine was an English man, and by profession a Cooke, and was come into these parts to serue Master *Sandy*, who being sent from *London* to be the English Consull at *Haleppo*, as he passed from *Constantinople* thither, died in *Asia Minor*, of the same disease whereof my brother died, and in the same moneth. This seruant being (after his Masters death) to returne into *England*, I tooke to attend mee, that I might by his company auoide solitude, and mittigate some part of my sorrow. He was no sooner entered into the French ship, but he presently fell sicke, and not able to serue himselfe, could not giue me the expected comforts, much lesse doe me any seruice, but greatly increased my charge, spending all vpon my purse, & much troubled me, hauing not himselfe the least skil in any forraine language, so as he recouering not till we came to *Venice* (where being among Christians, I had small vse of his helpe), hee was rather a burthen then a comfort to me. When I was to enter the French ship, I laid in prouisions of Hennes, Egges, Damaske Prunes, and other things: but my languishing stomack not desiring nor being able to digest any other then salt meate, these prouisions fell to the share of my sicke seruant, and my self being nothing but skin and bone, as one that languished

Octo. 19.

An. 1596

The I-
land of
Candia.

in a Consumption, my bloud and humours renewed with these salt meates, could not but weaken my future health, so as I hauing been alwaies very leane, after (by decay of naturall heate) became very fat, and hauing lost the retentive faculty of my stomack, so as I continually cast all that lay vpon it, so soone as in the morning I came into the aire, I had no remedie against this weakenesse, but the taking of Tobacco.

*The Island
of Candia.*

The French Marriners, who brought vs to the shoare of *Candia*, parted from vs on Friday the twenty five, of Iuly (after the new stile) early in the morning, and when I had well rewarded them for their paines, then first they shewed me about the wilde Rockes, called *Calisminiones*, a Monastery of the Greeks, some three miles distant, and called *Santa Maria Ogidietra*. We being left alone, and staying there fasting till noone, at last espied, and called to vs two men passing by vpon the Mountaines, but they thinking vs to bee Pirats, fled away as fast as they could. Presently behold, my man comming out of the Wood, and bringing with him an Asse, which hee had found there, who perswaded me to lay my baggage on that beast, and so to walke softly towards the Monastery. I willingly tried my strength, and leaning vpon our two swords for want of a staffe, and yet often falling, went forward like a snail, till despairing of going further, I fell vpon the ground. After an howers space, a Shepheard passing by, and I shewing him gold, and naming Monastery, which word he vnderstood, he swiftly ran to the Monastery, and telling the Monkes (called by the Greekes *Caloiri*) our state and condition, they presently sent a seruant to vs, who in the Italian tongue telling vs the great danger wherein we should be, if we staid vpon those Mountaines till night, aduised vs to make haste to the Monastery. Thus driuen with feare, and encouraged by his company, I tried againe to goe forward, and with great trouble passed one mile ouer the Mountaines. For leaning, as I said on two swords, and vpon the passage of any steepe Mountaine, by reason of the lightnesse of my head, creeping vpon hands and feete, with great difficulty I went so farre. And now being not able to goe any further, no not to saue my life, behold a boy, who came to water his Asse at a Fountaine adioyning, to whom the seruant of the Monkes gaue a piastro, and so whether he would or no tooke his Asse, and set me vpon it, and so at last wee passed the other two miles (longer then three English miles) and came to the Monastery. The *Caloiri* or Monkes receiued vs curteously, and gaue vs such victuals as they had, namely, Pomegranates, Oliues, Bread, and sharpe Wine, which were no good meates for sicke men, hauing fasted almost two dayes. Also they conferred louingly with vs, but still desiring vs to keepe aloofe from them. At bed time they gaue vs a straw mat, to lay vpon a plaistered floare for our bed; but we were better provided of Matterasses and quilts of our owne, and though lying vpon the ground, yet slept soundly, because we were in safety.

The Italians in regard of their clime, are very curious to receiue strangers in a time of plague, and appoint chiefe men to the office of prouiding for the publike health, calling the place where they meete, the Office of Health. Also without their Cities (especially in the State of *Venice*) they haue publike houses, called *Lazaretti*, and for the most part pleasantly seated, whether passengers and Merchants with their goods, must at their first ariuall retire, till the Prouiders for Health haue curiously inquired, if they come from any suspected place, or haue any infectious sicknesse. And here they haue all things necessary in abundance, but may not conuerse or talke with any man, till they obtaine the grant of free conuersation (called *la prattica*), or if any man speake with them, he must be inclosed in the same house, and because they stay fortie dayes there, for the triall of their health, this triall is called *far la Quarantana*. Moreouer, they that goe by land in *Italy*, must bring a Testimonie of Health called *Boletino*, before they can passe or conuerse. The Venetians are more curious in this, then any other vsing this triall when there is no Plague, I know not for what reason, except it bee that the Citie of *Constantinople* is seldome or neuer free of the Plague, whence many of their ships come, or for that some mysterie, for the good of traffick, or of the Common-wealth, lyes hidden vnder the pretence of this custome. For no man dares enter the Citie, and conuerse there, till he haue gotten license of these Prouisors, neither dare any

any Merchant dispose of his goods, till they are brought to this house, and there searched by the Officers, if they see cause. This Preface I make, because the Iland of *Candia* is subiect to the Venetians, and the Prior of this Monastery would in no sort giue vs free conuersation, till by Letters wee had signified our state to the Prouisors of health, residing at the chiefe City *Candia*, and til they should send some answere backe vnto vs. In the meane time they shut vs vp in a garden house, where we had plesant walkes, and store of Oranges and like fruites, and the Country people bringing vs Partridges and many good things to eate, and my man hauing skill to dresse them, and the Monkes furnishing vs with such necessaries as wee could not otherwise buy, we wanted here no conuenience, to make the time of our abode seeme shorter, but onely good beds. Thus I was forced to write this following Letter in the Italian tongue, and to send a messenger with it to *Candia* the Chiefe City.

All' Illustr^{mo} & Excell^{mo} Sig^r il Sig^r *Nicolas Donati*, Proue-
ditore & Inquisitore Generale nel regno di *Candia*

mio offeru^{mo}:

SA Sig^{ria} Illustr^{ma} se degna intendere, ch'io *Fynes Morysoni* Inghlese, con vn' mio huomo, ci siamo partiti a li tre di questo mese, d' *Alessandretta*, per venir a la volta di *Candia*: Et che in quel paese tutti i contorni sono sani, come porta la mia Patente netta, sigillata col solito sigillo di San' *Marco*. Il Patron della Nave *Francesca*, in chi di la c' imbarcammo, non mantenendoci la sua parola di metterci in terra in qualche buona villa di questa Isola, ci mandò con la sua fregata a *Calisminiones*, doueci lascio soletti. Di la con gran disagio (domandando la strada da i villani) arriuammo a i vinti cinque del presente, a San' *Maria Ogidietra*: doue i. Frati, fin' che conoscano la volontà di vostra Eccellenza, non ci vogliono dar' pratica in modo nessuno; Et in quel mentre c' hanno rinchiuso in una casa a parte. Il viaggio mio è di passar' piu inanzi fin' a *Constantinopoli*, per i fatti dell' Illustr^{mo} Ambasciatore d' *Inghilterra*. Il perche humilmente suplico che sua Eccell^{za} se degna d' hauer rispetto d' vn' pouero forestiero, anche natiuo d' una Natione molto affectionata a la sua; et che (per sua gratia) mi manda libera pratica, accio che io possa seguitar' il mio viaggio, che di qua, oltre il rincrescimento della solitudine, anche ogni cosa mi dà noia. Con questo assicurandomi che vostra Eccell^{za} haurà compassione d' vn' suo seruitore, con disagi grandissimi per mar' & per terra battuto, priegho Iddio per l' accrescimento del suo honore. Et le bacio humilmente le mani. Da San' *Maria Ogidietra*, a i vinti cinque d' *Ottobre* (all' uso nuouo) l' An. 1596.

Di vos. Sig^{ria} Illustr^{ma} Humil^{mo} seru^{re}
Fynes Morysoni.

Of these Letters I receiued the following answere.

Al molto mag^{co} Sig^r il Sig^{re} *Fy: Morysoni*,
suo come fratello.

Molto mag^{co} Sig^r come fratello. Per le vostre lettere scritte alli 25, del presente (al uso nuouo) all' Illustr^{mo} Sig^r Generale, et da ss. ss. Eccell^{ma} mandate qui all' officio nostro, habbiamo veduto il suo bisogno, & desiderando fauorir' et agiutarla in questa occasione, con il riguardo anco della salute pub^{ca}, Mandiamo duoi stradiotti per accompagnarla con il suo huomo, et condurla di qua, doue sarà ben' trattata, & li si darà commodità, di poter, con l' occasione di qualche vassello, seguitar' il suo viazzo, usate prima le debite cautele, per assicuration' delle cose di questo off^o. Però, s. s. senza praticar' altr^e, seguitara' questa guida che le mandiamo, & vegnerà di qua con animo consolato di trouar' Christiani & amici, obedendo per adesso, & eseguendol' ordine da noi dato a detti stradiotti, come ci rendiamo certi che farà. Et. a. V. S. c' offeriamo. Di *Candia*. Alli 20. d' *Ottobre* (all' uso vecchio) 1596.

Porterà con essa, la sua
fede, sue patente.

Di V. S. come frat^{lli}:
li proueditori alla Sanità.

Y

These

These Letters follow translated into English.

*To the most Illustrious and most excellent Lord, the Lord Nicholas Donati
Generall Prouisor and Inquisitor in the Kingdome of Canaia,
my most respected.*

MOST Illustrious; &c. Your Excellency may please to vnderstand, that I *Fynes Morison* an Englishman, with my seruant, the third of this moneth set saile from *Alexandretta*, to sayle into *Candia*, and that those parts are free from all infectious sicknesse, as appeares by my testimoniall sealed with the wonted seale of Saint *Marke*. The Master of the French Shippe in which I passed, broke his couenant with me, in that he did not land vs in the Hauen of *Candia*, the chiefe City of this Kingdome; but sent vs in his boate to the wild Promontory *Calisminiones*, landing and leauing vs there, in a place altogether disinhabited. From thence we asking the way of the Countrey people, did with much trouble at last come to the Monastery Saint *Maria Ogidietra*, vpon the five and twenty of this present (after the new stile), where the Friars, till they may know the pleasure of your Excellency, wil in no sort giue vs liberty to conuerse; but in the meane time haue shut vs vp in a solitary garden house. My iourney lies further to *Constantinople*, for the affaires of the Lord Ambassadour of *England* there abiding: Wherefore I humbly pray that your excellency will vouchsafe to haue fauourable respect of a poore stranger, borne of a Nation well affected to that of your Excellency, and that by your fauour licence may bee sent me freely to conuerse, and to take my iourney to the City of *Candia*, since my solitary liuing here, all delay, and many other things in this place, are irksome vnto me. Thus assuring my selfe that your Excellency will haue compassion of his seruant, tired with many misfortunes by Sea and Land, I beseech God for the increase of your honor, and so humbly kisse your hands. From *San' Maria Ogidietra* this five and twenty of October (after the new stile) in the yeere 1596.

Your Excellencies humble Seruant,
Fynes Morison.

The Letters sent me in answere thus follow;

To the noble Gentleman Master Fynes Morison, deare to vs as a brother.

NOble Sir, deare to vs in place of a Brother. By your Letters dated the five and twenty of this moneth (after the new stile) and directed to the Illustrious Lord Generall, and by his Excellency sent to our Office; we haue vnderstood your request, and desirous to fauour you in this occasion, with due respect to the publike health, we haue sent you two Horsemen, who shall guide you and your seruant hither, where you shall be curteously receiued, and shall not want the opportunity of a Barke, to finish your iourney, after we haue taken due order (according to our Office) for the preserving of the publike health. Therefore without conuersing with any man, follow these guides wee haue sent you, and come hither with a cheerefull heart, as to Christians and friends. But faile not to follow the order which we haue giuen to these guides, whereof we doubt not, and so tender our selues to you. From *Candia* the twenty of October (after the old stile) in the yeere 1596.

Bring with you the testimony
of your health.

Yours in place of brethren,
the Prouisors for health.

This testimoniall aboue mentioned, I tooke from the Venetian Consull (who knew my disease free from all infection) when I parted from *Alexandretta*, foreknowing the necessity thereof. The foresaid two horsemen being arriued, which with great curtesie were sent to conduct me, I parted from the Monastery to goe in their company to the City of *Candia*, eight & thirty miles distant, being to passe almost the whole bredth of this Kingdome in the very middle part thereof. The bredth of the Iland contains

five

five and forty miles, the length two hundred and thirty miles, and the circuit (as *Ortelius* writes) five hundred & twenty, (others say six hundred or seven hundred miles) the ancient and moderne writers reckoning diuersly. This Iland is distant from the Cape of *Otranto* in *Italy*, five hundred miles, (others write five hundred and thirty): From *Alexandria* in *Ægypt* foure hundred and fifty miles (others write five hundred), from the next shoare of *Affricke* two hundred and fifty miles, from *Ioppa* in *Palestine* six hundred and sixty miles, (others write six hundred and forty): from *Tripoli* in *Syria* seven hundred miles, from the Iland *Cyprus* foure hundred miles, from *Venice* 1500 miles, and from *Constantinople* seven hundred and twenty miles.

We beganne our iourney in the afternoone, and as we rode, our guide shewed vs not farre out of the high way, the Monument famous for the loue of the Kings daughter *Adriadne* to *Theseus*, called the Laberinth of *Crete*, (for so *Candia* was called of old, *The Laberinth*, and *Saturne* the first King thereof, begat *Radamanthus*, *Minos*, and *Sarpedon*, of *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor*, as they write). Also our guides told vs that not far out of the way to the city *Candia*, there was a monument of the caue of *Minos*, which the *Candians* call the sepulcher of *Iupiter*: but my former aduersities had taken from me my wōted desire to see antiquities, so as we kept the high way, and passing that day by a City of the *Iewes*, lodged that night at a Village, not in any Inne, but in the very Church, vpon straw and our owne bedding, being content with such victuals as our guides brought vs, namely, cheese, fruites, and good wine. It is probable, that if we had had free conuersation, we might perhaps haue found good lodging in the Village, yet did we iustly doubt thereof, because we could buy no better meate, nor get any prouender for our beasts. The next day in the morning we set forward, and came to a pleasant village, where we dined in a faire Church, but could get no meat for our horses, except they would haue eaten pomegranates or like fruits.

The same day in the afternoone, we came to the City of *Candia*, where we staid at the gate, till we knew the pleasure of the Prouisors for health. They could not be ignorant that our sicknesse was free from all infection, yet imagining (as after I perceiued) that we should be Merchants, & haue some rich Iewels, they sent vs to the Lazaretto, where in a weekes space, when their spies (according to their manner) had inquired after our state, and found that there was no hope of gaine by our imaginary Iewels, and it then falling out, that other Merchants being landed with goods, were to be lodged in our chamber; at last the Generall *Sig^r Nicolao Donato* (called Generall for his commanding in the warre, and Prouisor of health by the said Office, and chiefe inquisitor for Religion, which Office is sparingly executed in the State of *Venice*, yet being not the chiefe Commander of the Iland; for *Il Sig^r Marc^o Antonio Venerio*, was then Liefetenant to the Duke of *Venice* in this Iland, with limited authority as the Duke himselfe hath). I say this generall Prouisor for the health, sent vnto vs a Gentleman of that office, *Il Sig^r Vicenzo Cornaro* (who vsed vs nobly and curteously) and the Scriuano, (that is, Clerke or Secretary) of that office, called *Il Sig^r Giouanni Papadapolo* with authority to giue vs free conuersation. These Gentlemen (according to the custome, such as the state of no passenger can be hidden from them) caused ropes to be hanged acrosse our chamber, and all things we had, yea, our very shirts, to be seuerally taken out, and hanged thereupon, and so perfumed them with brimstone, to our great annoyance, though they well knew we had no infectious sicknesse, which done, they gaue vs freedom to goe into the City, and wheresoeuer we would. To the Scriuano I gaue a zechine, desiring him to take it in good part, as the gift of a poore gentleman, and nothing lesse then an Indian Merchant, as they suspected. This house called *Lazaretto*, was built of free stone, with Cellers for the laying vp of goods, and had pleasant walks both in the yard and garden, and the Keeper of this house had furnished me with a bed and all necessaries, and for the seven daies past, had bought vs our meat in the City, which he would likewise haue dressed, but that my seruant was a Cooke, and for this seruice he had done, I gaue him also a zechine.

Then we went into the Citie, & lodged with an Italian, who had oftē brought vs meat and necessaries to the *Lazaretto*, and with him my selfe and my seruant had conueni-

ent beds, and plentifull diet, for which I paid fixe lyres each day. But the horsemen who conducted vs to *Candia* came often to me, and for that seruice I gaue to each of them a zechine, and by them I vnderstood the prices of the Market for diet. So as all the Candians speaking Italian, as well as their naturall Greeke tongue, and I finding the rate of our expences to bee excessive, I determined to hier a chamber, and to buy my owne meate in the Market. But it happened, that at the same time an English Merchant landed, who was a Factor to buy Muskedines of *Candia* (whereof, and especially of red Muskedine, there is great plenty in this Iland), and this Merchant called *Richard Darson*, being wel acquainted with the best courses of liuing in *Candia*, had hired a little house, and a woman to dresse his meate, and at my intreaty he was content to giue vs a chamber in his house, and to hier vs two beds, that so we might dyet together, where he vsed vs very curteously, and our dyet was as plentifull as before, at a far lower rate, diuiding our expences into three parts, whereof he paid one, and my selfe two, for my owne and my seruants diet. There was at that time great dearth of Corne, so as white bread was hardly to be got, though the Italians, making their meales for the most part of bread, vse to haue it very white and good. Here we bought a Bocale of rich Wine, containing two English quarts and a halfe for a lire of *Venice*; a Pigion for 7 soldi; a Partridge for a lire, or 16 soldi; a pound of veale for 7 soldi, of mutton for some 5 soldi, & we had plentie of fruits for a small price. The Beeffe in *Italy* vseth to be leane, and is seldome eaten, and such beeffe they had here; for by the Law, called *Foscherini*, it is commaunded, that no man shall kill a beeffe, till it be vnfit to draw in the Plough, and to doe like seruice. Here I paid foure lires for a paire of shooes, the rest of my expences I omit for breuitie sake, those sufficing, to giue a passenger some guesse at what rate he may liue. Onely I will adde, that the worke of Porters and labouring men, as well in *Italy* as here, is had for small wages, because there is great number of poore people, and they abhorre from begging, so as one soldo contents a Porter for bringing your victuals from the Market.

When I went to *Ierusalem* and sailed by the Iland of *Candia*, I made some mention thereof, and I haue now formerly set downe the length, breadth, and circuit, and the distance thereof from other Prouinces, and haue shewed that *Candia* is subiect to the Venetians, and haue also named the chiefe Gouvernours thereof for that time. I will now briefly adde, that this Iland is defended by a Venetian Garrison against the Great Turke, to whom all the adiacent Countries are subiect. That it hath great plentie of red Muskedines, wherewith *England* for the most part is serued. That it hath great plentie of all kinds of Corne, of all manner of Pulse, of Oyle, of all kinds of flesh, of Canes of sugar, of Hony, of Cedar trees, of all coloured Dyings of Cypres trees, (whereof many sweete smelling Chests are made, and carried into forraine parts), and of all necessaries for human life. Neither is any venemous beast found in this Iland, but it hath store of medicinable hearbs, especially vpon the famous Mountaine *Ida*.

The City
Candia.

The Cities of this Iland were of old one hundred, and in the time of *Pliny* fortie; but at this day there bee onely three, namely, *Canea* at the West end of the Iland, neere which lies the Fort *Souda*, with a Hauen capable of a thousand Gallies. The second called *Rethino* by the Italians, seated on the South-side of the Iland, (vpon which side the Italians adde a fourth Citie called *Settia*), and the third called *Candia*, the Metropolitan Citie of the Iland, which is faire and large, built of stone, with a low rooffe, after the manner of *Italy*, and the streets thereof are faire and large. It is strongly fortified (as need requires) by the Venetians against the Turkes, and to that purpose hath a strong Castle. From this Citie a large and pleasant Plaine leades to the foresaid caue of *Minos*, (which the Candians call the Sepulcher of *Iupiter*), neere which is the most famous Mountaine *Ida*, which they hold to bee seated in the midst of the Iland, being higher then any of the other Mountaines thereof, and it aboundeth with Cypres trees. Finally, I remember, that when I lodged in the Monastery *San' Maria Ogidietra*, the *Caloiri* (or Monkes, who for the most part are vnlearned, and till the ground, and labour like laimen), assured me that each measure of corne sowed in their fields the yeere past, had yeelded ninetie five measures.

CHAP. IIII.

Of my iourney from Candia (partly by land, partly by Sea) by the sea shoares, and by the Ilands of the Aegean Sea, Pontus, and Propontis, to the Citie of Constantinople. And of my iourney thence by Sea to Venice, and by Land to Augsburg, Nurnberg and Stode (in Germany:) And of my passage over Sea into England. And of my iourney through many seuerall Shires, of England, Scotland and Ireland.



Pon Monday the twentie of December (after the old stile) December 20.
 at three of the clock in the afternoone, we went aboard a little Greeke Barke loaded with Muskedines, and with tunnes of Lemons Iuyce. (which the Turks drinke like Nectar), and with Onions, and ready to saile for Constantinople, where I payed for my passage. five zechines, and as much for my seruant. The night following was very bright with Moone shine, yet we staied all the night in the Hauen (compassed with walles), either because the Gouvernour of the Castle would not let the Barke go forth, till the Master had satisfied him, or because the Master pretending that cause of stay, had some businesse to dispatch. The next morning early, being the one and twentie of December, we set saile, and the same day we sailed close by the Iland Zantorini, more then one hundred miles distant from Candia. Zantorini. They report, that this Iland, and another of the same name (both of little circuit) were in our age cast vp in the midst of the Sea, with an eruption of flames and of Brimstone, and that they are not inhabited, but are commonly called the Diuels Ilands, because many ships casting anchor there, and fastning their Cables vpon land, haue had their Cables loosed by spirits in the night, and so suffered shipwrack, or hardly escaped the same. The night following we sailed in the midst of many Ilands which made that Channell very dangerous, and for my part I was more affraid of the danger, because our Candian Merchant growing acquainted with an harlot in the ship, was not ashamed to haue the vse of her body in the sight of the Marriners that watched, and much blamed him for the same. Vpon Wednesday the two and twentie of December, we sailed by the Iland Paros, celebrated by Poets for the fine Marble growing there, and so we came to the Iland Naxos, two hundred miles distant from Candia. Paros.
Naxos. Naxos and the adiacent Ilands had their owne Duke of old, but now are subiect to the Turke, as the other Ilands bee for the most part. And our Marriners dwelling in this Iland, and landing to see their wiues, we also landed with them, where I did see vpon a Hill like a Peninsul neere this chiefe Village, two Marble images erected to *Thesus* and *Ariadne*. Here I obserued, that when any stranger or Inhabitant lands, the beggars flock to the dores of the houses or Innies where they eate, and hauing formerly obserued in the Greeke Church at Venice, that when they gaue their Almes to beggars, they not onely suffered them to touch their garments with their lousie rags, but also tooke them familiarly by the hands, I knew not whether I should attribute this fashion to their charitable affection in time of their bondage, or to their seldom feasting, and the multitude of beggars.

In the euening we loosed from Naxos, and sailing ouer a channell no lesse dangerous then the former, for the multitude of Ilands, vpon the three and twentie of December we passed close by the shoare of the Iland Zio, called *Chios* of old. Zio. It is inhabited by Greekes (as the other Ilands are), and is famous for the pleasantnesse and fertilitie of the situation and soyle. It yeeldeth great store of Mastick, and the country people keepe flocks of tame Partridges, as of Hens other where. They brag, that *Homer* lyes buried vpon the Mountaine *Heliast*, and this Iland hath Saint George for their protecting Saint, and beares his Crosse in their Flags, as England doth. Here we might distinctly see the shoare of Asia, in that part, where of old the seven Churches stood not farre distant, to which Saint *Iohn* writes his Revelation. Seven Churches.
Pathmos. And the Iland *Pathmos* is not farre distant, where Saint *Iohn* liued in exile. Towards the euening we cast anchor

Metelene.

neere the Iland *Metelene*, which is seated (as *Zio*) in the Egean Sea, and is no lesse pleasant and fertile. Of old it was called *Lesbos*, then *Iffa*, and after *Pelasgia*, and therein were borne, *Pythagoras*, the Poet *Alceus*, *Antimenides*, *Theophrastus*, *Phanius*, *Arion*, and *Terpsandrus*, and the famous woman Poet *Sappho*. *Zio* is distant one hundred and forty miles from *Naxos* and *Meteline*, ninety miles from *Zio*.

Troy.

The foure and twenty of December, (being Christmas euen, after the old stile vsed among the Greekes, and in all *Turkey*), early in the morning we weighed anchor, and with a faire but gentle wind, sayled close by the shoare where the City of *Troy* stood of old, seated in a plaine, and vpon pleasant hils neere the Sea, and at this day the ruines of *Ilium* the Castle of *Priamus* are seene vpon a hill, and the ruines of the wals in the plaine, yet shew the circuit of the City. The Poets said truly;

Hic seges est ubi Troia fuit,

Corne growes now where *Troy* once stood.

Tenedos.

Yet the plowed fields haue very many ruines of buildings. On the North side of these Troian ruines, a necke of Land lies towards the Sea, where they say the Greekes encamped, and left their fatall Troian Horse. Right ouer against this Land lies the Iland *Tenedos*, scarce ten miles distant, in the Hauen whereof we cast anchor for an hower, vnder a little Castle, and this *Tenedos* is sixty miles distant from *Metelene*. From hence sailing some eightene miles, we passed by two necks of Land, one of *Greece* on the West-side, the other of *Asia* the lesse, (now called *Natolia*) on the East-side, and after twelue miles saile, we entered the streight of *Hellepont*, now called the two Castles, the description whereof I will defer till my returne this way.

Sestos & Abydos.

The Greek Marriners haue a custome here to demand a gift of all Merchants & passengers in their ship, for ioy of their happy voyage, and they say, (which I beleue not) that if any refuse, they tie a rope to his feete, and draw him vp to the top of the masse, till he yeeld to this custome: but howsoeuer, we all obeyed this ridiculous custome, not to offend them who had vsed vs well.

This channell running from the blacke sea, called *Euxinus*, into *Propontis*, and so by *Constantinople* to these said two Castles, and from hence into the *Aegean* sea, from the North towards the South, is alwaies contrary to those that sayle from the mediterranean sea to *Constantinople*, especially after they enter this streight of the two Castles, and neere *Constantinople* it runnes with such force towards the South, as they that saile to the City, (whereof we had experience) with the best winds, yet sayle very slowly. This violence of the Channell is attributed to great Riuers violently falling into the blacke Sea.

Gallipolis.

The foresaid Christmas euen we landed at *Gallipolis* a Greeke City, seated in *Thrace*, hauing the name (as it seemes) from the French, and eight and twenty miles distant from the two Castles. On Saturday the fife and twenty of December, being Christmas day, after the old stile, we set saile; but the winds droue vs backe to the Hauen of *Gallipolis*, where being detained some few daies, though I staid in the ship for feare of some fraud from the Turkes, yet once I went on Land with our Marriners: The City lieth in length vpon the shoare of *Propontis*, from the South to the North, and it hath without the wals towards the West, great number of Wind-mills, the buildings are of flint or little vnpolished stones, one or two stories high, and the rooffe is low and tiled, (not plaine and plastered to walke vpon, as they be in *Syria* and *Cyprus*); and this rooffe is so low as it hath no windowes, so as the buildings of these parts are very like those of *Italy*. The Hauen is on the East side, and vpon the opposite shoare of *Asia* towards the East, are the ruines not farre distant of *Nice*, a City of *Bitinia*, famous for the holy Councell held there of old. Vpon Saterdag the first of Ianuary, we sailed sixty miles in this straight of *Propontis*, to the Iland *Marmora*, not without feare of Turkish Pirats, the Hauen of *Camera* being neere vs, where the great Turkes Gallies lie. By the way they shewed me a Castle towards the East, vpon the shore of *Asia* the lesse, which they say stands vpon the confines of the Troian Dominion, and thereof hath the name to this day. The Iland *Marmora* is so called (as I think) of the marble wherewith it aboundeth. The second of Ianuary we set sayle from *Marmora*, and being by contrary winds driuen backe (as I think, or little aduanced) we came to the Iland *Aloni* some ten miles distant

Marmora.

Aloni.

distant from *Marmora* (and so called of the forme of a yard, in which Oxen vsed to grinde Corne, or beate it small.) After the beginning of the new yeere (which the Greekes, as most of *Europe*, begin the first of Ianuarie) the first Wednesday (being the fourth of that month), the Grecian Marriners haue a custom retained from old times, to baptize the Sea, (as they terme it), which done, they thinke the Flouds and Windes to grow more calme then formerly. The Iland *Aloni* hath a Port on all sides compassed with Ilands, and that very large and safe, where while we passed some stormy daies, wee heard of many Barkes and Gallies cast away. While I walked here vpon the shoare, a wild-headed Turke tooke my hat from my head (being of the fashion of *Europe* not vsed there), and hauing turned it, and long beheld it, he said (to vse his rude words) Lend me this vessell to ease my belly therein; and so girning flung it 'on the dyrtie ground, which I with patience tooke vp. These and like wrongs of speech, euen threatnings of blowes I sometimes indured in *Turkey*, but neuer had the disauster to haue any blow giuen me by any of them, which many good Christians notwithstanding haue suffered and daily suffer, and my selfe if they had fallen to my share, must haue suffered with patience, except I would by resistance haue incurred shamefull and cruell death. On Thursday the thirteenth of Ianuary, at last wee set sayle with a faire winde, and after twentie miles sayling we passed by the Citie *Palormo* seated vpon the shoare of *Asia* the lesse, and famous for the white Wine it yeeldeth (the best that euer I tasted), and hauing sayled ten miles further, we sailed by the Citie *Heraaclea*, seated on the shore of *Greece* (whereof in my returne this way I shall haue cause to speake more at large.)

Ianua. 1.
Anno
1597.

Palormo.

*Hera-
clea.*

Towards euening we thought we were come to one of the corners of *Constantinople*, called the seuen Towers, yet by reason of the foresaid swift channell running from the black Sea full against vs, with a most faire wind we could not land in the Hauen of *Constantinople* till midnight, hauing that day sayled one hundred and twentie miles in all from the said Ile *Aloni*. This voyage was more tedious to vs, in that howsoeuer landing we had somtimes good dyet, yet while we were at Sea, we had no good victuals in the ship. For the Greeke Marriners feede of Onions, Garlike, and dried fishes, (one kinde whereof they call *Palamides*, and the Italians call *Palamito*) and in stead of a banquet, they will giue you a head of Garlick roasted in the ashes, and pleasantly call it a pigeon. With this and Bisket they content themselues, and these we were forced to eate, hauing omitted to prouide any dried or salt meates at *Candia*, because wee hoped to find those in our Barke, and knowing that it was in vaine to prouide any fresh meates, because they would not suffer a fier to be made in so small a Barke, wherewith we might dresse them. But after we had eaten Bisket and dried fishes, we had an vnknowne comfort or helpe to digest them. For in our priuat cabbin, we had the head of a tun of Muskedine lying vnder our heads when we slept, in stead of a bolster, and our ship being bound on the vpper part of the sides with bundles of Reedes, to beate off the force of the waues, we taking one of the long Reedes, found meanes to pierce the vessell, and get good Wine to our ill fare, and drunke so merrily, that before wee came to our iournies end, our former Reede became too short, so as we were faine to piece it with another.

Hauing cast anchor (as I said) in the Port of *Constantinople*, behold, as soone as day began to breake, many companies of Turkes rushing into our Barke, who like so many starued flies fell to sucke the sweete Wines, each rascall among them beating with cudgels and ropes the best of our Marriners, if he durst but repine against it, till within short space the Candian Merchant hauing aduertised the Venetian Ambassadour of their arriual, he sent a Ianizare to protect the Barke, and the goods; and as soone as he came, it seemed to me no lesse strange, that this one man should beate all those Turkes, and driue them out of the Barke like so many dogs, the common Turkes daring no more resist a souldier, or especially a Ianizare, then Christians dare resist them. And the Seriant of the Magistrate hauing taken some of our Greeke Marriners (though subiect to the State of *Venice*) to worke for their *Ottoman* in gathering stones, and like base imployments, this Ianizary caused them presently to be released, and to be sent againe into their Barke, such is the tyranny of the Turkes against all Christians aswel their sub-

Constantinople.

jects as others, so as no man sayeth into these parts, but vnder the Banner of *England*, *France*, or *Venice*, who being in league with the great Turke, haue their Ambassadors in this Citie, and their Consuls in other Hauens, to protect those that come vnder their Banner, in this sort sending them a Ianizare to keepe them from wrongs, so soone as they are aduertised of their arriual.

My selfe lodged in the house of Master *Edward Barton*, the English Ambassadour, who gaue me a Ianizare to guide and protect me, while I went to view the City, round about the whole circuit whereof I went on foot and by boat in foure houres space, the forme of the Citie being triangular, and containing nine miles by Sea towards the North and East, and five miles by land towards the West. I professe my selfe to haue small skill in the art of Geography, yet will I aduenture (though rudely) to set downe the forme and situation of this City; so plainly, as I doubt not but the Reader may easily vnderstand it, howsoeuer in the same (as in other cities formerly described) I acknowledge that I vse not the rule of the scale, in the distance of places, nor other exquisite rules of that Art, hauing no other end, but to make the Reader more easily vnderstand my description.

The description of the City of Constantinople, and the adiacent Territories and Seas.



The great lines or walles shew the forme of the City, and the single small lines describe the Territory adioyning. (A) In this Tower they hang out a light of pitch and like burning matter, to direct the Saylers by night, comming to the City, or sayling along the coast out of the Sea *Euxinus* (which they say is called the Black Sea of many shipwracks

shipwracks therein happening.) And this Tower is sixteene miles distant from the Citie.

(B) Here is a marble pillar erected vpon a Rocke compassed with the sea, which they call the pillar of *Pompey*, and therein many passengers (for their memory) vse to ingraue their names. And here are innumerable flocks of Sea foule and of many kindes, wherewith hee that is skilfull to shoote in his Peece, may abundantly furnilh himselfe.

(C) Here is the Euxine or black Sea.

(D E) Here lie two strong Castles, one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, some eight miles distant from the Citie, built to defend the Hauen from the assault of the enemies by Sea on that side, and the Garrison there kept, searcheth the ships comming from the Citie, that no slaues or prohibited goods be carried therein, neither can any ship passe vnsearched, except they will hazard to be sunck. Finally, the great Turke sends his chiefe prisoners to be kept in these strong Castles.

(F) Here great ships vse to cast anchor at their first arriual, till they bee vnloaded, and here againe they ride at anchor to expect windes, when they are loaded and ready to depart.

(G) All along this banke and the opposite side for a large circuit, the greatest ships vse to lie when they are vnloaded, and they lie most safely and close by the shore, fastened by cables on land.

(H) Here lyes the old Citie built by the Genoesi of *Italy*, called *Gallata* by the Turks, and *Perah* by the Greekes (of the situation beyond the Channell) It is now accounted a Suburbe of *Constantinople*, and is seated vpon a most pleasant hill, wherein for the most part liue Christians, as well subiects as others, and the Ambassadors of *England*, *France*, and *Venice*, only the Emperours Ambassadour must lye within the Citie, more like a pledge of peace, then a free Ambassadour, and very few Turkes liue here mingled with the Christians. The situation of *Gallata* (as I said) is most pleasant. Formerly the Ambassadors of *England* were wont to dwell vpon the Sea-shore in the Plaine, and their Pallace is not farre distant from this note (K): but Master *Edward Barton* the English Ambassadour at this time dwelt vpon the top of the hill, in a faire house within a large field, and pleasant gardens compassed with a wall. And all *Gallata* is full of very pleasant gardens, and compassed with pleasant fields, whereof some towards the land furthest from the Sea, are vsed for the buriall of Turkes.

(I) Here a little Creeke of the Sea is compassed with walles and buildings, within which the Gallies of the great Turke lie in safety, and there be fit places to build Gallies, and store-houses for all things thereunto belonging.

(K) Here is the chiefe passage ouer the water called *Tapano*, where a man may passe for two aspers. All along this Sea banke lye very many great Gunnes (as vpon the Tower Wharfe at *London*), and here the fishers land, and sell their fish.

(L) Here the Megarenses of old built *Chalcedon*, a Citie of *Bethinia*, famous for a Councell held there, by the ruine of which Citie, *Constantinople* increased. At this day there is onely a Village, or rather some scattered houses, and it is commonly called *Scuteri*, or *Scudretta*.

(M) Here the Great Turkes mother then liuing, had her priuate Garden.

(N) Hither the Heyre of the Empire is sent, as it were into banishment, vnder pretence to gouerne the Prouince *Bursia*, as soone as he is circumcised, and so being made a Musulman (that is, a circumcised Turke) first begins to draw the eyes of the Army and Ianizares towards him.

(O) Here is the Pallace or Court of the great Turke, called by the Italians *Seraglio*, and vulgarly *Saray*, and it was of old the Monastery of Saint *Sophia*. *Mahomet* the second first compassed it with walls, and the buildings together with the large and pleasant gardens are some three or foure miles in circuit. I entered the outward Court thereof by a stately Gate kept by many Ianizares called *Capigi* of that office. The court yard was large, all compassed with building of free stone two stories high, with a low and almost plaine rooffe tyled, and without windowes, after the maner of the building
of

of *Italy*, and round about the inside, it was cast out with arches like the building of Cloisters, vnder which they walked drie in the greatest raine. And in this Court is a large pulpit or open roome, where the great Turke vseth to shew himselfe to the Ianizares to satisfie them when they make any mutiny.

(P) Here is a banqueting house, vulgarly called *Chuske*, the prospect whereof is more pleasant then can be expressed, beholding foure Seaes at once, and the land on all sides beyond them.

(Q) Here is the Church of Saint *Sophia*, opposite to the Court Gate, of old built by the Christians after the forme of *Salomons* Temple, and indowed with the annuall rent of three hundred thousand Zechines, now made a Mosche or Mahometan Church. And howsoeuer the Turks cannot indure that vnwashed Christians (so called by them, because they vse not Baths so continually as they doe) should enter their Mosches, or passe ouer their Sepulchers, yet my self entered this Church with the Ianizare my guid, trusting to his power to defend me, yet he willed me first to put of my shooes, and according to the Turkes custome to leaue them in the porch, where they were late till we returned. The Church is of a round forme, and built of bricke, and supported with faire pillars, and pauered with Marble (ouer which the Turks layed Mats to kneele, and prostrate themselues more commodiously vpon them.) The rooffe is beautified with pictures of that rich painting, which the Italians call *alla Mosaica*, shining like enameled work, which now by antiquity were much decayed, and in some parts defaced. Round about the Church hung many Lampes, which they vse to burne in the time of their Lent (called *Beyram*), and euery weeke vpon Thursday in the euening, and Friday all day, which they keepe holy after their fashion for their Sabbath day. Round about the vpper part of the Church are large and most faire Galleries. And here I did see two Nuts of Marble of huge bignesse and great beauty. Moreouer I did see the great Turke when he entered this Church, and howsoeuer it lie close to the Gate of his Pallace, yet he came riding vpon a horse richly trapped, with many troopes of his chiefe horsemen, standing in ranke within the Courts of his Pallace, and from the Court Gate to the Church dore, betweene which troopes on both sides, he passed as betweene walles of brasse, with great pompe. And when a Chaus (or Pensioner) being on horseback did see mee close by the Emperours side, hee rushed vpon me to strike me with his mace, saying, What doth this Christian dog so neere the person of our great Lord? But the Ianizare, whom our Ambassadour had giuen me for a Guide and Protector, repelled him from doing mee any wrong, and many Ianizares (according to their manner) comming to helpe him, the Chaus was glad to let mee alone, and they bade me be bold to stand still, though I were the second or third person from the Emperour. Neere this Church is the stately Sepulcher of *Selymus* the second, and another Sepulcher no lesse stately, and newly built for *Amurath* lately deceased, where he lay with those male children round about him, who according to the manner were strangled by his Successour after hee was dead. Not farre thence is the Market place hauing some one hundred marble pillars about it, and adorned with a Pyramis or pinnacle, erected vpon foure Globes, and with a pleasant Fountaine of water, together with other ornaments left (as it seemes) by Christian Emperours.

(R) The wonderfull Mosche and Sepulcher of *Solyman*, numbred among the miracles of the World.

(S) Two houses for the same vse, as the *Exchange* of *London*, where the Merchants meete, namely, for the selling of fine wares, but no way to be compared to the same for the building. They are called the great and the lesse Bezeestan, and vse to bee opened onely certaine daies of the weeke, and for some fixe howers, at which times small and more pretious wares are there to be sold, as Jewels, Semiters (or Swords), set with Jewels, but commonly counterfet, pieces of Veluet, Satten, and Damaske, and the like. And the Market place is not farre distant, where Captiues of both sexes are weekly sold, and the buyers if they will, may take them into a house, and there see them naked, and handle them (as wee handle beasts to know their fatnesse and strength.)

Here

(T) Here is a Fort that is fortified with seven Towers, called by the Turkes *Iadicule*, and by Christians the seven Towers, where a garrison of Souldiers is kept, because the Emperors treasure is there laid vp, and chiefe Prisoners vse to be kept there. The treasure is vulgarly said to bee laied vp there, but the great Turke seldome goes thither; and since it is true, that where the treasure is, there is the mind, I thinke it probable (which I haue heard of experienced men) that most of the treasure lies in the *Seraglio*, where the great Turke holds his Courr.

(V) Here be the ruines of a Pallace vpon the very wals of the City, called the Pallace of *Constantine*, wherein I did see an Elephant, called *Philo* by the Turkes, and another beast newly brought out of *Affricke*, (the Mother of Monsters) which beast is altogether vnknowne in our parts, and is called *Surnapa* by the people of *Asia*, *Astanapa* (or *Cameleopard*) by others, and *Giraffa* by the Italians, the picture whereof I remember to haue seene in the Mappes of *Mercator*; and because the beast is very rare, I will describe his forme as well as I can. His haire is red coloured, with many blacke and white spots; I could scarce reach with the points of my fingers to the hinder part of his backe, which grew higher and higher towards his foreshoulder, and his necke was thinne and some three els long, so as hee easily turned his head in a moment to any part or corner of the roome wherein he stood, putting it ouer the beames thereof, being built like a Barne, and high (for the Turkish building, not vnlike the building of *Italy*, both which I haue formerly described) by reason whereof he many times put his nose in my necke, when I thought my selfe furthest distant from him, which familiarity of his I liked not; and howsoeuer the Keepers assured me he would not hurt me, yet I auoided these his familiar kisses as much as I could. His body was slender, not greater, but much higher then the body of a stagge or Hart, and his head and face was like to that of a stagge, but the head was lesse and the face more beautifull: He had two hornes, but short and scarce halfe a foote long; and in the forehead he had two bunches of flesh, his eares and feete like an Oxe, and his legges like a stagge. The Ianizare my guide did in my name and for me giue twenty Aspers to the Keeper of this Beast.

(VV X) Here be two Castles or Forts, diuided by the *Hellepont*, one seated in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, whereof I made mention in my sayling to *Constantinople*, and of which I shall speake more largely at my going from this City.

Constantinople built (sixe hundred sixty three yeeres before Christ was borne), by *Pausanias* a Lacedemonian, was first called *Bizantium*, till *Constantine* the Great in the yeere of the Lord 315, did rebuild it, after it had beene destroyed by the Emperour *Seuerus*, and called it by his name. The Turkes vnder *Mahomet* the second, first tooke this City, in the yeere 1453, from the Christians, with destruction of great multitudes of them, and at this day it is called (of the great circuit) *Stimboli* by the Græcians, and *Stambolda* by the Turkes. It is seated in *Thrace* (also called *Romania*) and is built in forme of a Triangle, whereof two sides towards the North and East, lie vpon two seas, and the third side towards the West, lies vpon the continent of *Greece*. For many causes this City is famous, and in two respects may be iustly preferred to any other in the World knowne to vs, namely for the pleasantnesse of the situation, and the largenesse and safety of the Hauen. The forme thereof formerly set downe, doth in part shew the pleasantnes of the situation, but the fruitfulnessse of the fields, the sweetnes and beauty of the flowers, and the variety and goodnesse of the fruits cannot sufficiently be praised. The fishes in the winter season flying from the cold of the Euxine or black Sea, fall downe in great numbers into the Sea *Propontis*, passing close by the wals of the City; and againe in Summer time, not induring the heat of the Mediterranean sea, returne backe in like numbers the same way. This City hath a thousand pleasant creekes of the Sea within sight. To conclude, the Countrey is no lesse pleasant then the Inhabitants are wicked.

The Hauen will receiue an huge number of shippes; and vpon both the bankes of the City and *Gallata*, shippes of 500. tunnes or greater once vnloaded, may so lie with their cables fastened on the Land, as they can passe from the shippes to Land without any boates, and for the excellency of the Port, the City it selfe is called the Port by the

T. Bewick's History of Quadrupeds. p. 91. Edit. 8^{vo}. Newcastle 1790.
Buffons Natural Hist. Voy Barr. V. l. 8. fig. 165. p. 266. Lond. 2^{vo} 1797.

Turkes, and *Ouid* calls it the Port of two Seas; for the two channels of *Propontis*, and the *Euxine* Sea. Of old the City had eleuen gates called, *Aurea*, *Pargea*, *Romana*, *Carthagea*, *Regia*, *Caligaria*, *Kilma*, *Harmagöna*, *Phara*, *Theodosia*, and *Spilica*. At this day the slender wall of bricke towards the Sea, hath thirteene gates not worth the naming. The wall towards the Land is of bricke, and is said to haue beene much ruined in the yeere 1509, by an Earth-quake, yet still on that side are three wals which are broad enough for a cart to passe, of which the outmost towards land is little higher then the foundation of the second, nor that much higher then the foundation of the third, the fields on that side being plaine, yet in like sort rising higher and higher as they be neerer to the wals of the City, saue that neere the foresaid Pallace of *Constantine*, some hills lie without the wals.

This City (as *Rome*) is said to containe seuen Hills or mounts within the wals, wherof some to me seemed imaginary, but I will reckon them as they doe, and first beginne with the hill, vpon which stand the ruines of *Constantines* Pallace. The second hath the stately Mosche (or Turkish Church) built vpon the Pallace, which of old belonged to the Græcian Patriarke. Vpon the third stands the stately Mosche and most richly built Sepulcher of *Mahomet* the second, with an Hospitall built by the same Emperour, where all Turkish Pilgrimes haue theit lodging and diet freely for three daies, and it hath one hundred and fifty chambers built for the poore of the City, and the yeerely rents thereof are valued at two hundred thousand zechines, yea the Court or *Seraglio* of the Great Turke paies each day an hundred Aspers to this Hospitall. The Sepulcher of *Selimus* takes vp the fourth hill, and the sepulcher of *Baiazet*, the fifth hill. Betweene the fifth and the sixth hill, is the old Pallace of the Great Turke, (which the Italians call *Seraglio vecchio*), where the Concubines of the deceased Emperour, and the present Emperours sisters and a great number of his concubines, (for the fairest and dearest to him are taken to liue in his Court), are kept by Eunuches within this old *Seraglio*, which is of great circuit, containing many houses and gardens compassed within one wall. Vpon the sixth hill stands the foresaid wonderfull Mosche and Sepulcher of *Solyman*, noted with the letter (R). Lastly, the seuenth hill containes the chiefe Pallace of the Great Turke, and the Church Saint *Sophia*, now made a Mosche, noted with the Letters O. Q.

The tops of the Sepulchers and Mosches, being of a round forme and couered with brasfe, and the spacious gardens of Cypresse and Firre trees, make shew of more beauty and magnificence to the beholder from any high place, or without the wals, then in deed the City hath. The Sepulchers are no doubt very stately built, hauing vpon the top one two or more round globes couered with leade or brasfe. On the inside they seeme like lightsome Chappels with many windowes, and they being built in a round forme, the dead Emperour is laied in the middest or center of the Sepulcher, in a chest or coffin raised some three foot from the ground, hauing the Tulbent which hee wore vpon his head in his life time laied vpon his Tombe, being set forth with the Iewels he most esteemed, (which Tulbent is made of some twenty or more yards of pure and fine white linnen, foulded in many foulds, in the forme of a halfe globe). Next the Emperour lies the Sultana or Empreffe, in her Coffin, (so they call his Concubine, Mother of his Heire and Successour), provided alwaies that shee haue had a letter of dowry by which shee is made his wife; for otherwise shee is not buried with him. And round about the Emperour and Empreffe in Coffins lower then theirs, lie the bodies of his male children, which (according to their manner) are strangled by his Successour as soone as he was dead, and vpon their Coffins likewise their Tulbents are laied seuerally. These children are laied in little Coffins of Cypresse, and this middle part wherein the dead bodies lie, is compassed with a grate, so as betweene the bodies and the windowes there is a gallery round about, which is spred with Turkey carpets, and vpon them the Priests that keepe the Sepulcher, doe lie by night, and sit crosse legged by day, neither is the roome at any time without some of these Keepers, so as the Emperours are attended euen after death.

The buildings of the City haue no magnificence, being partly of a matter like
bricke,

bricke, but white, and (as it seemes) vnhardned by fire, partly of timber and clay, excepting some few pallaces which are of free stone, but nothing so stately built as might be expected from the pride and riches of the great Turkes chiefe seruants. And these houses (as those of the adiacent territories of *Europe*) are built only 2 stories high, with a low rooſe without any windowes, after the manner of *Italy*, whereas the houses of *Asia* haue a plaine and plaistered rooſe to walke vpon, especially in *Asia* the greater. The streetes of this Citie are narrow, and shadowed with pentises of wood, and vpon both sides the way is raised some foot high, but of little breadth, and pauered for men and women to passe, the middest of the street being left low and vnauered, and no broader, then for the passage of Asses or beasts loaded. In many places of the streetes lye carcases, yea sometimes the bodies of dead men, euen till they be putrified, and I thinke this vncleanlinesse of the Turks (who otherwise place Religion in washing their bodies, and keeping their apparrell, especially their Tulbent pure and cleane) is the chiefe cause that this Citie, though most pleasantly seated, yet aboue all the Cities of the world is continually more or lesse infected with the plague. They say, that *Iob*, famous for his pietie and patience, is buried in this Citie: but I did not see his monument, and thinke it probable, that the same and all like Christian monuments, were defaced by the Turks when they tooke the Citie.

The worthie English Ambassadour, Master *Edward Barton* most curteously entertained me with lodging and dyet so long as I staid in this Citie, so as for them I spent not one Asper: but I passe ouer the due praises which I owe to the memory of this worthy Gentleman, being hereafter to speake more of him, I will onely adde, that I attended him once to the great Turkes Court, and when I had nothing satisfied my curiositie in viewing the Citie by occasions casually happening, that hee commaunded a Ianizare to guide mee round about the same, till I had taken full view thereof. And with this guide the first day I viewed the foresaid monuments within the walles, and the second day compassed the Citie without the walles, beginning at the passage ouer the water called *Tapano*, and noted with the letter (K), and so passing by water (in a boat, vulgarly called *Pyrane*, and hired for fortie aspers) to the Castle of the seuen Towers, noted with the letter (T), then passing by land to the Pallace of *Constantine*, noted with the letter (V.)

And by the way as we passed by land, an old woman meeting vs, and taking me for a Captiue to be sold, demaunded my price of the Ianizare; who for mirth entertained her offer to buy me and another Gentleman, seruant to the Ambassadour, whom hee had sent to beare me company: but because I was very slender and leane after my long sicknes, he could not induce her to giue more then one hundred aspers for me, though she offered foure hundred aspers for the other Gentleman in my company, as the Ianizare told me in the Italian tongue, when he had intertained this discourse with her to passe away the time in our long walke. From the foresaid Pallace of *Constantine* we hired a boat for eight aspers, and so by water returned to the passage *Tapano*, from whence we set forth, hauing gone by land and water the full circuit of the Citie, being nine miles by water, and fise by land. Thence wee returned to the Ambassadors house, where I gaue the Ianizare my guide fifty aspers for his paines.

A Venetian ship called the great Lion was now ready to set sayle from *Constantinople* to *Venice*, which commoditie of my speedy returne I thought good to take, and hauing agreed with the Patron or Maister of the ship, and being promised by the chiefe of the Marriners (whom I had bound vnto me with some curtisies) that they would without faile call me before they were to set sayle, I passed the time in the sweete conuersation of this worthy Ambassadour, more securely then I should haue done, til one euening I heard a great piece of Ordinance discharged, and thereupon suspected (as indeede it fell out) that this ship ready to set sayle, gaue this warning piece to call aboard the Marriners and passengers. And so I made all the haste I could to the water side; but when I came thither, saw that my labour was in vaine, the ship being vnder sayle, and gone out of the Hauen. My selfe, my seruant, and a Gentleman, the Ambassadors seruant, and sent by him into *England* with letters to the

Queene from the great Turke, being thus left behind, presently tooke one of the Ambassadors Ianizares for our Guide, and vpon the last day of Februarie (in the end of the yeere 1596 according to the English computation, or in the beginning of the yeere 1597, according to the computation of most Kingdomes, beginning the yeere the first of Ianuary) hired a boat (called *Pyrame*) for one thousand Aspers to *Gallipoli*, in hope to ouertake the great ship sayling slowly, before it could passe the straight of *Hellepont*. And the same evening in which the great ship set sayle, wee in our little boat sayled by the shoare of *Thrace* fortie miles to *Selebris*, a towne of *Thrace*, not without great feare and farre greater danger of being cast away. For when we found the little boate vnfit to passe the great waues of the Sea (though much calmer then other Seas), and therefore willed our Marriner to sayle close by the shoare, he told vs, that there was greater danger from the cues vpon the shoare, then from the waues of the sea, and so easily perswaded vs to imitate the Prophet *Dauid*, committing our selues rather to the hands of God by sayling in the deepe, then into the hands of men by coasting the shoare. When we had passed the darke night without sleepe in this obscure harbor, the next morning early being Tuesday, and the first of March, we sayled twenty miles to *Erylis*, seated vpon the same shore of *Thracia*, not without extreme danger of being cast away, which we often and iustly feared, and our Ianizare no lesse, who either for feare, or repentance of his sins, shed abundance of teares. *Erylis* was of old called *Heraclea*, famously knowne by hauing been the seat of the Greeke Patriark and many Christian Emperours. Here we left the boat which we had hired at *Constantinople*, hauing found it vnfit for this passage: but howsoeuer wee had hired it to *Gallipoli*, yet the Marriner would remit nothing of the coucnanted price. From hence to *Gallipoli* we hired for eight hundred aspers a greater Barke called *Cayke*. The second of March, notwithstanding the rage of the windes and the waues, we set saile, and landed at the Iland *Marmora* after fiftie miles sayle, in which Iland I had formerly been, and to the mention thereof formerly made, let me now adde, that it is inhabited only with Greeks, and these Greeks fearing lest our Ianizare (after their maner) would pay them nothing for our necessities, and he being a yong vnexperienced man, and so not carrying himself with such authoritie as other Ianizares doe, we could not get lodging nor diet in any house, til at last our selues promising to pay honestly for al we took, we were receiued into a house (where as we were wont) we slept vpon our owne bedding, they hauing no conuenient beds, and we paid for two Egges one asper; for a Caponet five and twentie aspers; for our fier five and twentie aspers; and for the vse of the house five and twentie aspers; as likewise in other places where we landed, wee paid commonly sixteene aspers or thereabouts, each night for our lodging, and the vse of the house. The third of March wee set sayle after midnight, and hauing sayled sixtie miles, came before breake of day to *Gallipolis*, and the same day hiring a boat with two Oares for two hundred aspers, we passed eight and twentie miles, and found the great ship of *Venice* at anchor, but not daring to goe aboard in the night, wee slept in our little boat fastened to the shoare, with no little inconuenience, because it rained all night. The fourth of March we gaue the Ianizare our guide three hundred twentie eight aspers for his paines, and to beare his charges back, which was a small sum for so great a iourney. Yet after some repining he was satisfied therewith, because he serued the English Ambassadour. Then we went aboard the Venetian ship, called the great Lion, and when I remembred, that the ship wherein I sailed from *Venice* to *Ierusalem* was called the little Lion, I was stirred vp to giue praise and humble thanks to the great Lion of the Tribe of *Iuda*, who through so many dangers preserued mee in this voyage. This Venetian ship was forced heere to expect the pleasure of the Turkish Searchers and Customers, namely, at the two Castles vpon the entrie of the Straight of *Hellepont*, wherof I made mention in my sayling from *Candia* to *Constantinople*, and in the description of that Citie haue noted them with the letters (W) and (X). For the ships that come from *Constantinople*, vse to bee detained here some three daies, to the end that in case they carry away priuate mens slaues, the Masters may haue time to follow after them; and in like case if they carrie away any prisoners or offenders, the

the publike Magistrates may haue meanes to bring them backe. Besides, these searchers and Customers looke, that they carry no prohibited wares, neither can the ship, nor any passenger be suffered to passe these Castles, except they bring the Pasport of the great Turke, which the chiefe Visere or Bassia vseth to grant vnto them. Thus when no ship without the knowledge of the chiefe Visere can either passe these Castles leading to the *Mediterranean* Sea, or the two Castles aboue leading into the *Euxine* Sea, noted with (D E), surely these foure Castles are the greatest strength of *Constantinople* by Sea.

I said, that these Castles, where we found the Venetian ship, are in the description of *Constantinople* noted with the letters (W) and (X), and they are now commonly called the Castles of *Gallipolis*: but of old that noted with the letter (W) was called *Sestos*, being a Citie in *Thrace*, in which the most faire *Hero* was borne and dwelt; and the other noted with the letter (X) was called *Abydos*, being a Citie of *Asia* the lesse, in which *Leander* dwelt, famous for his loue to *Hero*, and these Castles are diuided by the *Hellepont* some two miles broad, at least so narrow, as *Leander* is said often to haue swomme ouer it to his beloued *Hero*. The Castle of *Sestos* more specially is seated in a most fertile soyle; for *Nairo*, the next adioyning towne, yeeldes excellent Wines, and all necessaries to sustaine life plentifully. Howsoeuer the ships ought, and vse to bee staied here for three daies, yet a very faire winde blowing, and all duties being performed, the Patrons of the ships by a large gift to the Officers, sometimes obtaine leaue to depart sooner. They say, that each passenger by Pole payeth here one zechine for tribute: but perhaps this belongs onely to Merchants, for my selfe, my seruant, and the English Gentleman in my company, hauing giuen betweene vs one zechine to the substitutes of the Venetian Bailiffe (so their Ambassador is called), we were dismissed vpon their motion, yet we moreouer gaue fortie aspers to a Ianizare, and fiftie aspers to a Chiauslar for the fees of their offices.

It being vnwholsome to sleep aboue the hatches of the ship at this time of the yeere (though in summer time I made choice to sleepe so, when I sailed from *Venice* to *Ierusalem*), we three, namely, my selfe, the English Gentleman and my seruant, gaue for each of vs three zechines to the Pilot to be partners with him in his cabin, which by his Office hee had proper to himselfe in the Castle of the ship; and to the Patron or Master of the ship for our diet, we paid each of vs after the rate of five zechines and a halfe by the moneth, as well at Sea, as in Harbors; and for our passage we ioynly paid ten ducats of *Venice*, (so as I still paid two parts of three in all expences); besides that, wee brought with vs some hundreds of Egges, and a vessell of excellent Wine of *Palormo*, which our Ambassadour at *Constantinople* gaue vs.

Vpon Monday the seuenth of *March* (after the old stile vsed in *Turky* by all Christians and others) in the afternoone we set sayle, and passed the straight of *Hellepont*, and the same night sayled by the foresaid Island of *Tenedos*. This Sea is called *Pontus* of the adiacent Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, named *Pontus*, which Prouince containes *Colchis* (famous by the old Argonauticall expedition), *Capidocia*, and *Armenia*. The eight of *March*, early in the morning, we did see the Island *Lemnos* (famous for a kind of earth there digged, and in Latin called *Terra Sigillata*) vpon our right hand, and the Islands *Metelene*, and *Chios* (now called *Zio*), and the Citie *Smirna* (vpon the continent of *Asia* the lesse) vpon our left hand, (to omit *Ephe sus*, not farre distant vpon the same continent.) And being now entred into the *Aegean* Sea (now called *Archipelagus* of fiftie Islands standing like Arches, and not farre distant one from the other, which are called *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*), the ninth of *March*, hauing now sailed eightie miles, and being to sayle by the Island Saint *George* of *Skyra*, the windes were so contrary, as wee were forced to strike sayles, and lie at hull (that is, tossed to an fro by the waues.) The same day we set sayle, and left the Island *Andros* (one of the *Cyclades*) and the Island *Tynos* (subiect to the Venetians) on our left hand, or towards the East, and the Island *Negropont* (lying close to the continent of *Attica*, and right offer against the ruines of famous *Athens*) on our right hand, or towards the West. The tenth and eleuenth of *March*, wee sayled 100 miles in the same Sea full of Islands, and sailed by the Islands

Tenedos.

Lemnos.

Metelene.

Zio.

Smirna.

Andros.

Athens.

Gib

Gia and *Makarone*. But towards night contrary windes rising high, and we fearing to be cast vpon some shoare of many adiacent Ilands, againe we struck sayle and lay at hull, tossing to and fro, but making small or no progresse. The twelfth of March, early in the morning, we set sayle, and sayled by the Iland *Milo* (of old called *Miletum*), where Saint *Paul* landed, *Acts* 20. 15), and a neere Iland *Sdiles* (of old called *Delos*, and most famous for the Oracle of *Apollo*), and the Promontory of *Morea* (of old called *Peloponessus*, containing many Prouinces of *Greece*), which promontory is called *Capo Malleo*. The thirteenth of March, hauing sayled one hundred and ninety miles, we passed by the Iland *Cerigo*, not subiect to the Turkes (as most of the Ilands are), but to the Venetians, who in a Castle on the South side keepe a Garrison of souldiers. It is one of the *Cyclades*, seated at the entrance of the *Archipelagus* towards the South, scarce five miles distant from *Morea* (the foresaid continent of *Greece*) and some one hundred and fiftie miles from *Candia*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland *Candia*, and was of old called *Scotera*, also *Porphoris*, of that precious kind of Marble there digged, and also *Citherea*, of which as her chiefe seate *Venus* is often so called. And to this day there are seene the ruines of a Temple dedicated to *Venus*, and of a Pallace belonging to *Menelaus* the husband of *Helena*. From the thirteenth to the seuenteenth of March, the windes were so contrary or scant, as wee onely sayled one hundred and twenty miles, and tooke harbour in the Iland *Zante*, subiect to the Venetians (whereof I made mention in my voyage from *Venice* to *Ierusalem*.) Here some English Merchants continually reside, and the Hauē being commodious, and most ships that trade in these Seaes vsing to put into this Harbor, the goods that are diuersly transported thence, are vulgarly, but falsely, esteemed the native commodities of the Iland. It hath scarce sixtie miles in circuit, and the Mountaines round about vpon the Sea-side, inclose a pleasant and fruitfull Plaine. The Hauē is like an halfe Moone increasing, and the chiefe Towne called *Zante*, lies in a little Plaine vpon the innermost part thereof in length. The buildings of the houses are two stories high, with a tyled, but low rooffe without any windowes (according to the building of *Italy*) but are poore and base for the matter, so as the onely beautie of the Towne lies in the Castle built at the East end vpon a high Hill, being of a large circuit, and containing many houses and Churches within the walles thereof. In which Castle the Gouvernour (called *il Podesta*) and the other Venetian inferior Magistrates dwell, and giue Law to the people of that Iland.

The Turkish Pirats of Saint *Mauro* in *Morea*, hauing lately set vpon and taken a huge Venetian ship, did lade seuentene of their little barques with the most pretious goods thereof, namely, clothes of Gold, Damasks and Grogerans, to the value of a thousand thousand zechines (as the report went), and setting the ship on fire, tooke away the marriners for slaues. And the very time of my being in this Iland, seuen Turkish Gallies lay vpon this coast, and robbed all the Venetian ships falling into their hands, so as howsoeuer they had peace then with the Turkish *Ottoman*, yet their ships durst not stirre out of this hauē. Whereupon they hauing now occasion to send out ships for Corne, the Magistrate forced the Master of an English ship then harbouring there, to waite these ships, though much against his will, when there were some 20. Venetian ships in the same Hauē, whereof diuers were of 400 or 500 tuns. Also at this time it hapned, that a Spanish ship of *Catolonia* was driuen into this Harbor, and the Magistrate calling our Merchants before him, would haue forced them to giue caution, that the English ships then lying there, should not assaile the same, though betweene *England* & *Spaine* war had now long time bin proclaimed: but they contending against this course as iniurious to them, yet could not be dismissed, till they gaue their words, that our ships should not assaile the same by day or night, so long as it lay in this Hauē. And this Spanish ship for long time not daring to goe forth, at last vpon occasion of Venetian Gallies landing there, was waisted by them, and so escaped. Vpon the robbing and burning of the foresaid Venetian ship by Turkish Pyrates, the Venetian Baliffe, (so they call their Ambassadour) lying then at *Constantinople*, had obtained the great Turkes Mandate, that these Pyrates gallies being burnt, they

they should presently be sent in bonds to his Court, and this Mandate was brought by a Chiauff, (or Pencioner) who came in the same ship with vs, whereupon the Pyrates being more intraged against the Venetians, did at this time take and spoyle another Venetian ship of some foure hundred and fifty Tunnes, called the *Syluester*, and not content with the most rich booty, did cast into the Sea many Marriners yeelding to mercy, and could hardly be perswaded by the intercession of Turkes passengers in the same ship, to spare the liues of some twenty chiefe Marriners yet aliue, and to forbear the burning of the ship. The Italians of best iudgement, did not expect that the great Turke would duly punish these outrages, but rather were of opinion that himselfe and his chiefe Visere would draw the greatest part of the prey to their own hands, and that the Turkish Gouvernours inticed by like participation, would endeouour to free these Pyrates, and doe their best to nourish them, yea, that this very Chiauff now sent with a Mandate to suppress them, would be induced by bribes, to returne to *Constantinople*, with relation that the Pyrates could not be found, so they did (as no doubt they would) for a time hide themselves, and in conclusion, that the Venetians after hauing spent much money in obtaining new Mandates for their apprehension, should find no other remedy, but to repell force by force.

Vpon Wednesday the thirtieth of March, (after the old stile) in the beginning of the yeere 1597, we set saile, but by contrarietie of winds, were againe driuen backe in-
to the Hauen of *Zante*. Vpon Friday the first of Aprill after dinner, againe we set saile, and the second of Aprill sayling by the Iland *Cefalonis*, (whereof I spake in our voyage from *Venice* to *Ierusalem*), we cast anchor in the outward Hauen of the Iland *Corfu*, because the Master of our ship was sicke, and this his sicknesse increasing, we set saile to returne backe to the chiefe City of that Iland, the Hauen whereof we entered the sixth of Aprill. From *Zante* to *Cefalonis* are seüenty miles, and from thence to *Corfu* are 120 miles.

This Iland *Corfu* inhabited by Greekes is very fertile, yeelding plenty of fruites, corne, wines, and Currands, and this Hauen is fortified with two Forts cut out off a Rocke, namely, the old and the new Fort, (which is more then a mile in circuit), both being very strong and held vnexpugnable, so as this Iland is worthily reputed one of the chiefe Keyes of Christendome. The Master of our ship hauing recovered his health, we set saile vpon Tuesday the twelfth of Aprill, and returned againe to the foresaid outward Hauen of *Corfu* Iland, where an old woman a passenger died, and her kinsemen carried her body to be buried on Land. Here againe we were forced to stay, the winds being contrary.

At last vpon the nineteenth of Aprill towards euening, with a faire wind we ioyfully set saile, and the twentieth day we sailed ouer the streight Sea, betweene *Greece* and the Prouince of *Apulia* in *Italy*. Vpon Friday the two and twentieth of Aprill towards the euening, hauing sayled some two hundred miles from the said streight, we were carried by the shoare of the City *Ragusa*, with a faire gale of wind, and had the wind beene neuer so contrary, yet our Master knowing some late difference risen betweene the Raguzeans and Venetians, would not willingly haue landed in that Hauen. The blame of which difference some imputed to the Raguzeans, in that they fauoured the *Scocchi*, a Neighbour people vpon the shoare of *Sclauonia*, who being subiect to the Emperour and Christians, yet robbed all kinds of ships passing these Seas, and had lately spoiled and burnt a Venetian Gally in the Port of *Rouingo*. But other alleaged a more probable cause thereof, namely, that some Venetian Gentlemen for some veneratorious insolencies there committed, had lately beene slaine in a tumult. *Ragusa* of old called *Epidauros*, and the chiefe City of *Sclauonia*, is foure hundred miles distant from *Venice*, built at the foot of an high mountaine, vpon the Sea shoare, and hath great trafficke by those Seas, and huge ships, which the Kings of *Spain* haue often hired, and ioined to their Nauy. The gouernement is popular, and this City to the wonder of many, doth to this day maintaine the liberty, though it be seated betweene the very iawes of the two powerfull States of the great Turke and Venetians, to one of which all other neere Townes Ilands and Countries are subiect. For the Ve-

March 30.

Ann. 1597.

Cefalonis.

Corfu.

Ragusa.

netians are loath to driue them being Christians to such despaire, as they might be forced to yeeld themselves to the great Turke, and the City is very strongly fortified towards the sea, whence the Venetians can onely assaile them: besides, that they pay great customes of their trafficke to the State of *Venice*, for which reason that State attempts nothing against the freedome of the City. Againe, the Turkes knowing that if they should besiege the City by Land, the Citizens would with all their best mouebles flie into *Italy* by Sea, and receiuing also a great yeerely tribute from the trafficke of this City, (where the great Turke hath his owne Officer called *Chiauffagha* to gather the same,) are also content not to molest them by warre, especially since they know that the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and the State of *Venice*, would assist the *Raguzians* against them, and no way indure that the Turkish Ottoman should make himselfe Lord of that Hauen.

Vpon the three and twenty of Aprill towards euening, we sayled by the little Iland *Augusta*, (being yet of a good large circuit, and populous, and subiect to the *Raguzians*, but the Coast is dangerous for ships arriual, by reason of the Rockes called the *Augustines*,) and by the little Iland *Corfolari*. Some Ilands in this Sea are subiect to the *Raguzians*, and some neere to the Northerne continent, haue the Great Turke for their Lord, but the rest are subiect to the Venetians, and are very many in number, but little, and good part of them little or not at all inhabited. The Italians our consorts, told vs of an Iland not farre distant, called *Pelagusa*, and lying neere the continent of *Italy*, vpon the Coast whereof the famous Turkish Pyrate of *Algier*, (a Hauen in *Africa*) was lately wont to houer and lie hidden, and made rich booties of the Venetian and Italian Merchants. Vpon Sunday the foure and twenty of Aprill, we had in sight, and little distant, the little Ilands, *Catza* and *Lissa*, and in the afternoone on our left hand towards *Italy* the Iland *Pomo*, and in the euening towards *Dalmatia*, two Ilands, and vpon the continent the City *Zaga*, being some two hundred miles distant from *Venice*. And the night following we sailed ouer an arme of the Sea some thirty miles broad, lying betweene *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, called *Il Cornaro*, which we passed without any appearance of danger, though otherwise it be generally reputed so dangerous, as the Venetians offended with any Marriner, vse this imprecation; *Maledetto sia il Cornaro che t'ha lasciato passare*; that is: Cursed be the *Cornaro* for letting thee passe. Vpon Monday the fve and twenty of Aprill, as we sailed by the Coast of *Istria*, one of the Marriners aged, and (as we thought) honest, and of some authority among the rest, priuately admonished me, that I should safely locke vp our goods in our chests, lest the inferior Marriners should steale our shirts, or any other thing they found negligently left, which they vsed to doe, especially at the end of any voyage. Vpon Tuesday the fixe and twenty of April, we cast anchor beyond *Pola*, in the continent of *Istria*, a City now ruined, and vpon the seuen and twenty day we entred the Hauen of *Rouingo* in *Istria*, subiect to the Venetians, where the ships vse to take a Pilot for their owne safety, or els are tied so to doe by some old priuiledge of that City. Here the Prouisors for health gaue vs liberty of free conuersation, (as they had formerly done at *Zante*), seeing no man in our ship to be sicke or sickely. And I did not a little wonder, when I obserued each second or third person of this City to halt and be lame of one foot, which made me remember the Citizens of *Ilebe* in *Germany*, and in the Prouince of *Saxony*, where almost all the men haue wry neckes; whereof I knew the cause, namely because they vsed daily to dig in mines, with their neckes leaning on one side: but of this common lamenes of the Inhabitants in *Rouingo*, I could not learne any probable cause, except it were the foule disease of luse, raining in those parts, which I rather thought likely, because the lameness was common to weomen as men.

Now the sayling in our great ship was like to be more troublesome, dangerous, and slow, whereupon fve of vs ioyning together, did vpon the thirtieth of Aprill (after the old stile) hier a boate of fixe Oares, for seuen Venetian Duckets to *Venice*, where we arriued the next day towards euening, and staid in our boat vpon the wharfe of the Market place of Saint *Marke*, till the Prouisors of health sitting in their Office neere that place, came vnto vs, and after some conference, vnderstanding that we and our ship

ship were free of all infection or sicknesse, gaue vs free liberty of conuersation. Wee staid three dayes at *Venice* to refresh our selues, and paid each man three lyres for each meale in a Dutch Inne.

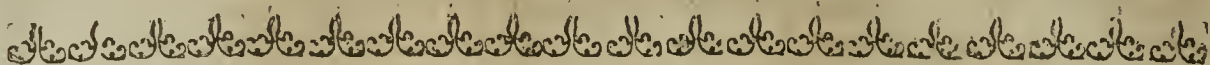
Then hauing receiued money of a Merchant, I went to the Village *Mestre*, and there bought of Dutchmen newly arriued in *Italy*, two horses for my selfe and my man, the one for thirtie, the other for twentie ducates. These horses I sold at *Stode* in *Germany* after my iourney ended, at, or about the same rate. He that hath the Dutch tongue, and either knowes the waies of *Germany* himselve, or hath consorts skilfull therein, being to trauell from *Stode*, or those parts into *Italy*, shall finde more profit in buying a horse in those parts of *Germany*, for so hee shall saue great summes vsually paid for coches, and at the iournies end, or rather by the way towards the ende of his iourney, may in *Italy* sell his horses with good profit. In the Village *Mestre*, each of vs paid each meale fiftie soldi, that is, two lires and a halfe.

From hence we took the right way to *Augsburg* in *Germany*, to *Nurnberg*, *Brunswick*, and to *Stode*, an old Citie lying on the Northern Sea of *Germany*. The particulars of which iourney I here omit, hauing in my iourney to *Ierusalem* passed the very same way from *Stode* to *Venice*.

So as it shall suffice to adde some few things in generall. Within the confines of *Italy*, each man of vs paid for each meale fortie, and sometimes fiftie Venetian soldi, and for hay and stable for his horse commonly at noone foure soldi, at night twelue soldi, and for ten measures of oates giuen each day to each horse fiftie soldi.

After we entred *Germany*, each man paid each meale commonly twentie creitzers, at *Inspruch* twentie foure, and sometimes twentie six creitzers, for hay six creitzers a day, or thereabouts, and for ten measures of oates, seruing one horse for a day wee paid fiftie creitzers. In the middle Prouinces of *Germany*, each of vs paid for each meale commonly sixteene creitzers, that is, foure batzen, and in the parts vpon the Northerne sea some foure Lubeck shillings. And from the Citie *Armstat* (seated betweene *Augsburg* and *Nurnberg*) to the said Northern sea side, we had a new measure of oates called *Hembd*, one of which measures was sold for some tenne Lubeck shillings, and serued three horses for our baite at noone, and another was almost sufficient for them at night.

From *Stode* seated vpon the *German* Sea, we passed in a boat to the outmost Hauen, where wee went abroad an English ship vpon the fourth of Iuly (after the old stile) being Tuesday. The sixt of Iuly early in the morning we set sayle, and the eight of Iuly we came vpon the most wished land of *England*, and cast anchor neere *Orford*, a Castle in *Suffolke*. Vpon Saturday the ninth of Iuly (after the old stile) we landed at *Grauesend*, and without delay with the night-tide passed in a boat to *London*, where we arriued on Sunday at foure of the clock in the morning, the tenth of Iuly, in the yeere 1597. *Iuly 10, an-1597.* our hearts being full of ioy, that our mercifull God had safely brought vs thither. This early hower of the morning being vnfit to trouble my friends, I went to the Cocke (an Inne of *Aldersgate* streete) and there apparrelled as I was, laid me downe vpon a bed, where it happened, that the Constable and watchmen (either being more busie in their office then need was, or hauing extraordinary charge to search vpon some foraine intelligence, and seeing me apparrelled like an Italian) tooke me for a Iesuit or Priest (according to their ignorance; for the crafty Priests would neuer haue worne such clothes as I then did. But after some few howers when I awaked, and while I washed my hands, did inquire after my friends health, dwelling in the same streete, the Host of the house knowing me, dismissed the watchmen that lay to apprehend me, and told me how I had been thus mistaken.



CHAP. V.

Of the iourney through England, Scotland and Ireland.



He that desires to see the Cities and Antiquities of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, let him reade the Chapter of the vse all manner of all kingdomes to iourney, and to hire Coches and horses, and also the Chapter, wherein these Kingdomes are Geographically described out of *Camden*, or if he list, rather let him reade *Camden* himselfe of this point: and lastly let him in the same last named Chapter peruse the diet of these Kingdomes, and the entertainment in Innes. Touching the distantes of places by miles: first, for *England* he shall easily find a little printed booke particularly

setting downe the same. For *Scotland* I will briefly set downe my iourney therein. And for *Ireland*, the Cities being rare and farre distant, hee must haue a guide, who may without great trouble inquire them out. Onely giue me leaue for the helpe of strangers to adde this one thing, namely, how they being curious to search antiquities, and loth to omit the light of things worthy of obseruation, may to this purpose best dispose of their iournies, which all other men may fit to their endes and purposes. First, let them passe out of *Normandy* to *Rhye*, an English Hauen in *Sussex*, then let them visit such of the five Kentish Ports as they please, let them see *Canterbury*, famous for the Seate of the Metropolitan Archbishop; then the Castle of *Quinborough*, in the Island of *Sheppey*, and the Regall Nauy; then let them passe by *Rocheſter* (a Bishops Seate), the Regall Pallace at *Greenewich*, and *Depford* the Nauall storehouse, and not farre thence see the broken ribbes of the ship, wherein famous *Sir Francis Drake* compassed the World, and so let them come to *London*. When they haue viewed the Monuments of *London* and *Westminster*, and scene the Kings Court, they may take a cursory iourney to view such antiquities in *Middlesex*, *Surry*, and *Barkshire*, as vpon the reading of *Camden* they shall most desire to see, and especially all, or the chiefe Pallaces of the King. Againe, from *London* they may take a cursory iourney to see the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, and so by *Worcester* returne to *London*. In their iourney to the confines of *England* and *Scotland*, they may see the Vniuersitie of *Cambridge*, and view the most choile antiquities mentioned by Master *Camden* in *Harsfordshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Yorkeſhire*, *Durham* and *Northumberland*.

Aprill,
Ann. 1598.

My selfe vpon occasion of businesse in the month of Aprill, and the yeere 1598, tooke a iourney to these said confines, namely, to *Barwick*, a Towne then very strongly fortified by the English, to restraine the sudden incursions of the Scots, and abounding with all things necessary for food, yea with many dainties, as Salmons and all kindes of shell-fish, so plentifully, as they were sold for very small prices. And here I found that for the lending of sixtie pound, there wanted not good Citizens, who would giue the lender a faire chamber and good dyer, as long as he would lend them the mony. Being to returne from *Barwicke*, I had an earnest desire, first, to see the King of Scots Court. So from hence I rode in one day fortie miles to *Edenborough* the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome. And in this said daies iourney after foure miles riding I came to *Aton*, a Village where the Lord of *Humes* dwelles, whose Family was powerfull in those parts. After sixteene miles more I came to *Dunbar*, which they said to haue been of old a Towne of some importance, but then it lay ruined, and seemed of little moment, as well for the pouertie, as the small number of inhabitants. After the riding of eight miles more, on the left hand towards the West, and something out of the high way, the pleasant Village *Hadrington* lay, which the English, in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, tooke, and kept against the French, who drawne ouer in
time

the time of faction, kept the Towne of *Dunbar*, and fortified the same. When I had ridden five miles further, I came to the ancient and (according to the building of that Kingdome) stately Pallace of the *L. Seton*, beautified with faire Orchards and Gardens, and for that clime pleasant. Not farre thence lyes the Village *Preston-graung*, belonging to the Family of the *Cars*, powerfull from these parts to the very borders of *England* within land. After I had ridden three miles more, I came to the Village *Fisberawe*, neere which beyond a Brooke lyes the Village *Musselborow* in a stony soyle, famous for a great Victorie of the English against the Scots. On the left hand towards the West, and something out of the high way, the Queene of Scots then kept her Court (in the absence of the King) at the Village *Dawkenh*, in a Pallace belonging to the Earle of *Murray*.

From the said Village *Fisbrawe*, I rode the rest of the way, being foure miles, and so *Edenborow* in one dayes iourney (as I said) came to *Edenborow*, seated in *Lodowey*, (of old called *Pictland*) the most ciuill Region of *Scotland*, being hilly and fruitfull of corne, but hauing little or no wood. This City is the seat of the King of *Scotland*, and the Courts of Iustice are held in the same. Of old according to the changeable fortune of warre, it was sometimes in the possession of the Scots, sometimes of the English inhabiting this Easterne part of *Scotland*, till the English Kingdome being shaken with the inuasions of the Danes, at last about the yeere 960. it became wholly in the power of the Scots. This City is high seated, in a fruitfull soyle and wholsome aire, and is adorned with many Noblemens Towers lying about it, and aboundeth with many springs of sweet waters. At the end towards the East, is the Kings Pallace ioyning to the Monastery of the Holy Crosse, which King *Danid* the first built, ouer which, in a Parke of Hares, Conies, and Deare, an high mountaine hangs, called the chaire of *Arthur*, (of *Arthur* the Prince of the Britanes, whose monuments famous among all Ballad-makers, are for the most part to be found on these borders of *England* and *Scotland*). From the Kings Pallace at the East, the City still riseth higher and higher towards the West, and consists especially of one broad and very faire street, (which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof), the rest of the side streetes and allies being of poore building and inhabited with very poore people, and this length from the East to the West is about a mile, whereas the bredth of the City from the North to the South is narrow, and cannot be halfe a mile. At the furthest end towards the West, is a very strong Castle, which the Scots hold vnexpugnable. *Camden* saith this Castle was of old called by the Britaines, *Castle meyned agned*, by the Scots; The Castle of the Maids or Virgines, (of certaine Virgines kept there for the Kings of the Picts), and by *Ptolomy* the winged Castle. And from this Castle towards the West, is a most steepe Rocke pointed on the highest top, out of which this Castle is cut: But on the North & South sides without the wals, lie plaine and fruitfull fields of Corne. In the midst of the foresaid faire streete, the Cathedrall Church is built, which is large and lightsome, but little stately for the building, and nothing at all for the beauty and ornament. In this Church the Kings seate is built some few staires high of wood, and leaning vpon the pillar next to the Pulpit: And opposite to the same is another seat very like it, in which the incontinent vse to stand and doe penitance; and some few weekes past, a Gentleman, being a stranger, and taking it for a place wherein Men of better quality vsed to sit, boldly entred the same in Sermon time, till he was drinen away with the profuse laughter of the common sort, to the disturbance of the whole Congregation. The houses are built of vnpolished stone, and in the faire streete good part of them is of free stone, which in that broad streete would make a faire shew, but that the outsides of them are faced with wooden galleries, built vpon the second story of the houses; yet these galleries giue the owners a faire and pleasant prospect, into the said faire and broad street, when they sit or stand in the same. The wals of the City are built of little and vnpolished stones, and seeme ancient, but are very narrow, and in some places exceeding low, in other, ruined.

From *Edenborow* there is a ditch of water, (yet not running from the Inland, but rising of springs) which is carried to *Lethe*, and so to the Sea. *Lethe* is seated vpon a creek of

of the Sea, called the *Frith*, some mile from *Edenborow*, and hath a most commodious and large Hauen. When *Monsieur Desy* a Frenchman, did fortifie *Lethe*, for the strength of *Edenborow*, it began of a bale Village to grow to a Towne. And when the French King *Francis* the second had married *Mary* Queene of the *Scots*: againe the French, (who now had in hope deuoured the possession of that Kingdome, and in the yeere 1560. began to aime at the conquest of *England*) more strongly fortified this Towne of *Lethe*: but *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, called to the succour of the Lords of *Scotland* against these Frenchmen, called in by the Queene, soone effected that the French returned into their Countrey, and these fortifications were demolished.

From *Leth* I crossed ouer the *Frith*, (which ebs and flowes as high as *Striuelin*) to the Village *King-korn*, being eight miles distant, and seated in the Region or Countrey called *Fife*, which is a Peninsule, that is, almost an Iland, lying betweene two creekes of the Sea, called *Frith* and *Taye*, and the Land yeelds corne and pasture and seacoales, as the Seas no lesse plentifully yeeld (among other fish,) store of oysters & shel fishes, and this Countrey is populous, and full of Noblemens and Gentlemens dwellings commonly compassed with little groues, though trees are so rare in those parts, as I remember not to haue seene one wood.

From the said Village *King-korn*, I rode ten very long miles to *Falkeland*, then the Kings House for hunting, but of old belonging to the Earles of *Fife*, where I did gladly see *James* the sixth King of the *Scots*, at that time lying there to follow the pastimes of hunting and hawking, for which this ground is much commended; but the Pallace was of old building and almost ready to fall, hauing nothing in it remarkeable. I thought to haue ridden from hence to Saint *Andrewes* a City, seated in *Fife*, and well known as an Vniuersity, and the seate of the Archbishop: But this iourney being hindered, I wil onely say, that the Bishop of Saint *Andrewes*, at the intercession of the King of *Scotland James* the third, was by the Pope first made Primate of all *Scotland*, the same Bishop and all other Bishops of that Kingdome hauing formerly to that day beene consecrated and confirmed by the Archbishop of *Yorke* in *England*. Likewise I purposed to take my iourney as farre as *Striuelin*, where the King of the *Scots* hath a strong Castle, built vpon the front of a steepe Rocke, which King *James* the sixth since adorned with many buildings, and the same hath for long time beene committed to the keeping of the Lords of *Eriskin*, who likewise vse to haue the keeping of the Prince of *Scotland*, being vnder yeeres. And from thence I purposed to returne to *Edenborow*, but some occasions of vnexpected businesse recalled me speedily into *England*, so as I returned presently to *Edenborow*, and thence to *Barwicke*, the same way I came.

I adde for passengers instruction; that they who desire to visit the other Counties of *England* and *Ireland*, may passe from *Edenborow* to *Carlile*, chiefe City of *Comberland* in *England*, and so betweene the East parts of *Lancashire* and the West parts of *Yorke*, and then through *Darbyshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Cheshire*, may take their iourney to the City *Westchester*, whence they shall haue commodity to passe the Sea to *Dublin* in *Ireland*, and while they expect this passage, they may make a cursory iourney into *Flinshire*, and *Caernaruenshire* in *Northwales*, to see the antiquities thereof, or otherwise may goe directly to *Holy Head*, and thence make a shorter cut to *Dublyn* in *Ireland*. From *Dublyn* they may passe to see the Cities of the Prouince *Mounster*, whence they may commodiously passe to the South parts of *Wales*, and there especially see the antiquities of *Merlyn*, and so taking their iourney to the West parts of *England*, may search the antiquities of these seuerall Counties, and easily find commoditie to passe into the West parts of *France*: And all this circuit beginning at *London*, may (with ordinary fauourable winds according to the season of the yeere) be easily made, from the beginning of *March*, to the end of *September*. Alwaies I professe onely to prescribe this course, to such as are curious to search all the famous monuments and antiquities of *England*, mentioned in *Camdens* compleat description thereof.

CHAP. VI.

Of the manner to exchange Moneys into forraine parts, and the diuers moneys of diuers parts, together with the diuers measures of miles in sundry Nations, most necessary for the understanding of the former iournall.



THE Trauellers most commodious course, is to deliuer into the hands of some Merchant those kinds of gold or siluer coynes, which are of greatest value in those parts to which he takes his iourney, with couenant to deliuer him by his Factor the same, both in the Species or kind, and in the number, or to send them in that sort to him by a trusty messenger. But the first course is not in vse, besides that, it is a difficult taske, to find such diuers kinds in any particular place, except it be from the Exchangers and Vsurers, who vse not to serue another mans turne for profit or otherwise, without their owne gaine; and being most expert in such affaires, are like to draw all the hoped profit to themselues. And the second course threatens many dangers, by robberies, by confiscations of the transmitted Coynes, and by the doubtfull credit of the messengers. Particularly in *England* and *France*, he that is knowne to carry great summes of money about him, shall runne great danger to be robbed, and in *England* the Law forbids any Traueller vpon paine of confiscation, to carry more money about him out of the Kingdome, then will serue for the expences of his iourney, (namely; aboue twenty pounds sterling). As likewise in *France*, the like Law restraines the exporting of money, allowing an Horseman from *Lyons* to *Rome*, eighty crownes, from *Turine* to *Rome* fifty, and no more, for his expences; all greater summes found about him, being subiect to confiscation: yet I confesse that many wary Trauellers haue exported greater summes out of *England* into *France*, and out of *France* into *England*; and thereby with these hazards, haue made great gaine: But vpon the confines of *Italy*, and the seuerall principalities thereof, yea, at the gates of each City in *Italy*, most crafty Officers so curiously search into the breach of these Pænnall Statutes, and so narrowly prie into all mens carriage, neuer wincking at any delinquent, as there is no hope vpon breach of the Law to escape the penalty: for these searchers are tied to more strict attention in this businesse, that (according to their Office) they may beware least their Princes be defrauded of their Tributes. And since very Jewels, and the least toyes carried about passengers, are subiect to frequent Tributes (according to the frequent Principalities) these good fellowes leaue nothing vnassaid, in the wished discouery of these fraudes, yea, where they haue no iust suspicion of fraud; yet cease they not to trouble passengers in this kind, till they haue extorted some bribe or gift from them. Behold here a two horned danger, (as I may tearme it of the captious argument, called *Dilemma*) which trauellers cannot possibly escape in *Italy*, who carry about them Jewels or great summes of money, where they are in danger of confiscation, if they hide them warily, and of thecues, if they shew them, and pay due tributes for them. For thecues (namely, men banished for notorious crimes) lie continually vpon the confines of Princes (very frequent in *Italy*), and more specially of the Kingdome of *Naples* and of the Popes territory. In *Germany*, *Bomerland*, *Sweitzerland*, the Low-Countreys, *Denmarke*, *Poland*, and *Turkey*, passengers may carry summes of money about them with more security, neither haue I there obserued any great danger therein, so that the passenger affect not solitarinesse, and be so wary as not to boast of his plenty.

Touching the diuers kinds of Coynes to be transported, I forewarne the Reader, that the gold Coynes of *England* and of *France*, and aswell the siluer as gold Coynes of *Spaine*, are in generall spent abroad with greatest gaine: but euen the gold and siluer Coynes of other Princes, are rarely currant out of their owne Dominions, and can hardly

hardly be exchanged among Merchants without some losse. Againe, that hee who exports any gold coynes, must take care to haue them of iust weight, for such hee may disburse with gaine, but shall beare losse in others that are lighter, because they want the helpe of their Princes Prerogatiue, where no man can be forced to receiue them. Now I wil briefly shew, which kinds of foraine coines are most valued in diuers states. In *England* the gold and siluer coynes of *Spaine* and *French* Crownes are highly valued. In *Scotland* the same coynes, and as well in *Scotland* as *Ireland*; moreouer, the gold and siluer coynes of *England* are valued. For *Germany*: at *Stode* the English angels, and all the gold coynes of *England*, *France* and *Spaine* are most esteemed: but if you passe into the vpper parts of *Germany*, you must for your expences there change these coynes at *Stode* into the Rhenish gold guldens, and siluer dollers of *Germany*. But at *Vienna* and the confines of *Hungary*, the *Hungarian* ducats are most currant. In *Bohmerland* the Rhenish gold guldens, the siluer dollers of *Germany*, and the *Hungarian* ducats. In *Sweitzerland*, first, the *French* Crownes of gold, then the gold guldens and siluer dollers of *Germany*. In *Denmarke* the siluer and gold coynes of *England*. At *Dantzke* in *Prussen*, and throughout all *Poland*, the gold coynes of *England*, and the gold guldens and siluer dollers of *Germany*, and especially *Hungarian* ducats. In *France* vpon the Sea coasts, the Angels and gold coynes of *England* are currant: but for your iourney further into the land, you must change them into *French* Crownes, and the siluer coynes of that Kingdome, and the gold coynes of *Spaine* are very currant in all the Cities euen within the land. In the Low Countries, all coynes are currant, they being most cunning exchangers, and wanting many things, yet drawing to them abundance of all foraine commodities, so as they haue skill to draw gold out of the dung (as he said of *Ennius*.) Yet they most esteeme the coynes of *England*, *Spaine*, and *France*. In *Turkey* the gold zechines of *Venice* are most currant, and preferred euen before their owne Sultanones of gold. The coynes after them most esteemed and to be spent with most gaine, are the siluer ryals of *Spaine* (which the Italians call *Pezzi d'otto*, and *Pezzi di quattro*, pieces of eight, and pieces of foure, and the Turks call *piastri*, and halfe *piastri*.) In *Italy* generally the gold coynes of *Spaine* are spent with most aduantage. In the next place, and more particularly at *Venice* and *Naples* the *French* Crownes are esteemed, but in *Italy* more then any other place; you must haue care they be of iust weight. In generall, all gold coynes may be put away with gayne at *Venice*, but they being in other parts of *Italy* lesse valued, or not currant, hee that trauels higher, must change them there into siluer Crownes of *Italy*, and least the weight of them should be burthensome, and he should chance to fall into the hands of theeues (called *Banditi*, banished men), he shall do well to carry no more about him then will suffice for the expences of his iourney, and to deliuer the rest to some Venetian Merchant of credit, taking his bills of exchange, or letters, by which he may receiue them in any other Citie or Cities, as his occasions require.

But in respect of the foresaid difficulties to export coynes *In specie*, that is, in the kinde, the Traueller shall doe better who takes the second and most vsuall course, taking care to haue his moneys deliuered to the exchangers (or Merchants) by the hands of some trustie friend, to be exchanged ouer (according to the exchange variable in respect of the time, and the place to which it is to bee made) and sent to him in foraine parts for his expence (by seuerall sums, and at set times of the yeere.) This exchange is so variable vpon many vsuall accidents, as a constant manner of so vnconstant a thing cannot be prescribed. But the rate & course thereof may be inquired in the Burse (or publike meeting place for the Merchants.) For the alteration thereof is weekly made knowne particularly to the Merchants, that by letters they presently may certifie the same to their seuerall Factors beyond the Seas. Now this daily alteration of the exchange commeth, partly of the quantitie of moneys for the present to be exchanged to the Princes or Merchants vses, and of the greater or lesser number of those that desire moneys in exchange. For when small summes are to be exchanged, either by the Prince for payment of his Army, or by the Merchants for their traffick, and when many desire moneys vpon exchange, then the rate thereof is raised, and the Traueller

looseth

loseth more thereby, as on the contrary, the rates are abased, and so the traueeller gaines by his exchange. But a farre greater cause of this alteration, is the change of the moneys value by the Princes Edicts. Thus at *Antwerp* (in our memory) when an English Angell of gold was worth twelue *Belgick* shillings and eight pence, then hee that in *London* paid twentie English shillings, receiued at *Antwerp* fve and twentie *Belgick* shillings and foure pence. But at this time when the said Angel was at *Antwerp* worth fve *Belgick* or Flemish guldens and two blancks (that is, seuentcene *Belgick* shillings, wanting a stiver), he that at *London* paid twentie English shillings, receiued at *Antwerp* foure and thirtie *Belgick* shillings wanting two stivers. And this diuers valuation of the Angel (as of other coynes) seemes to proceede of this Flemish custome, that when the vnited Prouinces haue great store of any coyne in their coffers, then they raise the value thereof, that they may issue it with aduantage in the payment of their Army; and when the same coynes are to be brought into their coffers by tributes and taxes, then they in like sort vse to decry them, that the State may also receiue them with aduantage. For howsoeuer this raising and decrying of moneys by publike Edict, sauoureth of tyranny, yet the necessitie of the vnited Prouinces affaires in their long and dangerous ciuill warres, or the hidden skill they haue to make gaine of all things with an vnscene, and so lesse felt oppression of the common people, hath made this course ordinary among the Flemings, which to al other subiects is offensive in high degree. Yet howsoeuer a certaine value of moneys cannot be set downe, notwithstanding the value of English Angels, and gold coynes of *Spaine*, *France*, and *Germany* is more constant then of others, and subiect to little increase or decrease. And (to say truth) howsoeuer this alteration may oppresse the subiect, yet it imports little to trauellers, whether forraine coynes be raised or decryed, since the prices of al things necessary to life, answere in due proportion to the present valuation of moneys, and vse to be changed as the value of money is altered. But to make the manner of exchanges more manifest, by one example coniecture of the rest. English Merchants taking money to be exchanged, doe give the traueeller, or his friend for him, three seuerall billes of exchange for the same money, for his better securitie to receiue it, yet in each of them inserting a caution, that onely one be paid. Of these three billes the traueeller vseth to retaine one with himselfe, and to take order that the other two be sent before him by seuerall messengers to the Merchants Factor, who receiued his money and gaue him these billes for it. Or in the Trauellers absence, his friend receiuing these billes, sends them all by seuerall messengers to him liuing beyond the Seas. And to auoide all fraudes, I aduise the traueeller to haue his billes so made, as the *Species*, or kinde of money be therein named, in which the Factor is to pay him in forraine parts, and the number of the pieces in that kind, and the iust waight of the coyne (as the Italians for French Crownes write, *Scudi d'oro in oro del Sole.*) And because the Factors vse to delay and put off the paiement of these billes; first, lest they should obiekt, that they know you not to be the man, except you proue it by the testimony of countymen, who in all places are not to bee found, or may perhaps be vnknowne to you, and you to them as to the Merchant, you shall doe well besides these billes of exchange, to send the Merchants letters to his Factor, expressing the most rare markes of your body, by which you may be made knowne to him, together with caution, that your money bee paid to no other then your selfe, lest any deceiue you, and receiue it in your name, hauing by fraude or violence gotten one of your three billes, and arriuing at the place before you. Moreouer, since trauellers vse to remoue twice in the yeere from one Citie or Countrey to another, namely, at the Spring and at the Fall of the lease, lest your billes of exchange should negligently bee sent, or slowly come to your hands, and so you be forced to leese the season of the yeere most fit for taking of iourneys, take order that the money you are to vse at the fall of the lease in *Italy*, bee sent by billes from *England* at the Spring, or if you be in nearer places, that it bee sent three, or at least two moneths before the time you are to vse it. And lest the Factor should protract paiement, let it be expressed in your bill that the money be paid vpon sight. Our Merchants write their bills of exchange for neere places in 4 kinds, name-

ly, to bee paid, at sight, at vsance, at halfe vsance, and at double vsance; which word vsance being not English, I take to be borrowed of the Italian word *vsanza*, signifying a manner or custome. The word (at sight) imports present payment; at halfe vsance a fortnight after the date; at vsance, a moneth; at double vsance, two moneths. And thus to him that goes from *London* to *Hamburg* in *Germany*, it is all one, whether his bill of exchange be paid at sight, or at halfe vsance, since hee can hardly arriue there in lesse space then a fortnight. But touching the exchange from *London* to *Venice* farther distant, by the word vsance three moneths are signified; and by double vsance six moneths. The Turks Empier is so farre distant, and the iourneys are so vncertaine, as our Merchants vse no certaine rate of exchange thither; neither indeed vse they to giue any billes of exchange, but onely letters of credit, to receiue set summes of money, or at large, as much as the traeller shall want, (of which third kinde of receiuing money in forraine parts, I shall hereafter speake.) By the foresaid billes of exchange; according to the foresaid opportunities, the traeller commonly loseth, and sometimes gaineth. For my selfe am familiarly acquainted with a Merchant, who tooke vp one hundred pounds at *London*, to be paid by his Factor at *Stode* in *Germany*, which Factor againe tooke vp the same hundred pounds at *Stode*, to be paid by his Master at *London*, and at foure moneths end, he paid the same, hauing by these bills of exchange made vse thereof all this time, without one penny losse. But in generall, when great quantitie of money is to bee made ouer to any place from *London*, the traeller shall lose after five in the hundred by the yeere; and when small quantitie is to bee made ouer, he shall lose after the rate of fifteene in the hundred by the yeere, and ordinarily he shall lose about the rate of ten in the hundred by the yeere.

By reason of the aforesaid vncertainie in receiuing money by billes of exchange, as well by the slow sending of them, as by the delay which Factors vse to make in paying them, as also by the vsuall negligence of the traellers friend, who is to make ouer his mony, or by his want of ready mony at the time. I say for this vncertainie, lest the traeller should lose the season of the yeere fit to take iourneys, by the expecting of his mony, a third course of receiuing mony in forraine parts hath growne in vse; namely, that the traeller should take with him letters of credit, from some Merchant of great trade to his Factor, to furnish him from place to place of money, either according to his want, or for a certaine yeerely summe. I confesse it is a more frugall course, that he should first pay his money at home, and after receiue it beyond the Seas, then that he should first receiue it there, and after repay it at home: but I would aduise him to make ouer his money after the foresaid manner by billes of Exchange, and withall to carry these letters of credit for abundant caution of all euents, so as vpon any crosse accident, he may rather incurre a small losse of money, then the vnrecoucrable losse of time. Yet euen in money taken by letters of credit, reckoning the time of the repayment, Merchants vse not to exact greater gaine, then ten in the hundreth by the yeere, especially if they be honest men, or haue any bond of friendship with the traeller, or his friends at home, and be confident of repayment, without any doubt, arising either by the traellers sicknesse or by his friends ill keeping of their credit.

It remaines that I adde somewhat in generall out of my experience, of the rate at which my selfe receiued money by the foresaid bills of exchange, or letters of credit. And first I will confesse my negligent omission, in noting the rates of my exchanges, whereof (as a matter of moment) I much repent me; but for this reason the Reader must beare with me, if I set the same downe more briefly then were fit for his instruction. Out of *England* into *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, a Traeller shall haue many opportunities to carry monies *In specie*, (that is, in kind), or to exchange them without any losse. The exchange out of *England*, to *Stode* or *Hamburg* in *Germany*, vseth to beare this rate, for a pound, (or twenty shillings sterling) to receiue there five and twenty *Hamburg* shillings and sixe pence. My selfe deliuered forty pounds in *England*, and after the rate of twenty foure *Hamburg* shillings and eight pence, for each English pound, or at the rate of an imperiall doller, vallued at foure shillings six pence English, I receiued at *Stode* forty nine *Hamburg* pounds six shillings and eight pence. Hereof

I kept

I kept in my purse ten dollars, (that is, two Hamburg pounds and fifteene shillings), the rest I left in a Merchants hands, who sent me at diuers times to *Leipzig*, first nine and thirty dollars, (that is, ten Hamburg pounds foureteene shillings and six pence), & at another time threescore dollars, (that is, sixteene Hamburg pounds ten shillings) and the third time seuenty dollars, (that is, nineteene Hamburg pounds five shillings) These ioined together with two shillings, paied to the Carrier for my letters, make the foresaid summe of forty nine Hamburg pounds sixe shillings eight pence, receiued vpon bill of exchange for my forty pound first paid in *London*. Againe, I tooke vp at *Stode* from an English Merchant, seuenty dollars vpon my letters of credit, and rating each dollar at foure shillings eight pence English, I gaue him a bill of sixteene pound sterling, to be paid him by my friend in *London*. From these parts in *Germany*, a Traueller must carry with him the foresaid kinds of moneyes most currant in *Germany*, when he takes his iourney to the vpper parts of *Germany*, to *Bohemia*, and to *Sweitzerland*, or the confines of *Hungary*. The exchange out of *England* into the Low-Countries, vsually rateth an English pound sterling, first paid in *England*, at foure and thirty Flemish shillings, wanting two stivers, to be paid after in the Low-Countries. In *Denmarke* Trauellers seldome make any long abroad, and the trade of our Merchants is more rare in that Kingdome, wanting natiue commodities; so as there is no vsuall exchange from *London* thither. From *London* to *Dantzke* in *Prussen*, the exchange of an English pound sterling, first paid in *London*, vseth to be rated at foure and twenty Hamburg shillings and six pence, to be paid there. My selfe by letters of credit receiued fifty dollars at *Dantzke*, and after the rate of foure shillings six pence English for each dollar, I gaue my bill for the payment of eleuen pound five shillings English, to be repaid by my friend at *London*. And at *Dantzke* the same Merchant for the same fifty dollars gaue me one and thirty Hungarian duckets of gold, and foureteen grosh in siluer, being the fittest moniey for my iourney to *Crakaw* in *Poland*, and to *Vienna* in *Oestreich* (or *Austria*). Out of *England* to *Venice* in *Italy*, the exchange of foure shillings and sixe or eight pence English, vseth to be rated at a Venetian Ducket. My selfe tooke no bills of exchange from *England* to *Venice*, but had letters of credit, to receiue money of a Venetian Merchant, to be repaid in *London* vpon my bill, after the rate of foure shillings three pence for each Venetian ducket. And at first being to take my iourney for *Rome* and *Naples*, I tooke vp two hundred siluer crownes, most fit for that iourney, which at *Venice* were rated at two hundred five & twenty duckets, and nineteene grosh, and I gaue my bill for three and fifty pound sterling, twelue shillings and sixe pence English, to be repaid by my friend in *London*. Then I retained with my selfe as many of those crownes, as were necessary for my iourney, leauing the rest in the hands of a Venetian Merchant, who gaue me a bill to receiue so many crownes *In specie*, (that is, in kind) at *Florence*, where I purposed to make my abroad for some few moneths. Out of *England* into *Turkey*, I formerly said that for the vncertainty of the iourney, vpon the great distances of places, there is no certaine value of exchange, neither vse our Merchants to send bills of exchange thither; but to giue letters of credit, first to receiue money there, either at large according to the passengers wants, or for a certaine yeerely summe, to be after repaid in *England*, vpon the passengers bill. And the Merchants there, for each zechine of gold of *Venice*, deliuered at *Haleppo*, vse to exact nine or ten shillings English, to be repaid in *London*, to the passengers great losse, which he that will auoid, may exchange his money to *Venice*, and there receiue zechines of gold, or siluer moneyes of *Spaine*, to carry with him *In specie*, (that is, in kind). From *London* into *France*, the exchange of sixe shillings English, vseth to be rated at threescore French soulz, or three French pounds, which make a common French crowne (but a French crowne *In specie*, and of iust waight, is valued there at threescore and foure soulz, (as in *England* an Angell of gold is worth more then ten shillings siluer among the Exchangers, though in expences it is giuen out for no more then ten shillings) and not onely bills of exchange into *France* are giuen at the foresaid rate for moneyes first receiued in *England*: but he that hath a merchant to his friend or acquaintance, may easily compound to receiue money, first, in *France* vpon his letters of credit,

dit, and to repay it in *London* after the rate of sixe shillings English, for sixtie French souls.

To this I will adde two generall cautions, most necessarie for trauellers; first, whereas in *Germany* and *Italy*, the Territories of absolute Princes are frequent, and of small extent, and each of these Princes doth coyne small pieces of brasse money, it behooueth the passenger to take heede, that he spend each Princes brasse moneys within his Territory, or else that vpon the confines hee change them into brasse moneys currant in the next Territory; which if hee neglect, the subiects of the new Prince, howsoeuer they bee neighbours to the former Prince, and may daily change these coyne for their owne, yet they will not receiue them without great gaine, they being of themselves little worth, and onely by the prerogative of each Prince, currant among their owne subiects. Secondly, the passenger must take speciall care, to leaue a faithfull friend at home, to pay the bills readily, which he sends ouer to his Merchant, for so doing, hee shall neuer want in forraine parts (at least among Christians, and knowne places of trafficke), yea, out of his good report hee shall bee furnished with more money, then is warranted by his letters of credit: but on the contrary, if his friend deny or delay payments, hee shall not haue credit to borrow a penny vpon his occasions, more then that for which the Factors shall haue warrant by billes of exchange, or letters of credit; and if he fall into any misfortune, he shall not find a friend to deliuer him from penurie and shame.

These things being sayed in generall, nothing remaines now, but to set downe the particular moneys of seuerall Kingdomes, and the value of them, at the time when I liued beyond Seas, which value is subiect to change, at the pleasure of each absolute Prince. And in this discourse I thinke most fit to begin with the moneys of *England*, being more familiarly knowne vnto me.

Of the di-
uers Mo-
nies of Eng-
land.

Being to write of the Standard, weight, and value of English moneys, I thinke fit first to giue some few admonitions to the Reader.

First, that the purest gold containes foure and twentie caracts in the ounce, and foure graines make a caract.

Secondly, that the purest siluer containes twelue ounces in each pound *Troy* weight: And that *Edward* the first, King of *England*, keeping the Feast of Christs Natiuitie at *Barwick*, in the yeere 1300, did vpon Saint *Steuens* day decree the value of base siluer moneys, and after did altogether forbid the vse of them, and shortly after commanded sterling money to be coyned, so called of the *Easterlings*, who first coyned siluer money of that Standard, which is of eleuen ounces two penny weight.

Thirdly, that the English pound, as well of gold as siluer (meaning the pound of the Ballerice, not the pound of twentie shillings commonly spent) containes twelue ounces *Troy* weight. And that each ounce of siluer is worth five shillings of the currant money, and each ounce of Angel gold is worth three pound five shillings (or sixtie five shillings) of Queene *Elizabeths* siluer money, and each ounce of Crowne gold is worth three pound (or sixtie shillings) of the same coyne.

Fourthly, that the Mint-Master gaue account before the Queenes Examiners for the money they coyned, as well by the tale (or number of the pieces) as by the sheere: for it being not possible to coyne moneys of the iust prescribed weight, yet the Mint-master was held to haue performed his contract with the Queen for the standard prescribed by her, so the siluer were not more then 2 penny weight in the ounce heauier or lighter, then her standard prescribed: and in like sort for the coyning of gold, a certaine proportion of some eight graines in the ounce, was allowed to the Mint-Master in this account by the sheere.

Fifthly, that 20 penny weight makes an ounce, and 24 graines make a penny weight.

Now I returne to the discourse in hand. Queene *Elizabeth* in the yeere 1600, contracted with the Mint-Master, that of gold of the standard of twenty three caracts three graines and a halfe, he should coyne pieces of Angels, halfe Angels, fourth parts of Angels, pieces of an Angel and a half, & of 3 Angels. Now this Angel was of three penny weight and 8 graines, and this gold was commonly called Angel gold. Also she contracted

contracted with him, that of gold of the Standard of twentie two caracts, he should coynepieces of twentie shillings, and pieces of tenne shillings, and pieces of five shillings; and the piece of tenne shillings was three penny weight fifteene graines. And this gold called Crowne gold, was almost two caracts, baser then the former, and two caracts after the rate of this standard, are worth five shillings of Queene *Elizabeths* siluer. Lastly, she contracted with him, that of siluer of the standard of eleuen ounces two penny weight, he should coyne shillings, halfe shillings, fourth parts of shillings, and pieces of two pence, and of one penny, and of halfe pence. And the shilling was foure penny (or ninety sixe graines) waight. The same Queene not long before her death, reduced her siluer to the Standard of eleuen ounces, which was two penny weight baser then the former in each ounce, and the Mint Office was said to haue gained thereby one halfe penny in each ounce, or about five in the hundreth.

King *James* in the yeere 1604 published a Proclamation, whereby new pieces of gold were to be coyned, of a standard vniforme to the standards of other Nations: for it appeares by the Proclamation, that the gold coyne of *England*, were not of a iust proportion betweene gold and siluer, according to the proportion vsed by all Nations, so as the English coyne of gold, being giuen in *England* for lesse, then indeed they were worth, it came to passe, that they were transported into forraine parts, where they were esteemed at higher rate; which mischiefe his Maiestie desired to take away by this vniforme standard, published in the same Proclamation; for the better vnderstanding whereof, this following Table was ioyned to the same.

B. It is to be remembered, that the pound weight English, being twelve ounces Troy, doth over-weigh the pound weight of Scotland four penny weight, and nine graines English: Whereupon this Table is made to distinguish every severall piece of Gold and Silver Coyne, according to the true weight of both Nations.

English Weight.

Penny weight	20.
Graines	24.
Mites	20.
Droits	24.
Periots	20.
Blancks	24.

Scottish Weights,

Deniers	24.
Graines	24.
Primes	24.
Seconds	24.
Thirds	24.
Fourths	24.

Pieces of Gold of		Pieces of Gold of		Pieces of Silver of		Pieces of Silver of	
xx.s.	06	xx.s.	07	xx.s.	00	xx.s.	00
x.s.	03	x.s.	02	x.s.	01	x.s.	01
v.s.	01	v.s.	01	v.s.	01	v.s.	01
iiij.s.	01	iiij.s.	01	iiij.s.	01	iiij.s.	01
ij.s. vj.d.	00	ij.s. vj.d.	00	ij.s. vj.d.	00	ij.s. vj.d.	00
v.s.	19	v.s.	15	v.s.	27	v.s.	27
ij.s. vj.d.	09	ij.s. vj.d.	11	ij.s. vj.d.	11	ij.s. vj.d.	11
xij.d.	03	xij.d.	17	xij.d.	17	xij.d.	17
vi.d.	01	vi.d.	13	vi.d.	13	vi.d.	13
ij.d.	00	ij.d.	02	ij.d.	02	ij.d.	02
jd.	00	jd.	00	jd.	00	jd.	00
ob.	00	ob.	00	ob.	00	ob.	00
Of these 37. li. 4. s. make a pound weight Troy.		Of these 36. li. 10. s. 3. d. q. make 12. oz. Scottish. Or 48. li. 3. s. 8. d.		Of these 3. li. 10. d. q. or 4. li. 1. s. 1. d. ob. di. q. di di. q.		Of these 3. li. 10. d. q. or 4. li. 1. s. 1. d. ob. di. q. di di. q.	

King *James* in the yeere 1609, contracted with the Mint-Master, that of gold of the Standard of three and twentie caracts, three graines and a halfe, he should coyne pieces of thirty shillings, called Rose Ryals; pieces of fiftene shillings, called Spur Ryals. And the foresaid Rose Ryall was nine penny weight and five graines. Also he contracted with him, that of gold of the Standard of two and twentie caracts, hee should coyne pieces of twentie shillings called Vnites; pieces of ten shillings, called double Crownes, pieces of five shillings, called Brittan Crownes, pieces of a shillings, called Thistle crownes, and pieces of 2 shillings 6 pence, called halfe Brittan crownes; and lastly, that all these pieces should bee proportioned to the foresaid Table. But the first Standard of this yeere 1609 was lighter then the Standard of the yeere 1600 by ten pence in each Angell, and the second standard of the yeere 1609, was lighter in like proportion, then the second standard of the yeere 1600. Moreouer, the Goldsmiths of this time said, that of old a wedge of gold (or any gold vncoined) being brought into the Mint, was coyned there for six siluer shillings in each pound of gold, whereas at this time the Mint exacted thirtie siluer shillings for the same, whereupon the Merchants carried their wedges for the most part into *Flaunders* to be coyned, and few of them being brought into *England*, the Goldsmiths could not procure any of them for the exercise of their trade, but were forced to melt coined gold and siluer for that purpose. In the same yeere 1609, the King contracted with the Mint-master, that of siluer of the standard of 11 ounces, he should coyne diuers pieces aboue mentioned in the former Table, according to the rule therein prescribed. To conclude, *Cesar* in his Commentaries, mentions brasse coyne of the Brittans, but the Kings of *England* haue now for many ages, cast out of *England* all vse of brasse or copper moneys, vling none but coyne of gold and siluer, and that of a pure allay.

King *James* in like sort as he did for the English coyne, did also ioyn to his foresaid Proclamation the foresaid Table of the Scottish weights, whereby the correspondencie of the Scottish money to the English, and the iust value, weight and purenesse thereof may be distinguished; to which end I haue also formerly ioyned those tables.

The Scots also coyne a siluer money of 13 pence halfe penny, and another piece of halfe the same value, and both these pieces of money are of the same purenes & value with the English siluer. And the Scots of old called 20 English pence, a pound, as wee in *England* call 20 siluer shillings a pound. And in like sort thirteene pence halfe penny English, was by the Scots called a Marke, as in *England* thirteene shillings foure pence is so called. Also the Scots haue of long time had small brasse coyne, which they say of late are taken away, namely, *Babees*, esteemed by them of old for 6 pence, wherof 2 make an English peny; also *Placks*, which they esteemed for 4 pence, but 3 of them make an English penny; also *Hard-heads*, esteemed by them at one penny halfe penny, wherof eight make an English penny.

The Irish Histories report, that a Bishop, Iustice of *Ireland* vnder *John* King of *England*, did coyne moneys in *Ireland*, of the same purenes and weight with the English. And the Irish had a Mint-house at the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* raigne. But in our memory the Irish haue not enioyed any priuiledge of coyning moneys, but haue continually receiued them from the Mint of *England*. And for the most part of *Queene Elizabeths* Raigne, they had the same coyne with the English, saue that the Irish shillings were stamped with a Harpe, the Armes of the Kingdome, and being called Harpers, were only worth 9 pence English. But ciuill warre hauing set all *Ireland* in a combustion, the same *Queene* more easily to subdue the rebels, did take siluer coyne from the Irish, some few yeers before her death, & paid her Army with a mixed base coyne, which by Proclamation was commanded to bee spent and receiued for sterling siluer mony (for no pieces of gold were at any time expressly coyned for the Irish. And this base mixed money had 3 parts of copper, and the fourth part of siluer, which proportion of siluer was in some part consumed by the mixture, so as the English Goldsmiths valued a shilling thereof at no more then 2 siluer pence, though they acknowledged the same to be worth 2 pence halfe penny. At last the ciuill warre being appeased immediately before the *Queenes* death, King *James* her successor in the yeere 160, took away this mixed coine, & restored their old siluer harpers to the Irish. Moreouer in the

Of the diuers moneys of Scotland.

Of the diuers moneys of Ireland.

happy beginning of King *James* his Raigne, the Irish had the vnder written old coyne, which Sir *George Carey* Knight, at that time Lord Deputie, and yet continuing Treasurer at wars for that Kingdome, did so gather vp, as at this day none of them are to be found. These coyne were thus called; First, they had siluer groats, called broad faced groates, which of old were coyned for foure pence, though some of them were now worth eight pence. Also they had siluer groats, called crosse-keele groats, stamped with the Popes tripple Crowne, likewise coined for foure pence, but being of more value. And these groats were either sent hither of old by the Popes, or for the honour of them had this stampe set vpon them. Lastly, they had siluer groats of like value, called *Dominus* groats, of the Kings of *England*, then called *Domini* (that is, Lords) of *Ireland*. Also they had *Rex* groats, so called of the Kings of *England*, after they had the stile of Kings of *Ireland*, which were coyned for foure pence, but by the mixture of copper were onely worth two pence. Also they had white groats, which were coyned for foure pence, but of such base allay, as nine of them were giuen for an English shilling. They had little brasse pence, and pence of a second kinde, called Harpers, being as big as an English shilling. They had also brasse farthings, called smulkins, whereof foure made a penny. Lastly, there were lately found brasse coyne by plowing vp the earth, whose stampe shewed, that the Bishops of *Ireland* had of old the priuiledge of coyning. And of all these moneys aforesaid, some were coyned at *London*, some at the Mint at *Yorke*, and some at the Mint at *Bristow* in *England*.

Of the di-
uers moneys
of *Germany*.

Being to write of the diuers moneys of *Germany*, I thinke fit first to set downe some Lawes of the Empire about coyning of moneys. In the Diet (or Parliament) at *Augsburg* in the yeere 1551. it was decreed by the Emperour, together with the Electors, Princes, States, the Counsellors of those that were absent, the Ambassadors, and Substitutes; that in the greater pieces of coyne to that piece included, which is worth six creitzers, the Mint-masters, of a marke of *Colen* pure siluer, should make eight gold guldens and a halfe, with halfe a creitzer (the gold gulden being esteemed at seuentie creitzers) making in siluer ten guldens, twelue creitzers and a halfe, (the siluer gulden being esteemed at sixtie creitzers.) And that hereafter in the sacred Empire, the vnder written pieces of moneys should be coyned; namely, the great siluer piece, and two halfe of the same, answering in value to a gold gulden. Also pieces of twenty creitzers, twelue, ten, sixe, three, and one. Also that the States, according to the conditions of their Countreys, should coyne for common vse certaine pieces of small moneys, with pence and halfe pence. That the Rhenish guldens of the Electors, and the guldens answerable to them, should be worth seuentie two creitzers. And that all dollers being worth sixty six creitzers (and so half dollers) should be admitted by the Counsellors, but for the rest, that they should certifie the Emperour the true value of each, to the end he might prescribe how each coyne, according to the value made by them, should be receiued and spent or prohibited. And lest the Empire should by fraudes suffer losse, in the carrying out of vncoyned siluer, and bringing in of forraigne moneys, it was in the meane time decreed, that no man should carry out of the Empire any vncoyned siluer, and that those who had the Regall priuiledge of coyning, should not sell the same to any other, but vse it themselves, with this condition, that hereafter, of a siluer marke of *Colen* weight, they should make ten siluer guldens, with twelue creitzers and a halfe (the gulden being esteemed at sixtie creitzers), so as in that summe there should be found a siluer Marke of the said weight, excepting alwaies the charges of coyning for the smaller pieces of moneys. And this to bee done vpon penaltie of losing that priuiledge. Moreouer, it was decreed, that vpon paine of burning, all men should abstaine from clipping, and washing of coyne, or any abasing of them with like fraudes. Lastly, it was decreed, that the States hauing the priuiledge of coyning, should not hereafter, vpon penaltie, bring any dollers, guldens, grosches, or halfe, or fourth parts of grosches to the mint, excepting those who had mines of their owne, who were not forbidden to coyne as much gold and siluer as they had in their owne mines, so they coyned according to the foresaid decree; and that no other should coine any other gold, then according to the value and weight vsed by the Emperour, and the Princes

Princes of the Empire vpon the Rheine. In the *Dieta* at *Spyre*, in the yeere 1557, it was decreed, that hereafter the stipends should be increased to the Assessors of the Imperiall Chamber, so as a Gulden hauing beene giuen hitherto for 16. Batzen, or sixty foure Creitzers, should hereafter be paid from the Callends of Aprill, in the yeere 1558, for seuentie seuen Creitzers.

Likewise in the *Dieta* at *Augsburg*, in the yeer 1558, it was decreed, that the following stipends should be paid to the Iudge and Assessors of that chamber. Namely, that the Iudge, being an Earle, or Baron, should haue 2000. guldens, and if he were a Prince, his stipend should be increased. That an Assessor being an Earle or Lord, should haue seuen hundred guldens, a Doctor licentiate, or a gentleman, should haue five hundred Guldens, an Aduocate in Exchequer causes, should haue three hundred guldens, each Gulden being esteemed at sixteene batzen, till agreement were made for equall mony in the Empire. The Princes and diuers States, and free Cities, haue from old times by the gifts of Emperours, the priuiledges of coyning. The Electors and Princes of *Austria*, doe stampe their Coynes vpon one side with their owne Image, hauing the imperiall apple ouer their heads, and vpon the other side with their owne armes: but the Coynes of other Princes and free Cities, are stamped with the Imperiall Eagle. The Coynes that are not of iust value, are prohibited by Imperiall Edicts, but the greatest gaine which the Princes and Cities make by their Priuiledge, is by the coyning of smal brasse peeces, which peeces are not of any value out of the Territory where they are coyned, and cannot be spent vpon the confines without losse. As these priuiledges of Coyning are deriued from the Emperours, so were they subiect to the Emperours censure, while their power was yet vnbroken. For I find these words, vnder the Emperours name, in the abstract of the Imperiall lawes, (vulgarly called *Reichs Absheydt*.) Let euery one which hath the priuiledge of coyning, send their Counsellors to me at *Nurnberg*, &c. In the meane time let coyning cease in all places, vpon penalty of losing that priuiledge. In the same Booke by an imperiall Edict, with the consent of the Princes and States, in the yeere 1559, the weights and stamperes of all Coynes are prescribed, and it is decreed, that none should coyne more small moneys then for the necessity of their Subiects, and that these moneys increasing, they should presently be forbidden to coyne any more. By like Edicts diuers Coynes are either decied for the value, or altogether taken away, and the bringing in of forraine moneys, and transporting the Coynes of *Germany*, are for the time forbidden. Otherwise each Prince may conuert forraine moneys into the Coynes of *Germany* for the vse of his subiects. The transporting of vncoyned Gold or Siluer into the *Low-Countries* is there forbidden for the time. Great punishments are decreed therein, to be inflicted on those, that vse frauds to abase the Coynes. Likewise it is decreed, that Gold-smiths should not vse any coyned moneys in the exercise of their Art, except vncoyned wedges were not to be had, in which case they are restrained to melt no more coyne then necessity requires. Lastly, therein decrees are made, that for the time none should sell or lay to gage their priuiledge of coyning, and that hereafter like priuiledge should not be granted to any, without being subiect to the prescribed lawes; and that a siluer marke should be worth foureteene halfe ounces, (which weight the Germans call *Loth*, being halfe an ounce); and that Gold-smiths offending herein, should be punished, according to the quality of the fraud.

Now I will set downe the diuers moneys of *Germany*, with the seuerall values of them. And first I will forewarne the Reader, that most reckonings of *Germany* are made by common siluer guldens, yet is there no such coyne in the Empire; and these Guldens are esteemed at fiftene batzen in *Germany*, neere the value of three shillings foure pence English. Also that in reckoning of payments, the Germans vse to make them by markes of *Colen* and *Lubecke*, yet is there no such money at all coyned. Now I returne to the purpose. The Gold Rhenish Guldens of *Germany*, are almost of the same standard with the Crowne Gold of *England*: but the difference of the value shall hereafter appeare. The Gold Ducket of *Hungary*, is of the purest gold of twenty foure Caracts, and it is two penny weight and fixe graines, (for I will apply all values to the

English

English Coynes) ; and in *England* they are worth seven shillings and two pence. The silver Dollar of the Empire (called *Reichs Dollar*) is of the standard of ten ounces or thereabouts, and is eightene penny weight sixteene graines. And at this time in *England* a Dollar is worth foure shillings and five pence, which of late, before the reducing of our money, was giuen for foure shillings foure pence. The *Phillips Dollar*, is of the standard of nine ounces ten penny weight, and it is an ounce halfe quarter weight, & at this time in *England* it was worth foure shillings ten pence.

At *Stoade*
and those
parts.

At *Stoade*, *Hamburg*, and *Lubecke*, the Gold Rhenish Gulden was worth eight and twenty silver Misen Grosch, and a halfe, and a fourth part of a Grosch. And the Imperiall Dollar was worth foure and twenty Grosch. The same Rhenish gold Gulden, was worth sixe and thirty Lubecke shillings and a halfe, and the Imperiall Dollar was worth three and thirty Lubecke shillings, though in all reckonings it were accounted but two and thirty shillings. A common silver Gulden was worth eight and twenty Lubecke shillings. A French Crowne of Gold was worth foure and forty. An English Angell of Gold was worth two Dollars, with the fourth part of a Dollar and two Lubecke shillings, (or otherwise it was worth twelue Flemmish Shillings, and foure Lubecke shillings). Seven Lubecke shillings and a halfe, made an English Shilling sterling, and sixe Lubecke shillings made a Flemmish Shilling, and likewise a shilling of *Hamburg*. The Hamburgers coyned a peece of Gold called a *Portegue*, which was worth foure pounds and eight shillings of *Hamburg*, or three and thirty Markes of Lubecke, (a Marke being esteemed for two shillings eight pence of *Hamburg*). At *Stoade* the silver shilling of *England* was worth seven stivers, and the Groates of *England*, being of the same standard, yet were currant for two stivers and a halfe, because seven stivers in that money could not be diuided into three equal parts. Whereupon it fell out, that he who bought any thing for an *Hamburg* penny, if he paid three English groats, had an English shilling giuen him backe, and so had the thing bought for nothing.

At *Emden*.

At *Emden* vpon the confines of the Empire and the Low-Countreys, a silver Gulden of *Emden* was worth twenty stivers, an Imperiall Dollar five and forty (which since that time is worth seven and forty) a Dollar of *Emden* was worth thirty stivers, (for Princes and Cities coyne gold and silver Guldens, which often in their value differ from the Imperiall, as likewise Dollers *in specie*, (that is, kind) differ in value from Dollers, as they are esteemed in contracts), a French crowne was worth three Flemmish Guldens and sixe stivers. Now sixe stivers (as also sixe Lubecke shillings)

At *Breme*,
Oldenburg,
and those
parts.

make one Flemmish shilling. At *Breme* and *Oldenburg*, they haue these small moneys currant, namely, Groates, and peeces (of the stampe) called Copstucks, and a Dollar was there worth foure copstucks and a halfe, or five and fifty Groats. A French crown was worth six Copstucks, and one Copstucke was worth ten stivers, or twelue groats or thereabouts. A Groat was worth little more then an English penny. A Sessling was worth halfe a Lubecke shilling, and they haue also halfe Sesslings in these parts.

At *Brunswicke*.

At *Brunswicke* a Dollar was worth six and thirty Maria Grosch, which are of equall value with foure and twenty silver Misen Grosch, and also nine Maria Grosch, make eight Lubecke shillings. The same Dollar was worth eightene spitz-groschen, whereof each was worth two Maria Groschen. Here also I changed sixe Dollers into five Rhenish Gold Guldens and nine Grosch. At *Magdeburg*, *Leipzig*, *Misen*, and in all the Electorate of *Saxony*, and in the Neighbour Territories, to the confines of *Bohemia*, a Dollar was worth foure and twenty silver Groschen, which are as much worth as eightene spitz-groschen, or as sixe and thirty Maria Groschen. A Rhenish Gold Gulden was worth seven and twenty silver Groschen, and the silver Phillips Dollar, was of the same value.

At *Misen*
and those
parts.

A common silver Gulden was esteemed at one and twenty silver Groschen, a French Crowne at three and thirty, a Spanish pistolet at two and thirty, an halfe Milreise at sixe and thirty, the short and long Crusado, at five and thirty, the Hungarian Ducker at thirty silver Groschen. The Rose Noble was esteemed at three Dollers and a halfe, the English Angell at two Dollers, and little more then an Ort, or fourth part of a Dollar. And the silver Grosch is worth more then two pence, lesse then 2. pence halfe-penny English. And for the small Coynes, a Grosch was worth foure drier, & one drier

was

was worth two Dreyhellers, and one Dreyheller was worth a pfenning and a halfe, and twelue pfenning made a Grosh, and two schwerdgroschen made one schneberger. In generall, through all the vpper parts of *Germany*, a doller was esteemed at eightene batzen, a siluer Gulden at fiteene, a Phillips doller at twenty, a Rhenish Gold Gulden at twenty, a French Crowne at foure and twenty and a halfe, a Gold Crowne of *Italy* was esteemed at *Heidelberg* and at *Strassburg* at foure and twenty batzen, at *Augsburg* a siluer Italian Crowne at two and twenty batzen and a halfe. And the siluer Grosh of *Misen* being carried out, & currant in all *Germany*, a Rhenish gold Gulden through higher *Germany* was worth seuen and twenty siluer *Misen* Grosh, a siluer Gulden there (as in *Saxony*) was esteemed at one and twenty Grosh. The Batz is worth three English pence, and foure Creitzers make a Batz, foure pfenning make a Creitzer, and three Creitzers make a Zweluer, and twenty zweluers make fifteen batzen, which is a common siluer Gulden.

*In vpper
Germany*

More particularly know, that in all Princes Territories, new and diuers small moneys are found. At *Nurnberg* eight pfund (that is, Pounds) with twelue pfenning, make a siluer Gulden, thirty pfenning make one pfund, two haller make one pfenning, five pfening make one finfer, seuen pfening make a Maria Grosh, thirty six Maria Grosh make a siluer gulden. In *Austria* two haller make one pfening, foure pfening one creitzer, seuen Creitzers and a halfe make a shilling, eight shillings make a siluer Gulden. At *Augsburg* seuen haller make one creitzer, eight pfening make one Bemish, three creitzers make one plappart, twenty plappart (as also sixe and twenty Bemish with 2 pfening) make a siluer Gulden. In *Franconia*, six pfening (whereof twelue make nine pfening of *Misen*) make one gnack. In *Sueuia* and *Bauaria* towards the Rheine, three Creitzers make one shilling, or one plappart, and twenty plappart make a siluer gulden. At *Lindaw*, and from thence to *Costnetz*, three pfening of *Costnetz* make one creitzer, twelue pfening make a batzen, and there be also halfe batzen. From thence to *Basil*, these moneys are spent before named. At *Strasburg* and *Spira*, foure pfening of the Phaltz, (that is, Palatinate) make one Creitzer, and at *Heydelberg*, and so to *Francfort*, two *Strasburg* pfening, make one Creitzer. At *Francfort* seuen and twenty weispfenning make a siluer Gulden, and eight haller make a weispfenning. At *Wien* (that is, *Vienna*) and vpon the confines of *Hungary*, foure pfening make a creitzer, thirty pfening (or seuen creitzers and a halfe,) make a shilling, and one shilling makes a pfund (or pound).

Alwaies let the Reader vnderstand, that the value of these moneyes is subiect to change, in diuers Prouinces, and more at diuers times. And let him know, that an Imperiall Doller is now in *Germany* worth nineteene batzen, which at my being there was giuen for eightene batzen; and that a Phillips doller is now worth twenty two batzen, which then was giuen for twenty, and that a Rhenish Gold Gulden is now worth three and twenty batzen, which then was giuen for twenty. Likewise that in the Territory of the Elector of *Saxony*, a doller is now worth sixe and twenty *Misen* Grosh and a halfe, which then was giuen for foure and twenty. Also that the great Coynes of *Germany*, are now worth more in *England*, then they were at that time, in respect of our siluer somewhat debased. And if any object, that our English coynes of siluer are now worth more in the Low-Countreys, then they were at that time when they were more pure, let him know, that all great Coynes, as well of siluer as Gold, as well forraine as domesticall, haue since that time beene increased in value in the Low Countreys; yet he that will change an English Angell into dollers, or great siluer Coynes in the Low-Countreys, shall gaine no more at this time then formerly, since now they esteeme a doller at seuen shillings sixe pence, which formerly was giuen for five shillings foure pence, and all the gayne which this raising of the Coynes seemes to promise a passenger, is by changing his great Coynes into stivers and small brasse moneyes, which being of none or small value in themselves, are despised by Merchants, who are to receiue great summes. But I will referre the change of the value of Coynes in the Low-Countries, to the proper place, and returne to the value of Coynes, increased in *Germany*: Wherein no man is to wonder, that the great

*In gene-
rall.*

Coynes

Coynes still remaining of the old standard, yet are giuen for more of their owne small moneys, then formerly they were, since diuers reasons therof may be readily brought. Either for that the Merchants, being to receiue great summes, desire rather with losse to receiue great Coynes, then with gaine to receiue the base, and brasse Coynes. Or perhaps for that the small Coynes are now either more abased, or altogether made of brasse: And most of all, for that forraine Merchants doe more carry out the moneys of *Germany* for their wares, then any natie commodities thereof, so as the increased value of Coynes in *Germany*, turnes onely to the losse of strangers, and to the gaine of the Empire.

Diuers moneys of Bohemia.

Bohemia now long subiect to the Family of *Austria*, hauing long held the dignity of Emperours, doth admit all the great Coynes of *Germany*, in the same value as the Germans held them. And as well the Bohemians, as the Hungarians, in the yeere 1551 gaue consent, that thenceforward their moneys should be made agreeable to those of the Empire, in weight, matter, and value. Touching the small moneys in *Bohemia*, and vpon the confines of *Hungary* and *Poland*, I remember that three potschandels or pochannels made one creitzer, and nine creitzers with a pochanell made foure weiffgrosh, and that thirty Grosh of *Morauia* (or weiffgrosh) made a doller. And that in *Bohemia* they had a kind of Grosh, which answered in value to the Grosh of *Polonia*. Lastly, that Merchants reckoned two hallers for a pfenning, and six pfenning for a grosh, and sixty grosh for a shock, and forty grosh for a marke.

Diuers moneys of Sweitzerland.

The Common-wealth of the Sweitzers consisting of diuers Cities and Villages, and Territories, doth also admit diuers moneys. The priuiledge of Coyning is granted in common to *Zurech*, *Basil*, and *Schaphusen*, and each of these Cities hath his peculiar mynt, with Officers to ouersee that the moneys stamped with the markes of the Cities, be of iust weight, and due mixture: but each of these Cities hath their peculiar moneys. They of *Basil*, with the Neighbour townes of *Alsetz*, doe coyne a peece of money, which of a Crow stamped vpon it, is called *Rappen Münztz*, whereof five and twenty pound Troy weight, (called in Latin, *Assis*) make a common gold gulden, esteemed at sixty creitzers. They of *Schaphusen*, doe coyne money of the same mixture and value, together with the vsuall money of the Empire. They of *Zurech* coyne dollers and halfe dollers, after the value of those in the Empire; but they haue a lesse money of their owne, whereof forty pounds Troy weight, (called in Latin *Assis*) make a common gold Gulden. They also coyne Batzen, whereof sixteene make a gold Gulden. More particularly to explaine the value of these moneys: Six Rappen of *Basil*, make a plappart or three creitzers, and twenty plappart or sixty creitzers, make a common Gulden. And as I formerly said in the discourse of German moneys, from *Lindaw* to *Costnetz*, three pfenning of *Costnetz* make a Creitzer. Now I adde that the money of *Schaphusen* and *Costnetz* is spent to the confines of *Schaphusen*, and the money of *Basil* is spent from thence to *Basil*. At *Zurech* sixe pfenning make a shilling, (worth a penny English), and three pfenning make a Sicherling. Two great finfers of *Basil*, and one little finferlin, make a batz of *Basil*, and in like sort five finferlin make a batz, and five finfers make two batzen, and these moneys are spent to *Straßburg*, and so to *Spire* in *Germany*. *Bern*, *Friburg*, and *Solothurn*, haue a peculiar money, whereof two and forty pounds Troy weight (in Latin *Assis*) and twice foure ounces (in Latin *7 rientes*) make a gold Gulden. Besides they (and especially those of *Solothurn*, in great quantity) coyne a peece of mony, which the Sweitzers call *Dickenpfenning*, & the French call *Testoone*, but it is lesse worth by the tenth part then the *Testoone* of *France*. Those of *Bern* did first coyne Batzen, so called of a Beare, the Armes of the City, (for the words *Baren*, and also batzen, signifie Beares in the Sweitzers tongue), and the Cities of *Suenia*, imitating them, drew the same money and word into *Germany*. At *Bern* sixteene batzen are esteemed for a rhenish gold Gulden. The money of *Lacerna*, is like to that of *Basil*, but onely sixe ounces Troy weight more base, and fifty of these moneys make a Rhenish gold Gulden. As the French gold is spent with gaine in *Sweitzerland*, so in all places vpon these confines of *France*, the French siluer Coynes called *Francks*, are commonly spent. In the Cantons dwelling scattered in Villages, (namely, the *Sweitz*, those of

Vnder-

Vnderwald, the *Tugians*, those of *Glarona*, and *Abbatiscella*, a pound is a doller. In *Rhetia* (or the *Grisons*) the Bishop and the Citizens of *Chur* coyne money, and the Abbot of *Difent* hath an old priuiledge of coyning. And here sixty creitzers make a common gulden, foure Angster make a Creitzer, and twelue Angster make a Behimisch. But in this Prouince confining vpon the State of *Venice*, the Lires or Berlingots, and the gagers of *Venice*, are vulgarly spent, and I remember that when I came out of the state of *Venice* into this Prouince, I spent Crownes of *Italy*; and I find in my notes, that at *Lasagna* I changed a siluer crowne for eight and twenty batzen: but since seuen batzen of *Germany* make two lires of *Venice*, and a gold crowne of *Italy*, is there giuen for eight lires; I thinke that either it was a gold crowne that I changed, or that the batzen of this Prouince are of lesse value then those of *Germany*. For a gold crowne of *Italy*, and the French crowne are both of a value; and I said before, that at *Strassburg* I changed each of these Crownes for foure and twenty batzen: yet to the contrary I find, that passing forward in this Territory of the *Grisons*, I exchanged at *Lanzi* a siluer crowne of *Italy* for seuen and twenty batzen, and that three batzen were there esteemed at foureteene creitzers, which in *Germany* are onely worth twelue creitzers. So as I am doubtfull, and cannot determine the value of the *Italian* coyne, in the small moneys of the *Grisons*.

In the foresaid Imperiall Dieta (or Parliament) held at *Augsburg*, in the yeere 1551. these words are added to the Imperiall Edict. We wil that this our Edict shall be pronounced to our Hereditary States of the Low-Countreys, and we will take care that they apply themselues thereunto, as much as they possibly can. The States of the Low-Countreys, coyne diuers peeces of gold, as Archiducall Angels and Crownes. And the Angell is of the standard of twenty two Caracts, and of three penny weight seuen graines. Also they coyne gold Lyons, called Riders, whereof each is worth foure Flemmish Guldens and a halfe. The Noble of *Gant*, is of the same standard with the French Crowne, and in *England* it is worth thirteene shillings foure pence. They spend commonly Phillips dollers, the value whereof I haue set downe with the moneys of *Germany*. To conclude, they coyne any peece, of which they can make gayne, yea, the Merchants report, that they coyne the great moneys of *Spaine*, *England*, and all Dominions, stamped with the same Image and Armes, and for such vter the same in their trafficke with the Indians. But they coyne little gold or siluer of their owne, hauing a singular Art to draw all forraine coyne when they want them, by raising the value, and in like sort to put them away, when they haue got abundance thereof, by decrying the value. And when their Exchequer aboundeth with any money, & they are to pay their Army, then they increase the value thereof; but hauing abundance of the same coyne, and being to receiue their reuenues, then they decry the value thereof. And while they thus raise the value of forraine great coyne, in their small moneys, it fals out, that they haue plenty of gold and siluer, with the onely losse of base stiuers and brasse moneys. And indeed, as well the art, as industry of this Nation, hath in our age become wonderfull to all other Nations. For they haue no woods, yet by the commodity of their riuers and ditches, they are become terrible to their enemies in the strength of their Nauy. They haue not corne to suffice their owne wants, yet by fetching it from other parts, they relieue therewith all Nations that want corne. Of late, when they had no skill in trafficke, the *Italians* trading at *Antwerp*, did rashly take their children to write their letters, and be their cashiers, and they too late complaine, that when these children grew to age, they did not onely take all forraine trafficke from them, and send them backe into *Italy*, but also followed them thither, and liuing dispersed through all the Cities of *Italy*, and spending at a low rate, did also draw all that trafficke to themselves. In like sort they haue no mines of gold and siluer, yet by their singular wit, and rare industry, doe abound both with gold and siluer. To conclude, as they are most practicall in all kinds of businesse, so are they most subtile in the art of the mynt, and money matters. But I will returne to the moneys of the Low-Countreys. At this day the English Angell being esteemed at foue Flemmish guldens and two blanks, two English Angels (or twenty shillings) are there worth foure and

Of the diuers Coyne of the Low-Countreys.

thirtie Flemish shillings, wanting 2 stivers, and a hundreth pounds Flemish make sixty English pounds sterling. Two English shillings are three shillings foure pence Flemish, and make a Flemish siluer gulden, twentie Flemish shillings make a Flemish pound, twentie stivers make a Flemish gulden, sixe stivers make a Flemish shilling, two blacks make one Flemish stiner and a halfe, foure orkees (or doights) of brasfe make a Flemish stiver. A French crowne was giuen for three Flemish guldens, and foure stivers (but in *Holland* onely three stivers, and in some places but two stivers more then three guldens.) An Imperiall dollar was giuen for fortie five stivers, a Spanish pistolet for three Flemish guldens, and two or three stivers, a gold Rhenish gulden for two Flemish guldens and nine stivers, and a *Phillips* dollar of siluer for two Flemish guldens and eight stivers, or very little more.

Of the di-
uers moneys
of Denmark

The marke of *Denmarke* was esteemed at 16 Lubeck shillings, and two shillings of *Denmark* made one Lubeck shilling, and thirtie three Lubeck shillings were giuen for an Imperiall Dollar, yer two and thirtie of Lubeck, or sixtie foure shillings of *Denmark* made a common Dollar in contracts. The gold of *England* was commonly spent in *Denmark*, and they esteemed an English Angell at two Dollers, and little more then the fourth part of a Dollar; and they esteemed the English Rose Noble of that time at three Dollers and a halfe (which coyne they had almost drawne altogether into *Denmark*, by the exacting the same for the tributes of ship-masts, and other Merchandizes, passing the narrow straight of their Sea.

Of the di-
uers moneys
of Poland.

The Polonians coyne gold Duckets of the same value with the Hungarian Duckets (whereof I haue spoken among the moneys of *Germany*), and these Duckets at this day are giuen for leuenty Polish grosh, which of late were worth no more then sixtie five. *Venceslaus* King of *Bohemia* was crowned King of *Poland* about the yecre 1300, who first brought siluer money into *Poland*, namely, Bohemian groshen (I meane those of siluer, not the white grosh), which to this day are currant in *Crakow*, and those parts. For before that time the Polonians did traffick with little pieces of vncoined siluer, and with exchange of skins and other commodities. At this day the Polonians, aswell as the Germans, make all contracts by siluer guldens, but haue no such coyne stamped. Thirty Polish grosh make a siluer gulden, and a dollar at this day is worth fortie Polish grosh, at the least, which not long since was worth no more then thirtie five grosh, but to this day in contracts thirtie sixe Polish grosh make a dollar, howsoeuer a dollar in *specie* (that is, in kinde) be worth fortie grosh at the least. Three Pochanels make a Creitzer, and seuen pochanel make a Polish and Bohemian groshen of siluer. At *Danske* in *Prussia* (of old a Prouince of *Germany*, but lately annexed to the Crowne of *Poland*) they coyne Hungarian dukets of gold (as they doe in *Poland*), and they haue two coynes of gold, called Milreis, and halfe Milreis. And I receiued of a Merchant there, each Hungarian ducket, and each halfe milreis, for a dollar and a halfe with one selling, and each milreis for three dollers and two sellings. And thirtie sixe Polish grosh did there make a dollar. But I remember, that I did there change an Hungarian ducket for fiftie sixe Polonian grosh, which value passeth the former about a grosh and a halfe. For a selling of *Hamburg* makes a Danish shilling, and that is little more worth then a halfe Polish grosh. The Muscouites Empire lyes vpon this Prouince, and therefore I will adde a word of their coynes. They make all contracts by a money called Rubble, which is altogether imaginarie, for they haue no such coyne, and it is esteemed in *England* at thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, and in the Muscouites money, it is rated at thirtie three altines and two Diagoes. And sixe single or three double diagoes make one altine.

Of the di-
uers moneys
of Italy.
In generall.

The Italian Crowne of gold, and the Spanish pistolet, and double pistolet (being there current), are of the same standard, allay, and value, with the after mentioned French Crowne, saue that the double pistolet containes two French Crownes. The Venetian zecchine is of the same standard, finenesse, and value as the Hungarian ducket, aboue mentioned in the moneys of *Germany*. The Popes giulij of siluer, and so likewise the poali, are of the same standard finenesse and value with the English sixe pence, but the lire of *Venice* being worth about nine pence English, is of a little baser standard

standard. The Spanish coyne of silver are currant in *Italy*, and they are called *Pezzi d'otto*, pieces or rials of eight, and they be of the standard of 11 ounces and two penny weight, and are three quarters of an ounce and a halfe weight, and in *England* each of them is worth foure shillings foure pence half peny, this Spanish mony being two and twentie pence in each twentie shillings English, more worth then the English silver. All Crownes of gold are currant in *Italy*, and all at one rate, excepting the French Crownes, which at *Venice* and *Naples* are esteemed somewhat higher then other, though in all the other Cities of *Italy*, it is more commodious to spend Spanish pistolets or crownes, then French crownes. In generall, the Italian silver crowne, giuen for seuen lires of *Venice*, is worth almost fve shillings English, and the Italian gold crowne vulgarly called *d'oro*, giuen for seuen lires, and about fteene sols of *Venice*, is worth almost fve shillings sixe pence English, and the gold crowne, vulgarly called *d'oro in oro del sole*, giuen for eight lires, and some odde sols of *Venice*, is currant in *England* for sixe shillings. To conclude, greater summes paid in little brasse moneys, are in *Italy* delivered by weight, not by tale or number. And more particularly to expaine the values of moneys. At *Venice* a zechine of *Venice* is giuen for ten lires, and ten or twelue sometimes more sols. A double pistolet of *Spaine*, called *Dublón*, is there giuen for seuenteen lires. A French crowne is giuen for eight lires, and eight, or sometimes ten sols. An Italian crowne of gold is there giuen for eight lires, and some for seuen lires sixteene sols (for the weight of *Venice* being heauier then in other parts of *Italy*, the light crownes are lesse esteemed.) The Spanish piastro of silver is giuen for sixe lires, the silver ducker for sixe lires and foure sols, the silver crowne for seuen lires, the iustino for two lires, the musenigo for a lire, and foure sols. Besides, the Venetians haue silver pieces of 4 lires, of eight soldi (or sols), and of sixe soldi, and a piece of two soldi called *Gagetta*, which are of a baser standard. Touching the brasse moneys, twentie soldi make a lire, two soldi or three susines make a gagetta, two betti or three quatrines, make a soldo or marketta, and foure bagatines make a quatraine. In the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, the silver crowne is spent for seuen lires of *Venice*, and in the money of the Dukedome twelue bolignei make a Venetian lire, three susines make a boligneo, and two bolignei make one amora, seuen make one Saint *Georgio*, foure make one caualot, foure and a halfe make one berlingasso, nineteene make one carli, and ten bolignei make one bianco, and two brasse quatrines make a susine, sixe make a boligneo, seuen make a gagetta of *Venice*. At *Bologna*, a silver crowne is giuen for ten poali, and a French crowne of iust weight for thirteene poali. The poalo, and the giulio in other parts of *Italy* are both of one value, but here the giulio is giuen for sixe bolignei and foure brasse quatrines, or for fortie brasse quatrines, and the poalo is giuen for eight bolignei, or for fortie eight brasse quatrines. Also hee that changeth any crowne, shal haue more gaine, if he change it into bollignei (which are good for expences there), then if he change it into poali (because the poali are currant in other parts, but the bolignei onely in the territory of *Bologna*.) At *Pesaro*, and in the Dukedome of *Urbino*, a gold crowne is spent for twelue poali, and fifty two brasse quatrines make a poalo: but if you will change your gold crowne into brasse quatrines, which are not current out of the Territory, you may haue 182 quatrines for the crowne, which make fteene poali, which is a fifth part more then it is worth in silver. At *Ancona*, and in the Marca of *Ancona*, a gold crowne is giuen for eleuen poali and a half, or to the value of twelue poali, if you receiue it in brasse quatrines, and there fortie quatrines of brasse make a giulio, fortie three make a poalo. A silver crowne is giuen for ten poali, and if you receiue brasse quatrines for poali, they will giue seuen baocci more, and ten baocci make a poalo. At *Rome* a gold crowne is sometimes giuen for eleuen poali and a halfe, sometimes for twelue, sometimes for twelue and a halfe, according to the abundance and want of gold, and all gold crownes are of one value. And a silver crowne is giuen for ten poali or giulij, and ten baocci make one giulio or poalo, and foure brasse quatrines make a baocco. Lastly, at *Rome* more then any other where, he that changeth crownes into quatrines, which cannot be spent out of that State, shal in appearance make great gaine: but in the Market those which sell, vse to looke into

the buyers hands, and if he haue quatrines therein, they hold the thing to be sold at a higher rate, if he bring siluer, they sell cheaper. And I remember, that the Gentlemen of *Rome* refusing to take quatrines for their rents, the people, when the Pope came abroad, falling on their knees before him, in stead of asking his blessing, did with humble cries craue a remedie for that oppression. At *Naples* a gold Spanish crowne, or a French crowne of iust weight, was giuen for thirteene carlini, an Italian gold crowne for twelue carlini and a halfe, a siluer crowne for tenne carlini, and nine carlini make eight reali, or giuli, or poali, and five carlini make one paraque, and fortie brasle quatrines make one carlino, ten quatrines make one sequin, three quatrines one turnas, & two cauali make one quatrine. In the Dukedome of *Florence*, a gold crowne is giuen for twelue giulij (or reali, or poali, for they bee all of one value) and for halfe a giulio more. And a siluer crowne called Piastro (which is most commodious to bee carried for expences in all *Italy*, and especially here) was giuen for ten giulij and a halfe. Touching smaller monys, ten brasle deners make a quatrine, three brasle quatrines make a soldo, five quatrines make a baello (or creitzer, which is a little coyne of siluer), and eight baelli make a giulio or carlino, and fortie giulij make twentie shillings sterling English. At *Genoa* and in *Liguria*, a gold crowne of iust weight (aswell Spanish, as French, Venetian, Florentine, Neapolitan, and that of *Genoa*) is giuen for foure lires and a halfe of *Genoa*. A siluer crowne there called ducaton, is giuen for three lires of *Genoa*, fiftene soldi or bolinei, and somewhat more. And a chanfron of *Naples* for one and thirtie soldi. Fiftene lires of *Genoa* make twenty shillings sterling English, twentie soldi or bolinei of *Genoa* make a lire of *Genoa*, and twelue soldi of *Genoa* make a lire of *Venice*, seven soldi and a halfe of *Genoa* make a reale, foure soldi make a caualotto, sixe quatrines make a soldo, or bolineo, and two deners make a quatrine. Also at *Genoa* they coyne a siluer piece of eight reali, which is giuen for three lires and one or two soldi. Likewise they coyne a piece of foure reali, and another of two reali. Also they coyne siluer pieces, of one, two, and foure lires, and a siluer piece of ten soldi or bolinei. Lastly, they coyne brasle pieces of foure soldi, called caualotto, of one soldo or bolineo, of eight deners, of foure deners, and of one denere. In the Dukedome of *Milano* *Milan*, a gold crowne of *Italy* being of iust weight, is giuen for one hundred twentie one soldi. A Spanish dublon of iust weight, is giuen for two hundred and sixty soldi, and more sometimes. A dublon of *Milan* for two hundred and fiftie soldi, a light gold crowne for one hundred and seuentene soldi, a siluer crowne called ducaton for one hundred and fourtene soldi. And twentie soldi make a lire, two lires of *Genoa* make about three lires of *Milan*, foure brasle quatrines make a soldo, nine soldi make a bianco, ten quatrines make one parpayolle, forty quatrines make a terfo. My selfe at *Milan* changed a gold crowne for sixe lires and sixe soldi, and at *Marignano*, hiring a horse for sixe lires, and giuing a gold crowne, I receiued backe eight soldi. In *Piemont*, a French crowne is giuen for ten florines somewhat more, a siluer crowne for eight florines. And twelue grossi make a florine, foure quatrini make a grosso, foure soldi make a bianco, seven quatrines make a soldo, sixe soldi and sixe quatrines make a florino, twelue quatrini make a caualotto, and foure caualotti make a florino. Lastly, in the Dukedome of *Mantua*, a zecchine of *Venice* is giuen for eight lires and twelue soldi, a gold crowne of *Mantua* for seven lires, a siluer crowne for sixe lires and foure soldi. Foure trantis make a soldo, two soldi make a parpayollo, sixe soldi make a Barbarino, ten soldi and a halfe make a giulio, twelue soldi and a halfe make a Spanish riall, 20 soldi make a lire, 2 trantis make a fusine, and 3 deners of *Mantua* make a trantis.

The diuers
moneys of
Turkey. The great Turke coyne a piece of gold called Sultanon, and it is of the same standard, finenesse, and value with the Hungarian ducket, aboue mentioned among the moneys of *Germany*. In *Affrick*, those of *Barbary* haue a gold Ducat, commonly current among Christians, which is so rare in *Turkey*, as I do not remember to haue scene any piece thereof spent there. Neither haue the Affricans any mines of gold, but they carry salt to *Ganger*, and thence bring this gold. And this *Barbary* ducket of gold is of the standard of three and twentie caracts, and the fourth part of a graine, and three penny weight wanting two graines, and at this day in *England* it is giuen for nine

nine shillings two pence sterling, which of late was worth no more then eight shillings foure pence sterling. To conclude, the gold zechine of *Venice*, and the Spanish peeces of siluer, of foure and eight Reali, and the very siluer of *Venice*, are so commonly spent in *Turkey*, as the gold and siluer of *Turkey* seemes dispised, or at least is seldome spent. But because this vast Dominion hath large circuit, it will not be amisse to name the moneys currant in diuers places. And first I forewarne the passenger, that in all places, he is in danger, who shewes his money, but most of all among the *Turkes*, where to be rich, is more dangerous then the greatest crime can be objected, either in respect of the couetous Iudge in publike, or the rauinous nature of each man in priuate, neither doth any thing more prouoke the *Turkes* to lay snares for the vnwary passenger. So as howsoeuer it be not improuidently done, to carry summes of gold or siluer by sea, & in Barks of Christians; yet I would aduise a passenger to be wary how he shew them among Christians, and much more among *Turkes*, and aduise him rather to make shew, to draw his money from a little purse, hiding his greater store, then in payments to pull it out by heapes. The Greeke Iland *Zante*, subiect to the Venetians, hath *Venice* At *Zante*. money, and a gold zechine was giuen there for eleuen Lires, and two gagets.

Likewise the Greeke Iland *Candia*, subiect to the Venetians, hath the moneys of *Venice* At *Candia*. *nice*, where a gold zechine was giuen for eleuen lires, and to the *Turkes* (landing there) at a higher rate. The siluer crowne called piastro, was there giuen for six lires, and about foure soldi. And here I found a siluer peece, which I neuer found to be spent in the State of *Venice*, namely, a perper, worth eight soldi, and eight baggatini of *Venice*.

The Greeke Iland *Cyprus*, subiect to the *Turkes*, spends the Venetian gold and siluer lires, but receiues not the peeces of eight soldi, nor the lesser moneys of *Venice*, neither are the Venetian lires currant any further then this Iland, though perhaps they may be spent with some losse vpon the Coast adioyning. At *Cyprus* the gold zechine was giuen for eleuen lires of *Venice*, and for 120, aspers of *Turkey*; and the siluer crown called piastro, or a piece of eight Reali Spanish, was giuen for seuentie Aspers, and the gold Sultanon of *Turkey*, was of the same value with the zechine of *Venice*: yet the verry Subiects more willingly receiued the zechines. The Turkish Asper is a little peece of siluer, which at *Haleppo* in *Syria* was worth some three farthings English: and eight aspers at *Cyprus* made one scahy (a Turkish money which the Italians call *Seya*) being esteemed at little more then six pence English, and fiftene scahy made a zechine, twelue scahy made a French or Spanish Crowne, ten scahy made a piastro or Spanish peece of eight Reali. And sixteene brasse *Mangowri* made one siluer Asper, neither can any money of *Cyprus* be spent in *Palestine* without losse. At *Cyprus*.

At *Ierusalem* and through all *Palestine*, and those parts, the gold zechines of *Venice* At *Ierusalem*. are more esteemed (as in all *Turkey*,) then any other peeces of gold, and the very

Turkes more willingly receiue them then the Turkish Sultanons. At *Ierusalem* a zechine was giuen for fife and forty meidines of *Cairo* in *Egypt*, the Spanish peece of eight Reali called piastro, was giuen for eight and twenty meidines; and halfe a piastro at the same rate, neither haue they any Aspers there, but these meidines onely, where of each is worth three Aspers, so as the fife and forty meidines giuen for the zechine, are worth 135, Aspers, and the eight and twenty meidines giuen for the piastro, are worth eighty foure aspers. The gold crownes of *France* and *Spaine*, are not spent here without losse, but the siluer duckets of *Italy* are commodious to be spent here. At *Tripoli* in *Syria*, and at *Haleppo*, and in the territories adioyning, the foresaid siluer aspers are commonly spent. The gold zechine of *Venice* is there worth ninety meidines, and the Spanish piastro worth sixty; but these meidines of *Tripoli*, differ from the other of *Cayro* in *Egypt*, for those of *Tripoli* are each worth one asper and a halfe, but those of *Cayro* are each worth three Aspers. At *Constantinople* all contracts are made by aspers, howsoeuer the foresaid peeces of gold and siluer be there also currant. And in small contracts they pay aspers by the weight; because they cannot easily number them, but in great contracts they reckon by Asses loades of aspers, as the English doe by hundred and thousand pounds. Lastly, at *Constantinople*, I exchanged gold zechines each at 125, aspers, a French Crowne at one hundred aspers, and a doller of *Germany* at 75, aspers. At *Tripoli*. At *Constantinople*.

Of the di-
vers moneys
of France.

The gold French Crowne is of the standard of two and twenty caracts, and is two penny weight, foure graines and a quarter. The siluer peece called *Quart d'escu*, that is, the fourth part of a crowne, is of the standard of eleuen ounces, and is six penny weight foure graines, and is worth two *Venice Lires*, or eightene pence sterling English. The peece of Siluer called *Francke*, is of the standard of nine ounces ten penny weight, and eightene penny weight sixteene graines, and is worth two shillings English. The *French Crowne* is exchanged for three *Franckes*, or for foure *Quarts d'escu*, or for little more then foure testoones. For foureteen soulz and a halfe make a testoon, fifteene soulz make a *Quart d'escu*, and twenty soulz make a *francke*, and sixty soulz make a French crowne, and twelue deniers make a soulz. Yet a gold French crowne *In specie*, (that is, in kind) is changed for sixty five soulz. As in like sort in *England*, a French crowne is worth no more then six shillings, and the English Angell is worth no more then 11. shillings in common estimation, yet he that brings a weighty a French crowne *In specie* to the Gold-smiths, they will giue him sixe shilling six pence for it, and he that brings to them an old Angell of gold, they will giue him 11. shillings and six pence, or more for it. And in the last ciuill warre, the value of the French crowne was raised to 120. soulz, till the King reduced the same to the old value after the warre composed. The same King *Henry* the fourth since that time raised the value of gold crownes, to the end he might draw backe his gold which was carried into forraine parts. My selfe passing through *Lorayne*, before the French ciuill warre was fully appeased, did at *Monwicke*, vpon the confines of *Lorayne* and *Germany*, exchange a French crowne for foure *franckes* and nine grosh, and shortly after coming to *Shallons*, exchanged a French crowne for no more then sixty soulz, so as I guesse that either the *Franckes* of *Lorraine* differ from the *Franckes* of *France*, or that the tumult of the warre, and the making of peace shortly after, made this difference.

Of the diuers measures of miles, through diuers parts of the world.

The diffe-
rence of
miles.

Further being to write of the diuers measures of miles, through the diuers parts of the World, it seemed good to me to add the measure of miles, vulgarly receiued, namely that five Italian miles, or three French, or two and a halfe English, make one Dutch mile, and that one Dutch mile and a halfe makes a mile of *Sweitzerland*.

It remaines now that according to my owne experience, I should speake something of the diuers kindes of miles. And in generall, this my opinion hath respect to the difficult or easie passages of the way, since euen in *England*, the miles seeme, and indeed are more short, neere *London*, where the waies are faire and plaine, and frequently inhabited, as they seeme, and indeed are more long and tedious, through the desert places of the North, ouer mountaines, and through vninhabited and difficult passages.

Italian.

The Romans of old held a thousand paces for a mile, and such are the miles of *Italie*.

English.

A common English mile makes one & a halfe Italian, but towards the North, & in some particular places of *England*, the miles are longer, among which the Kentish mile (being a Southerne County) is prouerbially held to be extraordinarily long.

Irish.

The Irish miles among the English, and the Irish-English are answerable to the English; howsoeuer for the solitary and disinhabited wayes, and many foards often overflowed, they are more troublesome to passe.

Scottish.

In like sort the miles of *Scotland*, answere to the Northerne miles of *England*, saue that the frequent climbing of mountaines, and the vnbeaten waies, make them seeme longer, and indeed require more time for the passage.

French.

Villamont a French gentleman in the book of his trauels witnesseth, that one French mile containes two Italian miles.

German.

The common German mile, being for the most part in plaines, makes more then three English, or five Italian miles; but in some places the solitude of Woods, and the ascent of Mountaines, make the miles of *Germany* seeme much longer, and *Suedia* extraordinarily hath long miles, though it be a plaine Countrey. The miles of *Sweitzerland*,

Serland, being ouer continuall Mountaines, are so long, as passengers distinguish their iourney more by the spaces of howers, then by the distances or numbers of miles. And I remember, that finding no horse to be hired, I went on foote from *Scaphusen* to *Zurech*, which iourney I was going ten howers, being accounted but foure miles. And in *Rhatia* among the Grisons, vpon the confines of *Italy*, one mile is held for sixe Italian miles. And vpon the foote of the Alpes towards the North, one mile is accounted for seuen miles and a halfe of *Italy*, where hauing a good horse, I could ride with an ordinarie pace no more then one Dutch mile in foure howers space. By which appears, that the measure of miles is very vncertaine among the Sweitzers, who for the most part reckon their iourneys by howers riding, or going with an ordinary pace, and not by miles.

The miles of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* are no lesse tedious, and I remember, that my selfe passing there on horseback, did commonly ride no more then foure miles in a dayes iourney. And howsoeuer the length of the Sweitzers and Bohemian miles may in part be attributed to the climbing of Mountaines, and bad waies, yet no such reason can be giuen for the miles of *Moravia*, which Country is either a plaine, or little pleasant Hilles, and the waies faire, and the Countrey well inhabited. *Bohemia.*

The Low-Countrey miles are of a middle length betweene the German and French miles. But in the very County of *Holland* they differ much one from another, since foure miles of great *Holland* make sixe miles of little *Holland*. And I remember, that about the Citie *Horne*, I esteemed each mile longer then three English. Also next to the *Holland* miles, those of *Freeland* are longer then the rest. *Flemish.*

A mile of *Denmark* is somewhat longer then three English miles, and answereth to the common mile of *Germany*. *Danish.*

The miles of *Poland* generally are like the miles of *Denmarke*, but they differ in length one from the other. For I remember, that in *Prussia* each dayes iourney I passed by coach some seuen miles, and in middle *Poland* nine or ten miles, but in vpper *Poland* towards *Germany* I commonly rode on horse-back no more then five miles or thereabouts each day, in my passage from *Crakaw* to *Moravia*. In *Russia* among the Moscouites confining vpon *Poland*, a mile is called a *ferse*, and answeres to five Italian miles, or one common mile of *Germany*. *Polonian.*

In *Turkey* those that guide Christians, hauing the Italian tongue, doe in my opinion number the miles to them, much after the Italian manner. *Turkish.*



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or a page from a manuscript. The text is arranged in several paragraphs, with some lines indented. The ink is dark and the paper is aged and slightly discolored.





THE REBELLION OF HUGH EARLE OF TYRONE, AND THE APPEASING THEREOF; WRITEN IN FORME OF A IOVRNALL.

PART II.

BOOKE I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Induction or Preface to my Irish Iournall, and a compendious narration, how CHARLES BLOUNT, Lord Mountioy (my Lord and Master of happy memorie) was chosen Lord Deputy of Ireland; and of this worthy Lords qualitie, as also of the Councils in generall, by which he broke the Rebels hearts, and gaue peace to that troubled State. Together with his particular actions in the end of the yeere 1599.



AT my returne from Scotland about the month of September in the yeere 1598, I retyred my selfe to *Healing* (my deare Sister *Faith Muffendines* house, being situate neere the South banke of *Humber*, in the Countie of *Lincolne*.) In which place (and my deare sister *Iane Alingtons* house neere adioyning) whilest I passed an idle yeere, I had a pleasing opportunitie to gather into some order out of confused and torne writings, the particular obseruations of my former Trauels, to bee after more deliberately digested at leasure. After this yeere spent in Countrey solace, the hopes of preferment drew me into *Ireland*. Of which iourney being to write in another manner, then I haue formerly done of other Countries, namely, rather as a Souldier; then as a Traueler, as one abiding in Campes, more then in Cities, as one lodging in Tents, more then in Innes; to my former brieue discourse of the iourneys through *England* and *Scotland*, I haue of purpose added there, out of my ordinary course, the like of *Ireland*; onely for trauellers instruction.

I am now to treat of the famous and most dangerous Rebellion of *Hugh*, Earle of *Tyrone*, calling him selfe, *The Oneale*, (a fatall name to the chiefe of the sept or Family of the *Oneales*), and this I will doe, according to the course of the former Part namely, in this place not writing Historically, but making only a Iournall, or bare narration of daily accidents, and for the rest referring the discourse of *Ireland* for all particulars to the seuerall heads, wherein each point is ioyntly handled, through all the Dominions of which I haue written. Onely in this place for the better vnderstanding of that

that which I principally purpose to write, I must craue leaue to fetch some short remembrances (by the way of preface) higher then the time of my owne being in *Ireland*, in the Lord *Mountioy* his Gouvernement.

Ann. 1169. About the yeere 1169 (not to speake of the kind of subiection which the Irish are written to haue acknowledged, to *Gurguntius*, and some Brittan Kings), *Henry* the 2 being himself distracted with French affaires, gaue the Earle of *Strangbow* leaue by letters Patents, to aide *Dermot Morrogh* King of *Lemster*, against the King of *Meath*. And this Earle marrying *Eua*, the daughter of *Dermot*, was at his death made by him heire of his Kingdome. Shortly after King *Henrie* himselfe landed at *Waterford*, and whilst he abode in *Ireland*, first *Dermott Mac Carthy*, King of *Coreke*, and the South part of *Mounster*, and *Dunewald Obrian* King of *Limrick*, and the North part of *Mounster*, then *Ormark* King of *Meath*, and *Roderick* King of *Connaght*, (by singular priuiledge ouer the rest, called the King of *Ireland*), and the aboue named King of *Lemster* yet liuing, did yeeld themselues vassals vnto King *Henrie*, who for the time was saluted Lord of *Ireland* (the title of King being first assumed by acte of Parliament to King *Henrie* the eight many yeeres after.) In the said *Henrie* the seconds raigne, Sir *John de Courcy* with foure hundred voluntary English souldiers sent ouer, did in fve battailes subdue *Ulster*, and stretcht the bounds of the English pale as farre as *Dunluce* in the most Northerne parts of *Ulster*.

About 1204, *John Courcy* of English blood, Earle of *Ulster* and *Connaght*, did rebel, and was subdued by *Hugh Lacy*. About 1210 the *Lacies* of English blood rebelling, were subdued by King *John*, who after some three moneths stay returned backe into *England*, where the *Lacies* found friends to be restored to their Earledome of *Ulster*. About 1291 *O-Hanlon* & some *Ulster* Lords troubling the peace, were suppressed by the English Colonies. From 1315 to 1318 the Scots made great combustions in *Ireland* to whom many Irish families ioyned themselues, and both were subdued by the English Colonies. In the yeere 1339 generall warre was betweene the English Colonies and the Irish, in which infinite number of the Irish perished. Hitherto *Ireland* was gouerned by a Lord Iustice, who held the place sometimes for few yeeres, sometimes for many. In the yeere 1340, *John Darcy*, an Englishman, was made Iustice for life, and the next yeere did exercise the place by his owne Deputy (which neither before nor after I find to haue been granted to any, but some few of the Royall blood.)

About the yeere 1341, the English-Irish (or English Colonies), being degenerated, first began to be enemies to the English, and themselues calling a Parliament, wrote to the King, that they would not indure the insolencies of his Ministers, yet most of the Iustices hitherto were of the English-Irish (or English, borne in *Ireland*.)

About the yeere 1361, *Leonel*, Duke of *Clarence*, was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and sometimes left his Deputy to gouerne it. This Duke being Earle of *Ulster* and Lord of *Connaght* by the right of his wife, came ouer with an Army of some 1500 by pole, and quieted the borders of the English Pale in low *Lemster*. He reformed the English-Irish, growne barbarous (by imbracing the tyrannicall Lawes of the Irish, most profitable to them, which caused them likewise to take Irish names, and to vse their language and apparrell.) To which purpose good Lawes were made in Parliament, and great reformation followed, atwell therein, as in the power of the English, for the seuen yeeres of his Lieutenancy, and after, till the fatall warres of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* Houses. And hitherto most of the Iustices were English-Irish.

Ann. 1400. About the yeere 1400, *Richard* the second, in the eighteenth yeere of his Raigne, came with an Army of foure thousand men at Armes, and thirtie thousand Archers, fully to subdue the Irish: but pacified by their submissions, and no act of moment otherwise done, he returned with his Army into *England*. After, to reuenge the death of the Earle of *March* his Lieutenant, he came againe with a like Army: but was suddenly recalled by the arrivall of *Henry* the 4 in *England*. During the said Kings Raigne, *Ireland* was gouerned by his Lord Lieutenants, sent from *England*, and in the Raignes of *Hen. the 4*, and *Hen. the 5*, by Iustices for the most part cholen of the English-Irish, only the Lord *Scroope* for 8 yerres was Deputy to *Thomas* the second son to *Hen. the 4*, who was L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

This

This I write out of the Annals of *Ireland* printed by *Camden*. In which, from the first Conquest of *Ireland*, to the following warres betweene the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* in *England*, I find small or no mention of the *Oneals* greatnesse among the Irish Lords. And I find very rare mention of any seditions in *Ulster*, especially among the Northerne Irish, so as that Prouince, from the first Conquest to these ciuill English warres, doth thereby seeme to haue beene one of the most peaceable and most subiect to the English. Neither reade I therein, of great forces or summes of mony sent out of *England* into *Ireland*, (except voluntaries, and the cursary iourneys of King *Iohn* and King *Richard* the second); but rather that for the most part all seditions as well betweenthe English-Irish, and the meere Irish, as between the English-Irish themselves, were pacified by the forces and expences of the same Kingdome.

During the said ciuill warre betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, for *England*, most of the Noble Families were wasted, and some destroyed; whereupon the English Irish, which hitherto had valiantly maintained their Conquest, now began to repaire into *England*, partly to beare out the factions, partly to inherit the Lands of their Kinsmen, of whom they were descended: And the meere Irish boldly rushed into the possessions, which the other had left void in *Ireland*. And from that time, vnder the gouernment of English Liefetenants and Deputies, seditions and murthers grew more frequent, the authority of the English Kings became lesse esteemed of the Irish, then in former times, and the English Pale had sometimes larger, sometimes straighter limits, according to the diuers successes of the Irish affaires at diuers times.

After the appeasing of the said bloody warre, I finde some 1000 men sent ouer by *Henry* the seuenth to suppress *Perkin Warbeck*, an English Rebell, and 500 men sent by *Henry* the eight to suppress the *Geraldines* of English race, rebelling against him. Otherwise the said Annals mention no great or generall rebellion in *Ireland*, especially such, by which either much blood of the English was spilt, or much of our treasure exhausted, till the happy raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. For in this onely age, Religion rather then Liberty first began to be made the cloake of ambition, and the Roman Locusts, to maintaine the Popes vsurped power, breathed euery where fier and sword, and not onely made strong combinations against those of the reformed religion in all Kingdomes, but were not ashamed to proclaime and promise Heauen for a reward, to such cut throates as should lay violent hands on the sacred persons of such Princes, as opposed their tyranny. Amongst which, this famous Queene being of greatest power, and most happy in successe against them, they not only left nothing vnattempted against her sacred person, and her Crowne of *England*, but whither encouraged by the blind zeale of the ignorant Irish to Popery, or animated by an old Prophecie.

It that will England winne, Must with Ireland first beginne.

Did also raise two strong and dangerous rebellions in *Ireland*, the one of the Earle of *Desmond*, & the other of the Earle of *Tyrone*, (not to speake of the troubles made by *Shane O'neale*, the easie settling whereof shall be onely mentioned in the treating of *Tyrone's* Ancestors.) Howbeit the wonted generall peace seemes to haue continued till after the 19. yeere of the Queenes raigne, being 1577: at which time the Lords of *Con-* Anno 1577
naght, and *O'rorke*, for their particular, made a composition for their lands with Sir *Nicholas Malby*, Gouvernour of that Prouince, wherein they were content to yeeld vnto the Queen so large a rent, and such seruices, (both of labourers to worke vpon occasion of fortifying, and of horse and foote to serue vpon occasion of war), as it seems the Popish combinations had not yet wrought in them any alienation of mind from their wonted awe and reuerence of the Crowne of *England*.

Touching the rebellion of *Gerald* Earle of *Desmond*: *Iohn Gerald* the sonne of *Thomas* (whose Progenitors of English race, had long behaued themselves valiantly in subdu- on of the
ing the Irish) had *Kildare* giuen him by King *Edward* the second, with title of an Earle. Earle of
And this Family of the *Fitz Gerald*s, or *Geraldens*, (as they are now called) long flouri- Desmond.
shed, (not onely keeping *Ireland* in obedience to the King; but infesting the sea coasts of the Welsh, not yet vnited to the Crowne of *England*;) and neuer raised armes against *England*, till *Thomas Fitz Gerald*, the sonne of *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*, and Lord

Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, vnder King *Henry* the eight, (whom the King had called into *England*, and there brought in question for his ill *Gouernement*), hearing by light and false rumour that his father was executed, rashly tooke Armes against the King, inuiting the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to inuade *Ireland*, which he in the meane time wasted with fire and sword. This *Thomas* and five of his Vnclcs were shortly after hanged, the father being before dead of griefe. But Queene *Marie* restored this Family to honour and lands, though they neuer after recovered their former dignity. Of these *Geralds* most of the greatest Lords in *Mounster* are descended, (though for diuers causes, many of them haue taken other Surnames) and particularly the Earles of *Desmond*.

Maurice Fitz-thomas a *Geraldine* was first created Earle of *Desmond* by *Edward* the third. Of whose posteritie many excelled in wealth, vertue, and honourable reputation, farre extending their power. But *James* inuaded his Nephewes inheritance by force, and imposed heavy exactions on all depending vpon him, whose sonne *Thomas* following his fathers steps, was by the Lord Deputie beheaded in the yeere 1467: his sonnes were restored, and the Earledome remained in his posterity, till *Gerald* Earle of *Desmond* in the yeere 1578 rebelled against Queene *Elizabeth*. To whose aide certaine bands of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, sent by Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, landed at *Smerwic*, who besieged by the Lord *Arthur Grey*, then Lord Deputy, in a Fort they had built, and called the Fort *del ore*, shortly after yeelded themselves, in the yeere 1583, and were put to the sword, as the necessitie of that State, and their manner of inuading the land, was then said to requite. And the Earle of *Desmond* flying into the Woods, was there in a cottage killed, and his head cut off, (being, as they say, betrayed by his owne followers, wherein the *Ulster* men challenge an honour of faithfulness to their Lords, aboue those of *Mounster*; for in the following warres none of them could be induced by feare or reward, to lay hands on their reuerenced *Oncle*.) Thus with an Army of sixe thousand men, whereof some four thousand were newly sent ouer at diuers times, this Rebellion of *Desmond* in *Mounster* was loone appeased. The Earledome of *Desmond* was by authoritie of Parliament adiudged to the Crowne, and made a County, with Sheriffes appointed yeerely to be chosen by the Lord Deputie.

Vpon the attainter of the said Earle of *Desmond* and his confederats, all 574628 the lands falling to the Crowne, were in Acres of English meature about 5 Acres:

Hereof great part was restored to the offenders, as to *Patrick Condon* his Countrey, to the *White Knight* his Countrey, to some of the *Geraldines*, and to other their confederats no small portions. The rest was diuided into Seigniories, granted by letters patents to certaine English Knights and Esquires, which vpon this gift, and the conditions whereunto they were tied, had the common name of *Vndertakers*.

In <i>Ferry</i> and <i>Desmond</i> , by patent, to Sir <i>William Harbert</i> , to <i>Charel Harbert</i> , to Sir <i>Valentine Browne</i> , to Sir <i>Edward Denny</i> , besides an vncertaine portion to <i>George Stone</i> and <i>Iohn Chapman</i> and their heires, were granted	30560 Acres with yeerely rents five hundred foure and twentie pound sixe shillings eight pence sterling.
--	--

In <i>Limerick</i> by Patent to Sir <i>Henrie Billinsley</i> , to <i>William Carter</i> , to <i>Edmund Mannering</i> , to <i>William Trenchard</i> , to <i>St. George Bourcher</i> , to <i>St. George Thornton</i> , to <i>Richard Fitton</i> , to <i>Robert Annesley</i> , to <i>Edward Barkley</i> , to Sir <i>Henry Vthered</i> , to Sir <i>William Courtney</i> , to <i>Robert Strowde</i> , and to their heires, were granted	96165 Acres, with rents nine hundred three & thirty pound foure shillings halfe penny, sterling.
--	--

In <i>Corke</i> , by patent to <i>Vane Beather</i> , to <i>Henrie North</i> , to <i>Arthur Rawlins</i> , to <i>Arthur Hide</i> , to <i>Hugh Cusse</i> , to Sir <i>Thomas Norris</i> , to <i>Warham Sent-leger</i> , to <i>St. Thomas Stoyes</i> , to <i>Master Spencer</i> , to <i>Thomas Fleetwood</i> , and <i>Marmaduke Edmunds</i> , and to their heires were granted	88037 Acres, with rents five hundred twelue pound seven shillings sixe pence halfe penny sterling.
---	--

In *Waterford* and *Tripperary* by Patent to the Earle of *Ormond*, to Sir *Christopher Hatton*, to Sir *Edward Fitton*, to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and to their heires were granted ————— 22910 Acres with rent three hundred and three pound, three pence sterling.

These Vndertakers did not people these Seigniorics granted them and their heires by Patent, (as they were bound) with well affected English, but either sold them to English Papists, (such as were most turbulent, and so being daily troubled and questioned by the English Magistrate, were like to giue the most money for the Irish land) or otherwise disposed them to their best profit, without respect of the publike good: neither did they build Castles, and doe other things (according to their couenants) for the publike good, but onely sought their priuate ends, and so this her Maiesties bounty to them, turned not to the strengthning, but rather to the weakening of the English Gouvernement in that Prouince of *Mounster*.

Touching the Rebellion of the Earle of *Tyrone*, the worthy Antiquary *Camden* mentioneth *Neale* the Great, tyrannising in *Ulster*, and great part of *Ireland*, before the coming of Saint *Patrick* into that Kingdome, about the yeere of our Lord 431, adding that this Family notwithstanding liued after more obscurely, not onely till the English entered to conquer *Ireland*, about the yeere 1169: but after that, to the time that the Scots vnder *Edward Bruce*, attempted to conquer that Kingdome, about the yeere 1318. In which turbulent time, *Donnaldus O Neale* started vp, and in his letters to the Pope stiled himselfe King of *Ulster*, and true Heire of all *Ireland*. Further, *Camden* addeth, that after the appeasing of these troubles, this new King vanished, and his posteritie lurked in obscuritie, till the Ciuill warres of *England*, betweene the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*. The seede whereof was sowne by *Henry* the fourth of *Lancaster* Family, deposing *Richard* the second of *Yorke* Family, and vsurping the Crowne, though *Henrie* the fourth and his sonne *Henrie* the fifth by their valour so maintained this vsurpation, as no Ciuill warre brake forth in their time, nor so long as the noble Brothers of *Henrie* the fifth, and Vncles to *Henrie* the sixth liued. After, betweene *Henrie* the sixth of *Lancaster* Family, and *Edward* the fourth of *Yorke* Family, this bloudy war was long continued, but ended in the death of the next successor *Richard* the third, a double Vsurper, both of the House of *Lancaster*, and the Heires of his Brother *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke*. After, in the marriage of *Henrie* the seuenth with the Daughter and Heire of *Edward* the fourth, both these Houses were vnited; and so this bloudie warre well ended. From this time, behold the Pedigree of the *O-neales*.

Owen Oneale.

Hugh mac Owen.

Henrie Mac Owen Oneale married the Daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Kildare* a *Giraldine*.

Art mac Hugh.

Con More (or Great) married the Daughter of *Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare* his Mothers Neece, whose Father and himself waxing bold vpon the power of the Earles of *Kildare*, tyrannised ouer the people, and despised the titles of Earles, Marquises, Dukes, or Princes, in regard of that of *Oneale*.

Neale Moore
mac Art.

Phileme Roe
mac Art.

Con, Sirnamed *Bacco* (or *Lame*), succeeded *Oneale*, who cursed his posterity, if they should learne English, sow Corne, or build houses, to inuite the English. His power being suspected of *Henrie* the eight, and the Kings power, after the suppression of the Earles of *Kildare*, being feared of him, who had rebelled with the

Neale Connellagh.

Earle,

Cc

A

B

D

F

A. B.

D.

F.

Earle, he sayled into *England*, and renouncing the name of *Oneale*, and surrendering his Inheritance held by the Irish Law of Tanistry (by which a man is preferred to a boy, and the Vncle to that Nephew, whose Grandfather ouerlives the Father, and commonly the most active Knaue, not the next Heire, is chosen), had his land regraunted to him from the King, vnder the great Seale of *England*, as to his Vassall, with title of Earle of *Tyrone*. Thus in the three and thirty yeere of *Henrie* the eight, an Act of Parliament was made in *Ireland*, with consent of the three Estates of that Kingdome, whereby the vsurpation of the title of *Oneale* was made capitall to this Family, and King *Henrie* and his successors (the former stile of Lords being changed) were stiled Kings of *Ireland*, and the Lawes of *England* were receiued to be of force in that Kingdome.

Shane (or *Iohn*) *Oneale* succeeding his Father, by killing his Brother *Matthew*, and vexing his Father to death, was cruell and barbarous, and tyrannically challenged the neighbour Lords to be his subiects, as *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Mahown*, *O Realy*, *O Hanlon*, *O Cahon*, *Mac Brien*, *O Hagan*, *O Quin*, *Mac Cartan*, *Mac Donnell Galloglasse*. And when

Hugh Mac
Neale Moore.

Henry Mac
Phelime Roe.

Phelime Hugh
eldest sonne.

Henrie Sidney expostulated this (being Lord Iustice in the absence of the Earle of *Sussex*, Lord Deputy), he offered to proue by

writings, that his Ancestors, had this authoritie ouer them, denying that his Father had

any power to resigne his lands to the King, (which hee held onely for life by Tanistry Law), without the consent of the people, being to chuse *Oneale* (that is, the chiefe of the name.) Hee made warre against *O Realy*, and imprisoned *Collogh Mac Donnell*. But when *Thomas Earle of Sussex*,

L. Deputy led the English forces against him, he by the counsel of the Earle of *Kildare*, sailed into *England*, and submitted himselfe to *Q. Elizabeth*, and after for a while conformed himselfe to obedience and ciuilitie. But when hee tyrannised ouer the Irish Lords, and they craued succour of *Henrie Sidney* Lord Deputy in the yeere 1565, he leading an Army against him, sent *Edward Randolph*

Matthew Okelly till 15 yeres age reputed the son of a Black Smith at *Daldalke*, giuen *Con O Neale* by a Smiths wife at her death. This Bastard hee appointed to succeed him by the Kings letters Pattents, at which time he was created Baron of *Dungannon*: but he was killed in his Fathers life time by *Shane*, the legitimate sonne of *Con*, whose bastard this *Matthew* was.

Turlogh Lynmogh tooke the title of *Oneale* after *Shane*: he was aged, and so loued quietnesse, the rather for feare of the children of *Shane* and of *Matthew* the Bastard. He was obedient to the Queene, but made warre vpon *O-donnel*, & the Iland Scots, of whom he killed in the field *Alexander Oge*, who murdered *Shane Oneale*.

Sir *Arthur O Neale* Knight, liuing in this Rebellion. This Sir *Arthur* serued the Queene against *Hugh* the Arch-Rebell, who had two of his sons in prison; but two or three other sonnes were with their father at *Loughfoyle* among the English.

with seuen Companies of Foote, and a Troope of Horse by Sea to *Derry* and *Loughfoyle*, to assault the Rebell on the back. Against whom the Rebell turning all his forces was so defeated, as hee fled for succor to the Scots, whose brother he had killed, and they at first entertaining him wel, after fell to words, & killed him in the yeere 1567. After in a Parliament at *Dublin*, he was condemned

A. B. C.

D.

E.

Owen

A. B. C.

D.

E.

of treason, and his lands confiscated, and a Law made, that no man should after that presume to take the name and title of *Oneale*.

Owen Mac Hugh Neale Moore, offered to serue against traitor *Hugh*.

Turlogh Mac Henry of the Fuse, Rebell with *Hugh*.

Turlogh Braslogh.

He had three sonnes, *Henry*, *Con*, and *Tirlogh*, cast in prison by *Hugh* the Rebell.

Four sonnes, *Tirlogh*, *Hugh*, *Bryan*, and *Henry*, liuing when *Hugh Oneale* rebelled.

Five sonnes then liuing.

Six sonnes at least then liuing, and able to serue the Queene.

Brian killed by *O'donnell*, at the instance of *Shane O Neale*.

Hugh preserued by the English from *Shane*, married the Daughter of *Tirlogh Linnogh Oneale*, whom he put away by diuorce, and after prooued an Arch-Rebell.

Cormoc preserued from *Shane* by the English, now rebelling with *Hugh*.

This *Hugh*, sonne to the Bastard *Matthew*, (borne of a Smiths wife, and reputed *Hugh Earle* the Smiths sonne till he was fifteene yeeres of age) liued sometimes in *Ireland*, and of *Tyrone*. much in the Court of *England*, and was supported against *Turlogh Linnogh Oneale*, with the title of Barron of *Dungannon*, by his fathers right. He had a troope of horse in Queene *Elizabeths* pay, in the late warres of the Earle of *Desmond*, in which and all occasions of seruice he behaued himselfe so valiantly, as the Queene gaue him a yeerely pension of one thousand Markes. He was of a meane stature, but a strong body, able to indure labors, watching, and hard fare, being with all industrious, and actiue, valiant, affable, and apt to mannage great affaires, and of a high dissembling subtile and profound wit. So as many deemed him borne, either for the great good or ill of his Countrey. In an Irish Parliament he put vp his petition, that by vertue of the letters Patents granted to his Grand-father, to his Father & his heires, he might there haue the place and title of the Earle of *Tyrone*, and be admitted to this his inheritance. The title and place were there granted to him, but the inheritance (in regard the Kings of *England* by the attainder of *Shane*, were thereof inuested) was referred to the Queenes pleasure. For the obtaining whereof, Sir *Iohn Perret* then Lord Deputie, vpon his promise of a great rent to be reserued to the Crowne, gaue him his letters of recommendation into *England*, where he so well knew to humour the Court, as in the yeere 1587 he got the Queenes Letters Patents vnder the great Seale of *England*, for the Earledome of *Tyr-Oen*, without any reseruatiō of the rent he had promised to the L. Deputy, wherewith, though his Lordship were offended, in that the Patent was not passed in *Ireland*, and so the said rent omitted, yet in reuerence to the great Lords, who had procured this grant in *England*, he did forbear to oppose the same. The conditions of this grant were, that the bounds of *Tyrone* should be limited; That one or two places (namely, that of *Blackwater*) should be reserued for the building of Forts, and keeping of Garrisons therein; That the sonnes of *Shane* and *Tirlogh* should be provided for; and that he should challenge no authoritie ouer the neighbour Lords bordering vpon *Tyrone*, or any where out of that Countrey. And such were his indeauours in the Queenes seruice, such his protestations of faith and thankfulness, as *Tirlogh Linnogh*, by the Queenes intercession, was induced (vpon certain conditions for his maintenance) to surrender the Countrey, and all command in those parts vnto him.

Ann. 1588.

The Spanish (forsooth) invincible Navy, sent to invade *England*, in the yeere 1588, being dispersed, and proving nothing lesse then invincible, many of them were wrecked on the Coasts of *Ireland*, whereof some were harboured by the Earle of *Tyrone*, with whom since he was thought to have plotted the following mischiefs.

Anno 1589
Sir William
Fitz-wil-
liams Lord
Deputie.

And shortly after (in the end of this yeere, or beginning of the next) Sir *John Perrot* being reuoked, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*. I haue heard that he hauing been formerly Lord Deputy, when he returned and sued for recompence of his seruice, a great Lord should answer him, that such employments were preferments, and not seruices to challenge reward: And therefore, if in this new employment any shall thinke that he followed this counsell, seeking to make it a preferment to him and his family, I doe not much maruell thereat. This I write of hearesay, but as in the generall relation following, I purpose to write nothing which is not warranted either by relations presented to the Queene, by the principall Councillers of *Ireland*, or by Letters interchanged betweene the States of *England* and *Ireland*, or like authentick writings; so for the particular of the aboue named Lord Deputy, if perhaps some may thinke any thing obserued by me to derogate from him, I protest, that whatsoeuer I write is in like sort warranted, and may not be omitted without the scandall of Historicall integrity, being obiections frequently made by the Rebels, for excuse of their disloyalty, aswell in all their petitions, as treaties of peace: But howsoeuer I cannot but mention these imputations, yet I aduise the Reader to iudge of them, as obiections of the Rebels, who in their nature are clamorous, and could no way make their excuse so plausible, as by scandalizing the chiefe Gouvernor. And I further protest, that as I shall in the due place once mention an honorable answer of this L. Deputy, to part of the chief complaints made by the Irish against him, so I would most willingly haue inserted his full iustification, if any such memoriall had come to my hands.

Sir *William Fitz-williams*, being Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Sir *John Norreys* was Lord President of *Mounster*, (who made his brother Sir *Thomas* his Vice-president), and Sir *Richard Bingham* was Gouvernor of *Connaght*. This Lord Deputy now againe entering the gouernement of *Ireland*, that Kingdome was in the best estate that it had beene in of long time, not only peaceable and quiet, (so as any the greatest Lord called by letter or messenger, readily came to the State there, and none of them were known to be any way discontented), but also most plentiful in corne, cattel, and all manner of victuals. But within three moneths after his taking of the sword, some Irish informed him, that the aboue named Spaniards, last yeere wrecked on the Coasts of *Connaght* and *Ulster*, had left with the Inhabitants; (in whose hands they fell) great store of treasure and other riches. This the Lord Deputy (as the Irish say) did greedily seeke to get into his hands, but surely he pretended the Queenes seruice, as may appeare by a commission, by which he first assaied to sease the same. This not taking any effect, he tooke a iourney himselfe into those parts, with charge to the Queene and Countrey (as they said) and that in an vnseasonable time of the yeere, after Allhallontide. Where altogether failing of his purpose, he brought thence with him as prisoners, two of the best affected Gentlemen to the State in those parts, whom he deemed to possesse the greatest part of those riches, namely, Sir *Owen mac Toole* (father in law to the Earle of *Tyrone*, who had long enioied a yeerely pension of one hundred pound from the Queene, and had kept *Odonnell* in a good course of opposition against *Tyrlogh Lynnegh O'neale*) and Sir *John Odogherty*, (of *Ulster* Lords best affected to the English.) Whereof the first refusing (as they obiect) to pay for his enlargement, continued prisoner til the beginning of Sir *William Russels* gouernement, who in pittie discharged him, but the old gentlemans heart was first broken, so as shortly after he died. The second was released after two yeeres restraint, not without paying for his liberty, (as the Irish say). At this hard vsage of those two *Ulster* gentlemen, all the great men of the Irish, (especially in those Northerne parts) did much repine.

Ann. 1590.

In the moneth of May 1590, the Earle of *Tyrone* came into *England*, where he was after an easie manner restrained of his liberty, because he came without the Lord Deputies

puties Licence, which fault repaired by his submission, he was freed of his restraint. In the moneth of Iune, the Earle agreed before the Lords, to enter bonds with good sureties of the Pale, to keepe peace with all his Neighbours, namely Sir *Tirlogh Lyn-nogh* (who since the renouncing the title of *Oneale*, and yeelding at the Queenes intercession, the gouernement of those parts to the Earle, was Knighted); and at his returne to put in pledges, to be chosen by the Lord Deputy and Counsell, for more assurance hereof, and of his loyalty, as also the performance of certaine Articles signed by him: Provided that the pledges should not lie in the Castle, but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in *Dublyn*, and might be changed euery three moneths, during her Maiesties pleasure.

The Articles were to this effect: To continue loyall and keepe the peace: To renounce the title of *Oneale*, and all intermeddling with the Neighbour Lords: That *Tyrone* should be limited, and made a shire or two, with Gaules to be built for holding of Sessions: Not to foster with any neighbour Lord, or any gentleman out of his Countrey, not to giue aid to the Iland and Irish-Scots, nor take any of them: That if for his defence he needed forces, he shall leuy none out of his Countrey without speciall licence of the State, in which case he might haue English bands. To conclude, with the Lord Deputy within ten moneths, about a composition of rents, and seruices to her Maiesty for all his Countrey, according to the aboue mentioned composition of *Connaght*, made in the yeere 1577. Not to impose any exactions without licence of the State on his Countrey aboue ordinary, except it be for necessary forces for his defence, and that also with licence: Not to make any roades into Neighbour Countreys, except they be within five dayes after a prey taken: That none of his Countrey receiue any stelths from Neighbour-Countreys, nor steale from them, but he to bring forth the theeues, or driue them out of *Tyrone*: That he execute no man, except it be by Commission from the Lord Deputy, vnder the broad seale for martial law, and that to be limited. That his Troope of 50 horse in her Maiesties pay, be kept compleat for her seruice; and that besides he answer a rising out at euery generall hosting. That he meddle not with spirituall liuings, nor lay any charge on them. Not to maintaine any Monkes or Friars in his Countrey: Not to haue intelligence with forraine traytors. That he take no blacke rent of any Neighbours. To cause the wearing of English apparell, and that none of his men weare glibbes (or long haire): That he answer for his brother *Tyrlogh Mac Henry*, Captaine of the Fewes: That in time of necessity he sell victuall to the Fort of *Blacke-water*. These he promised to performe vpon his honour before the Lords in *England*, and that his pledges to be put in, should lie for performance of them, to his power. And order was giuen, that all the Neighbour Lords should be drawne to like conditions, that so they might not spoile *Tyrone*.

In the moneth of Iuly 1590, *Con mac Shane*, (that is, the son of *Shane Oneale*,) accused *Hugh* Earle of *Tyrone*, of many practices, to make him selfe great in the North, and that after the wrecke of the aboue named Spaniards, he conspired with those which fell into his hands, about a league with the King of *Spain*, to aid him against the Queene. These Articles the Earle answered before the Lords in *England*, denying them, and auowing the malice of *Con* to proceed of her Maiesties raising him to be Earle of *Tyrone*, and *Cons* desire to vsurpe the name of *Oneale*, as his father had done, which name he laboured to extinguish. He could haue spoken nothing more pleasing to this State (as he well knew), and therefore his answer was approued: But the euent shewed his dissembling; for within two or three yeeres, Sir *Tyrlogh Lyn-nogh* died, and then the Earle tookethis title of *Oneale* to him selfe, (which was treason by act of Parliament in *Ireland*,) still excusing him selfe subtilly that he tooke it vpon him, lest some other should vsurpe it, promising to renounce it, yet beseeching that he might not be vrged to promise it vpon oath. *Camden* affirms that *Hugh ne-Gaue Locke*, bastard to *Shane Oneale*, exhibited these Articles against the Earle, who after got him into his hands; and caused him to be hanged, (hardly finding any, in regard of the generall reuerence borne to the blood of the *Oneals*, who would doe the office of hangman,) and that the Queene pardoned the Earle for this fact. I doubt not but he writes vpon good

See, Davis's
Discoverie of the
State of Ireland
pages, 178.
London A. 1613.

Ann. 1590.

ground; and I find good warrant for that I write the same to be exhibited by *Conmac Shane*, and both may be reconciled by the exhibiting of the petition by *Hugh*, in the name of *Con*.

Sure I am that the Earle durst neuer enter into rebellion, till he had gotten the sons of *Shane Oneale* to be his prisoners. Two of them, in this time of *Sir William Fitz-williams* his gouernement, were now in the Castle of *Dublyn*, and if they had beene safely kept, they being true heires of *Tyrone* before their fathers rebellion, would haue beene a strong bridle to keepe the Earle in obedience: But they together with *Phillip Oreighly*, (a dangerous practiser), and with the eldest sonne and heire of old *Odonnel*, (both imprisoned by *Sir Iohn Perrot*, in his gouernement), shortly after escaped out of prison, being all prisoners of great moment; whose enlargement gaue apparant ouerture to ensuing rebellion. Neither did the Irish spare to affirme, that their escape was wrought by corruption, because one *Segar*, Constable of the Castle of *Dublin* by Patent, hauing large offers made him to permit the escape of *Oreighly*, and acquainting the Lord Deputy therewith; was shortly after displaced; and one *Maplesdon*, seruant to the Lord Deputy, was put in his place, in whose time those prisoners escaped. To returne to the orderly course of my relation.

The Earle on the last of August, and the same yeere 1590; did before the Lord Deputy and Counsell of *Ireland*; confirme the aboue mentioned Articles, sent thither out of *England*, faithfully promising by word and vnder his hand, to performe them. But still he delaied and put off the performance, by letters vnto both States, intreating that equall security might be taken of *Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh*, and in generall of all the bordering Lords, (which he knew at that time most difficult to effect), and by many subtile shifts, whereof he had plenty.

Ann. 1590.

About this time *Mac Mahown*, Chiefetaine of *Monaghan* died, who in his life time had surrendered this his Countrey, held by *Tanistry* the Irish law, into her Maiesties hands, and receiued a regrant thereof, vnder the broad seale of *England*, to him and his heires males, and for default of such, to his brother *Hugh Roe mac Mahowne*, with other remainders. And this man dying without heires males, his said brother came vp to the State, that he might be settled in his inheritance, hoping to be countenanced and cherished as her Maiesties Patentee, but he found (as the Irish say) that he could not be admitted, till he had promised to giue about sixe hundred Cowes (for such and no other are the Irish bribes). After he was imprisoned (the Irish say for failing in part of this payment), and within few daies, againe enlarged; with promise that the Lord Deputy himselfe would go to settle him in his Countrey of *Monaghan*, whither his Lordship tooke his iourney shortly after, with him in his company. At their first arriual, the gentleman was clapt in bolts, and within two dayes after, indited, arraigned, and executed, at his owne house, all done (as the Irish said) by such Officers, as the Lord Deputy carried with him to that purpose. The Irish said, he was found guilty by a Iury of Souldiers, but no gentlemen or freeholders; and that of them foure English souldiers were suffered to goe and come at pleasure; but the other being Irish kerne, were kept straight, and starued, till they found him guilty. The treason for which he was condemned, was because some two yeeres before, he pretending a rent due vnto him out of the *Ferney*, vpon that pretence, leuied forces, and so marching into the *Ferney* in warlike manner, made a distresse for the same; (which by the English law may perhaps be treason, but in that Countrey neuer before subiect to law, it was thought no rare thing, nor great offence). The greatest part of the Countrey was diuided, betweene foure gentlemen of that name, vnder a yeerely rent to the Queene, and (as they said) not without payment of a good fine vnder hand. The Marshall *Sir Henry Bagnoll* had part of the Countrey, Captaine *Henslowe* was made Seneshall of the Countrey, and had the gentlemans chiefe house, with a portion of land, and to diuers others smaller portions of land were assigned; and the Irish spared not to say, that these men were all the contriuers of his death; and that euery one paid something for his share. Hereupon the Irish of that name, besides the former allegations, exclaimed that their kinsman was treacherously executed, to intitle the Queene to his land, and to extinguish the

the name of *Mac Mahowne*, and that his substance was diuided betweene the Lord Deputy and the Marshall, yea, that a pardon was offered to one of the Iury for his son; being in danger of the Law, vpon condition hee would consent to find this his kinsman guilty.

Great part of these exclamations was contained in a complaint exhibited, against the Lord Deputy after his returne into *England*, to the Lords of her Maiesties Council, about the end of the yeere 1595, in the name of *Mac Guire* and *Euer Mac Cooly* (one of the *Mac Mahownes*, & chiefe ouer the Irish in the *Ferry*.) To which Sir *William Fitz Williams*, then sicke at his house, sent his answer in writing. There first he auowes to the Lords, that the fact of *Mac Mahowne*, was first adiudged treason in *England*, and that his calling in question for it was directed from thence, and for the manner of proceeding herein, not prescribed, that it was iust, and contrary to their calumnious allegations, who complained against him. He further answered, that the most part of the Countrey was not bestowed on the Marshall Sir *Henric Bagnall*, but that seuen of the chiefe in that Countrey had the greatest part of it, that three hundred Freeholders were raised to her Maiestie, with eight hundred pound yeerely rent, and that all the Countrey seemed then glad of his execution, and ioyfully receiued the English Lawes. The rest of the complaint he denied, and for the bribe of Cowes in particular, did auow, that *Euer Mac Cooly*, one of the plaintiffes, offered him seuen thousand Cowes to make him chiefe of the name, when he might haue learned, that his mind was not so poore, to preferre Cowes or any bribes before the Queenes seruice.

See Davis's
Discoverie of the
State of Ireland
p. 166.
London A. 1613.

To returne to our purpose, certaine it is, that vpon *Mac Mahownes* execution, heart-burnings and lothings of the English gouernement, began to grow in the Northerne Lords against the State, and they shunned as much as they could, to admit any Shiriffes, or any English to liue among them, pretending to feare like practises to ouerthrow them.

The sixteenth of Iuly 1591, the Earle of *Tyrone* wrote vnto the Lords of *England*, excusing himselfe, that Sir *Tyrlogh Lynmogh* was wounded by his men, while he sought to prey his Countrey. In the same moneth he suffered his Countrey of *Tyrone* to be made Shireground, being by certaine Commissioners bounded on euery side, and diuided into 8 Baronies, and the Towne of *Dungannon* made the Shier Towne, where the Goale should be. In the moneth of October he wrote againe to the Lords, iustifying himselfe against the complaint of the Marshall Sir *Henry Bagnoll*, auowing that he had not stolne his sister, or taken her away by force, but that after her brothers many delayes, she willingly going away with him, hee married her. And that he had no other wife, being lawfully diuorced from her, whom the Marshall termed his wife. He complained against the Marshall, that he reaped the benefit of all that in *Ulster*, which by his endeauours had been brought to her Maiesties obedience. That he had obtained vnder the great Seale a superioritie ouer *Ulster*, which he exercised ouer him. About this time the Northerne Lords are thought to haue conspired, to defend the Romish Religion (for now first among them Religion was made the cloake of Treason), to admit no English Shiriffes in their Countries, and to defend their libertie and rights against the English.

Ann. 1591

In the Moneth of August 1592, the Earle of *Tyrone* by his letters to the Lords in *England*, iustified himselfe against the complaint of Sir *Tyrlogh Lynmogh*, apparantly shewing that his sonne *Con Oneale* did not disturbe the Commissioners sitting in *Monaghan*, but that they, hauing one hundred Foote for their guard, were afraid of two Horsemen; which they discovered. He wrote further, that he had brought *Odonnell* into the State, (who since his aboue-mentioned escape out of prison, had stood vpon his defence), and that he would perswade him to loyalty, and in case hee were obstinate, would serue against him as an enemy. And further craftily intreated the Lords, that he might haue the Marshalls loue, that they being neighbours, might concur the better for her Maiesties seruice, and that their Lordships would approue of his match with the Marshalls sister, for whose content he did the rather desire his loue.

Ann. 1592

In the beginning of the yeere 1593, or about this time, a Northerne Lord *Mac Guire*, Ann. 1593

began to declare himselfe discontent, and to stand vpon his defence vpon the execution of *Mac Mahowne*, and the ielousies then conceiued by the Northerne Lords against the English. This *Mac Guire*, Chieftaine of *Fermannagh* auowed, that he had giuen three hundred Cowes to free his Countrey from a Shiriffe, during the Lord Deputies Gouvernement, and that notwithstanding one Captaine *Willis* was made Shiriffe of *Fermannagh*, hauing for his guard one hundred men, and leading about some one hundred women and boyes, all which liued on the spoile of the Countrey. Hence this barbarous Lord taking his aduantage, set vpon them, and droue them into a Church, where he would haue put them all to the sword, if the Earle of *Tyrone* had not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their liues, with condition that they should depart the Countrey. Whereupon the Lord Deputy Sir *William Fitz Williams* sent the Queenes forces into *Fermannagh*, wonne *Mac Guires* Castle of *Eniskillen*, and proclaimed him Traytor. And the Irish auow, that the Lord Deputy there let fall threatening speeches in publike against the Earle of *Tyrone*, calling him Traytor.

These speeches comming to the Earles hearing, he euer after pretended, that they were the first cause that moued him to misdoubt his safetie, and to stand vpon his defence, now first combining himselfe with *Odonnell*, and the other Lords of the North, to defend their Honours Estates, and Liberties. When *Tyrone* first began to plot his rebellion, he is said to haue vsed two notable practises. First, his men being altogether rude in the vse of Armes, he offered the State to serue the Queene against *Tyrlogh Lynogh* with sixe hundred men of his owne, and so obtained sixe Captaines to traine them (called by our men Butter Captaines, as lining vpon Cesse) and by this meanes (and his owne men in pay, which he daily changed, putting new vntained men in the roome of others) he trained all his men to perfect vse of their Armes. Secondly, pretending to build a faire house (which our State thinks a tye of ciuilitie) he got license to transport to *Dungannon* a great quantitie of Lead to couer the Battlements of his house: but ere long employed the same only to make bullets for the warre. But I returne to my purpose.

Sir *Henrie Bagnoll* Marshall of *Ireland*, had formerly exhibited to the State diuers articles of treason practised by the Earle of *Tyrone*, who now would not come to the State without a protection. To these articles the Earle answered by letters, saying, that the Marshall accused him vpon enuy, and by suborned witnesses, and that he together with the Lord Deputy, apparantly sought his ouerthrow. Further complaining, that the Marshall detained from him his sisters portion, whom hee had married, and that (according to his former complaint) he vsurped iurisdiction ouer all *Ulster*, and in parricular exercised it ouer him. Yet these articles of treason against the Earle were beleueed in *England*, till he offered by his letters to stand to his triall either in *England* or *Ireland*. And accordingly he answered to the said Articles before the Lord Deputy and Councell at *Dundalke*, in such sort as they who had written into *England* against him, now to the contrary wrote, that hee had sufficiently answered them. Whereupon the Lords of *England* wrote to the Earle of *Tyrone*, in the moneth of August of the following yeere, that they approued his answeres, and that in their opinion he had wrong, to be so charged, and that publikely before Iudges, and especially, that his answeres were for a time concealed. Further, they commended him for the token of loyalty he had giuen, in dealing with *Mac Guire* to submit himselfe, exhorting him to persist in his good course, and charging him (the rather for auoiding his enemies slander) not to medle with compounding of Controuersies in *Ulster* out of *Tyrone*, without the Lord Deputies speciall warrant. At the same time their Lordships wrote to the Lord Deputy, taxing him and the Marshall, that they had vsed the Earle against Law and equitie, and that hee the Lord Deputy was not indifferent to the Earle, who offered to come ouer into *England* to iustifie himselfe. Thus was the Earle cleared in shew, but whether through feare of his enemies, or the guiltines of his conscience, he shewed himselfe euer after to be diffident of his owne safety.

In the beginning of the yeere 1594 *Mac Guire* brake into open Rebellion, he entered
with

with forces into *Connaght* (where the *Burkes* and *Orwarke* in *Letrim*, commonly called *Orwarke's* Countrey, for disobediences to the State, had been prosecuted by Sir *Richard Bingham*, Gouvernour of that Prouince.) This forerunner of the greater conspirators (shortly after seconded by *Mac Mahowne*) was perswaded to enter *Connaughe* by *Gauranus* a Priest, whom the Pope (forsooth) had made Primate of all *Ireland*, and was encouraged thereunto, by his ominating of good successe. But by the valour of Sir *Richard Bingham* the Gouvernour, *Mac Guire* was repelled, with slaughter of many of his men, among whom this pretended Primate was killed.

Against this *Mac Guire*, the Earle of *Tyrone* serued with the Queenes forces, and valiantly fighting, was wounded in the thigh, yet this Earle prouiding for his securitie, about this time imprisoned the aboue mentioned sonnes of *Shane Oneale*, who had escaped out of *Dublin* Castle, and if they had been there kept, would haue been a sure pledge of his obedience, neither would he restore them to libertie, though he were required so to doe, but still couering his treacherous heart with ostentation of a feare conceiued of his enemies, he ceased not daily to complaine of the Lord Deputies and Marshals enuy against him, and of wrongs done him by the Garrison souldiers. Thus the fier of this dangerous Rebellion is now kindled, by the aboue named causes, to which may be added, the hatred of the conquered against the Conquerors, the difference of Religion, the loue of the Irish to *Spaine* (whence some of the are descended), the extortions of Sheriffes and sub-Sheriffes buying these places, the ill gouernement of the Church among our selues, and the admitting Popish Priests among the Irish, and many such like. And this fier of rebellion now kindled, shall be found hereafter to be increased to a deuouring flame, by slow & slender oppositions to the first eruptions, before they had libertie to combine and know their owne strength; by not laying hands timely on suspected persons of quality, to prevent their combining with the rest (especially in *Mounster*, being as yet quiet): by intertaining and arming of Irish men (a point of high ouersight begun by *Sr Ioh. Perrot*, & increased by *Sr Will. Fitz Williams*, the present L. Deputy, who at the first sending of forces into *Formannagh*, gaue power to certaine Irish men to raise companies, which they did of their own Country men, so as this ill custome being after continued, it both furnished the enemy with trained men, and filled our Bands with such false hearted souldiers, as some doubted, whether we had not better haue them enemies then friends): By a Treatie entertained at the very entrance of the Rebellion, before any blow was stricken, which made the Traytors proud, and daunted the hearts of good subiects; By ensuing cessations, long continuing and giuing liberty to the Traytors to strengthen their combination, and to arme themselves in forraigne parts and at home, whereupon all idle and discontented people had opportunitie to draw into *Tyrone*, and the Traytor Earle of *Tyrone* had meanes to oppresse the bordering Lords of Countries adioyning, whereof many feeling once his power, some for feare, some for loue, ioyned with him. Besides that, the Army in the meane time was not onely an excessiue charge to the Queene, but lay idle, and in stead of hurting the enemy, oppressed the subiect, thereby daily driuing many into Rebellion. Lastly (for I will not more curiously search the causes, being not suteable to so brieue a narration as I intend), the Rebellion was nourished and increased by nothing more, then frequent Protections and Pardons, granted euen to those, who had formerly abused this mercy, so as all entred and continued to bee Rebels, with assurance to be receiued to mercy at their pleasure, whereof they spared not to brag, and this heartened the Rebelle no lesse, then it discouraged the subiect.

This present yeere 1594, about the month of August, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, the Lord Deputy being recalled into *England*, Sir *William Russell* tooke the sword. About this time *Wlster* men in open hostility distressed her Maiesties forces, and *Tyrone* (so I will hereafter call him, deseruing no addition of title), hauing long absented himselfe from the State, was vndoubtedly reputed a party in their rebellion, when his sudden & voluntary appearance before this new Lord Deputy at *Dublin*, in the very first moneth of his gouernement, made many hope better of him. He most assuredly promised al humble obedience to the Queene, as well before the State at *Dublin*, in his own person,

Anno 1594

Sir William

Russel. Lord

Deputie.

person, as to the Lords in *England* by his letters, and making his most humble submission to her Maieſty, beſought to be reſtored to her former Grace, from which he had fallen by the lying ſlanders of his enemies, not by any his juſt deſert. The Maſhall Sir *Henry Bagnoll* was then ready to proue before the Lord Deputy Articles of high treaſon againſt *Tyrone*, and to auow that he ſent *mac Guire* with his Primate into *Connaght*: That hee had ſecret intelligence with the Traytors *mac Guire* and *Odonnell*; and had communicated counſels with them, and gaue them aide in the waſting of *Monnaghan*, and the beſieging of *Eniskellin*, by his brother *Cormac mac Baron*, and by *Con* his owne baſe ſon; and that he by threats had drawne the Captaines of *Kilulio* and *Kilwarney* from their faith and alleageance to the Queene. It was in Councell debated, whether *Tyrone* ſhould be ſtaied to anſwere hereunto; and the Lord Deputy was of opinion he ſhould be ſtaied: but moſt of the Counſellers, either for idle feare, or inclination of loue to *Tyrone*, thought beſt to diſmiſſe him for that time, and the counſell of theſe, as more in number, and beſt experienced in *Iriſh* affaires, the Lord Deputy followed. This much diſpleaſed the Queene, ſince this Foxes treaſonable practiſes were now ſo apparant, and her ſelfe had forewarned, that in caſe he came to the State, he ſhould be ſtaied, till he had cleered himſelfe of all imputed crimes. And the Lords in *England* by their letters thence, ſharply reprobued the Lord Deputy, for ſo diſmiſſing him, which might giue the Rebels juſt cauſe to thinke that they durſt not charge him with treaſon, for feare of his forces, and their Lordſhips profeſſed to doubt, that *Tyrone*s perſormance would not be ſuch, as might warrant this act.

The Lord Deputy ſhortly after tooke the field, and leauing for martiall cauſes the Earle of *Ormond*, for ciuill cauſes the Lord Chancellor, to gouerne *Lemſter* and thoſe parts in his abſence, drew the forces into *Fermannagh*, that he might releue *Eniſ-Kellin*, and expell *mac Guire* out of his Countrey. This winter following, it ſeemes there was ſome negotiation on both ſides about peace. For in the moneth of February, the Lords of *England* wrote to the Lord Deputy, of her Maieſties diſlike of certaine writings ſent ouer from *Odonnell* and Sir *Arthur Oneale*, namely that in their petitions, they included the pardon of *mac Guire*, and *Orwarke* (commonly called *Orurke*). That they indented with the Lord Deputy, that he ſhould come to *Dundalke* within a moneth, and eſpecially that the Lord Deputy by Sir *Edward More* ſhould deſire a fortnight more for his comming thither. Their Lordſhips alſo ſignified, that the Queene ſent ouer 2000. old ſouldiers, which had ſerued vnder General *Norreys* in *Britanny*; (giuing order that they ſhould be diuided into hundreds, and ſo many Captaines) beſides that 1000. ſouldiers were leuied in *England*, to be ſent thither. And becauſe their Lordſhips iudged, that all the practiſes of the Northern Lords, came out of *Tyrone*s ſchoole, (how ſo euer he groſſely diſſembled the contrary), their Lordſhips aduiſed the Lord Deputy to offer *Odonnell* pardon, ſo as he would ſeuer himſelfe from *Tyrone*: And that the rather, becauſe he was put into rebellion by Sir *Iohn Perrots* imprifoning him without any cauſe.

Tyrone hearing that ſupplies of ſouldiers, & namely the old ſouldiers of *Britany*, were comming for *Ireland*, and that Garrifons of *Engliſh* were to be planted at the Caſtles of *Balliſhanon*; and *Relike*, lying vpon the Lake *Earn*, thought it no longer time to temporize. Wherefore about this time of this yeere ending, or the firſt entrance of the yeere 1595, he drew his forces together, and in open hoſtilitie, ſuddenly aſſaulted the Fort of Black-water, built vpon the paſſage into *Tyrone* on the South ſide, and taking the ſame, rased it, and broke downe the Bridge. And now the Northern Rebels with Banners diſplayed, entred the *Brennye*. Yet at this time *Tyrone* ſubtilly made ſuite for pardon, and promiſed the Treasuſer at warres, Sir *Henrie Wallop*, that he would continue his Alleageance to the Queene. At this time likewiſe *Feagh Mac Hugh*, *Walter Reagh*, and many *Lemſter* men, began to enter into actions of hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*.

L. Deputy,
L. Generall
together.

The Lord Deputy, who ſaw this ſtorme of Rebellion would lye heavy on his ſoulders, in his letters to the Lords in *England* had let fall a request, that ſome old experienced Commander might be ſent ouer to him; for his better aſſiſtance, meaning

(no

(no doubt) such a Captaine as should be commanded by the supreame authority of the Lord Deputie. But the Lords either mistaking his intent, or because they so iudged it best for her Maiesties seruice, sent ouer Sir *Iohn Norreys*, a great Leader, and famous in the warres of the Low Countries and *France*, giuing him the title of Lord General, with absolute command ouer military affaires, in the absence of the L. Deputie. This great Commander was not like to be willingly commanded by any, who had not borne as great or greater place in the warres then himselfe. So as whether through emulation, growing betweene him and the Lord Deputy, or a declining of his Fortune, incident to the greatest Leaders, howsoeuer he behaued himselfe most valiantly and wisely in some encounters against *Tyrone*, and the chiefe rebels, yet he did nothing against them of moment. About the beginning of Iune, the L. Deputie and the Lord Generall drew their Forces towards *Armagh*, and now *Tyrone* had sent letters of submission to them both (intreating the Lord Generall more specially for a milder proceeding against him, so as he might not be forced to a headlong breach of his loyaltie.) These letters should haue been deliuered at *Dundalke*, but the Marshall *Bagnoll* intercepting them, stayed the messenger at the *Newrye*, till the Lord Deputies returne, at which time because in this iourney *Tyrone* had been proclaimed Traytor, he refused to receiue them, in respect of her Maiesties Honour.

Yet shortly after at *Tyrone*s instance, Sir *Henric Wallop* Treasurer at Warres, and Sir *Robert Gardner* chiefe Iustice of *Ireland*, were by Commission appointed to conferre with him and his confederate Rebels. *Tyrone* in this conference complained of the Marshall for his vsurped iurisdiction in *Ulster*, for depriuing him of the Queenes fauour by flanders; for intercepting his late letters to the Lord Deputie, and Lord Generall, protesting that he neuer negotiated with forraigne Prince, till he was proclaimed Traytor. His humble petitions were, that hee and his might be pardoned, and haue free exercise of Religion granted (which notwithstanding had neuer before either been punished or inquired after.) That the Marshall should pay him one thousand pound for his dead Sisters, his wiues portion. That no Garrisons nor Sheriffes should be in his Country. That his Troope of fiftie horse in the Queenes pay might be restored to him. And that such as had preyed his Country, might make restitution.

Odonnell magnifying his Fathers and Progenitors seruices to the Crowne, complained that Captaine *Boyne*, sent by Sir *Iohn Perrot* with his Company into his Countrey, vnder pretence to reduce the people to ciuilitie, and being well entertained of his Father, had besides many other iniuries, raised a Bastard to be *Odonnell*, and that Sir *Iohn Perrot*, by a ship sent thither, had taken himselfe by force, and long imprisoned him at *Dublin*. And that Sir *William Fitz Williams* had wrongfully kept *Owen O Toole* aboue mentioned seuen yeeres in prison. His petitions were for pardon to him and his, and for freedome of Religion. That no Garrisons or Sheriffes might bee placed in his Countrey. And that certaine Castles and lands in the County of *Sligo* might bee restored to him.

Shane Mac Brian Mac Phelim Oneale, complained of an Island taken from him by the Earle of *Essex*, and that he had been imprisoned till he surrendered to the Marshall a Barrony, his ancient Inheritance. *Hugh Mac Guire* complained of insolencies done by Garrison souldiers, and by a Sheriffe, who besides killed one of his nearest Kinsmen. *Brian Mac Hugh Oge*, and *Mac Mahowne* (so the Irish called the chiefe of that name suruiuing), and *Euer Mac Cooily* of the same Family of *Mac Mahownes*, complained of the aboue mentioned vniust execution of *Hugh Roe Mac Mahowne*, in the Gouernement of Sir *William Fitz Williams*.

The Commissioners iudged some of their petitions equall, others they referred to the Queenes pleasure. But when on the Queenes part, they propounded to the Rebels some Articles to bee performed by them, they were growne so insolent, as iudging them vnequall, the conference was broken off, with a few dayes Truce granted on both sides, when the Queene, for sparing of bloud, had resolved to giue them any reasonable conditions.

This

This Truce ended, the Lord Deputy and the Lord Generall, about the eighteenth of Iuly, drew the Forces to *Armagh*, with such terror to the Rebels, as *Tyrone* left the Fort of *Blackwater*, burnt the Towne of *Dungannon*, and pulled downe his House there, burnt all Villages, and betooke himselfe to the Woods. They proclaimed *Tyrone* Traytor in his owne Countrey, and leauing a Guard in the Church of *Armagh*, they for want of victuals, returned to *Dublin*, and by the way placed a Garrison in *Monaghan*. And when the Army came neere to *Dundalke*, the Lord Deputie according to his instructions from *England*, yeelded the command of the Army to the Lord Generall, and leauing him with the Forces in the Northerne Borders, returned to *Dublin*. The third of September *Hugh Earle of Tyrone*, *Hugh O Donnel*, *Bryan O Rourke*, *Hugh Mac Guire*, *Bryan Mac Mahowne*, *Sir Arthur Oneale*, *Art Mac Baron*, *Henry Oge Oneale*, *Turlough Mac Henry Oneale*, *Cormac Mac Baron* (*Tyrone's* Brother), *Con Oneale*, *Tyrone's* base Sonne, *Bryan Art Mac Brian*, and one *Francis Mounsoord*, were for forme of Law indited, though absent, and condemned iudicially of Treason in the Countie of *Louth*, neere the Borders of the North.

From this time the *Lemster* Rebels began to grow very strong: for *Feogh Mac Hugh* of the *Obrns*, & *Donnel Spannah* of the *Cavanaghs*, when they were declining, & in want of munition, were not prosecuted, but vpon fained submission were receiued into protection, and so had meanes to renew their Forces, and supply their wants, so as this yeere, about this moneth of September, they began to oppresse al the subiects, from the Gates almost of *Dublin*, to the County of *Wexford* (the most ancient English County, and euer much cared for by the Queene), which they spoiled, wanting forces to defend it, and so deprived the English souldier of great reliefe he might haue found therein. The like may be said of the *Oconnors* in *Ophalia*.

Generall *Norris* being left by the Lord Deputie on the Northerne Borders, with full command of the Army, the Winter passed without any great exploit. There was in many things no small emulation betweene the Lord Deputie and him, and no lesse in *Tyrone's* particular. The Lord Deputie seemed to the Lord Generall, to be vnequall and too sharpe against *Tyrone*, with whom he wished no treaty of Peace to bee held, (which he wisely did, hauing experienced his false subtiltie, and knowing that he sought delaies, onely till hee could haue aide from *Spain*.) But the Lord Generall (whether it were in emulation of the Lord Deputy, or in his fauour and loue to *Tyrone*) was willing to reclaime him by a Gentle course (which that crafty Fox could well nourish in him.) And it seemes some part of the Winter passed, while this project was negotiated betweene them.

Ann. 1596.

For in the beginning of the yeere 1596, a Comission was procured out of *England*, whereby her Maiestie, though iustly offended with *Tyrone* and his associates, about their demaunds, in the former conference with *Sir Henry Wallop*, and *Sir Robert Gardner*, yet in regard of their letters of humble submission, since that time presented to her, doth signifie her gracious pleasure to *Sir John Norris* Lord Generall, and *Sir Gefry Fenton*, her Maiesties Secretary for *Ireland*, giuing them authoritie to promise pardon of life, and restoring of lands and goods to the said Lords, seeking with dee humilitie her Royall mercy, and to heare them, with promise of fauourable consideration in all their complaints. And thus much the Commissioners signified to *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, by Captaine *Sant Leger*, and Captaine *Warren*, sent of purpose vnto them, with instructions dated the eleuenth of Aprill, this present yeere 1596, and with reference of other particulars, to a meeting appointed to be at *Dundalke*. The twentie of the same month *Tyrone* at *Dundalke* before these Commissioners craued the Queenes mercy on his knees, signing with his hand a most humble submission in writing, vowing faith in the presence of Almighty God, who seeth into the secrets of all mens hearts, and (to vse still his owne words) most humbly crauing her Maiesties mercy and pardon on the knees of his heart. His first petition for liberty of Religion, was viterly reiected. For the second, touching freedome from Garrisons and Sheriffes, he was answered, that her Maiestie would not be prescribed how to gouerne. In the third, interceding for *Orelyes* pardon, it was disliked that he should capitulate for others, yet giuing

giuing hope of his pardon vpon his owne submission. For the fourth, concerning the Iurisdiction of *Armagh*, the answer was, that her Maiesty would reserue all the Bishops right. For the fifth, concerning the freeing of *Shane Oneales* sons, it was referred to her Maiesties further pleasure. Finally, he promised to desist from aiding the Rebels; and from intermedling with the neighbor Lords. To make his Country a Shiere: to admit a Shiriffe. To renounce the title of *Oneale*. To confesse (vpon his pardon) all his intelligences with forraine Princes, and all his past actions, which may concerne the good of the State. To rebuild the Fort and Bridge of *Blackwater*, and to relieue the Garrison for ready money at all times. To deliuer in sufficient Pledges. To dismisse all his Forces, & to pay such reasonable fine to her Maiesties vse, as should be thought meete by her Maiestie. *Hugh Odonnell* at the same time did agree to diuers articles, for the good of his Countrey, and made his like humble submission. The like did *Hugh mac Guire*, *Bryan mac Hugh*, *Euer Oge Roe mac Cooly*, *Bryan Orewark* (called *Ororke*), *Shane Mac Bryan*, *Phillip O Reyly*, and others. To each one was giuen (vnder the Commissioners hands) a promise of her Maiesties pardon; vpon putting in of Pledges. And Proclamation was made, to giue notice hereof to all the Queenes subiects, that in the meane time no acts of hostilitie might be done against any of those, who had thus submitted themselues.

Thus the *Ulster* Rebels, by a submission too honest to be truly intended by them, whilest Pledges were expected, and Pardons drawne, were freed from the prosecution of the Queenes Forces this Summer. And euen at this time did *Tyrone* sollicite aide in *Spaine*, and two or three messengers came secretly to the rebels from thence, by whom many of them (as *Ororke*, *Mac William*, &c) sent a writing signed, to the King of *Spaine*, couenenting, that if hee would send sufficient Forces, they would ioyn theirs to his, and if he would at all relieue them, in the meane time they would refuse all conditions of Peace. But *Tyrone*, though consenting, yet was too craftie to signe this Couenant, yea, craftily he sent the King of *Spaines* answer to the Lord Deputie, whilest hee notwithstanding relied on the promised succours. I finde nothing of moment done this Summer by the Forces with the Generall, being restrained by the last agreement at *Dundalke*; onely about the end of August, hee wrote out of *Connaght* vnto the Lord Deputie, complaining of diuers wants, and desiring more Forces to be sent him. To whom the Lord Deputie answered, that his Lordship had warrant to supply some of his wants in the Countrey, and denied the sending of any Forces to him, because himselfe was to goe into the Field.

By this time the rebels of *Lemster* were (as I formerly mentioned) growne strong, *Feogh Mac Hugh* breaking his protection, entred into acts of hostilitie, and he together with the *O Mores*, *O Connors*, *O Birnes*, *O Tooles*, the *Cauenaghs*, *Butlers*, and the chiefe names of *Connaght*, animated by the successe of *Ulster* men, combined together, and demaunded to haue the barbarous titles of *O* and *Mac*, together with lands they claimed, to be restored to them, in the meane time spoiling all the Country on all sides.

About the moneth of Ianuary, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Gouvernour of *Connaght*, who had valiantly beaten *Ororke* out of his Countrey, and prosecuted the *Bourks*, and other Rebels, was called into *England*, vpon complaints of the Irish, and Sir *Coryers Clifford* was sent to gouerne *Connaght*. This Gentleman complained off by the Irish, was valiant and wise; but some of our English Statesmen thought him too seuer, and that he had thereby driuen many into rebellion, howsoeuer himselfe very well experienced in the Country, and those who best vnderstood the Irish nature, found nothing so necessarie for keeping them in obedience, as seueritie, nor so dangerous for the increase of murthers and outrages, as indulgence towards them. His answers to their complaints could not be so admitted, as for the time some discountenance fell not on him, which reward of seruices he constantly bore, till in short time after, to his great grace, the State thought fit againe to vse his seruice, in a place of great commaund in the Armie.

Sir *John Norreys* Lord Generall, Sir *George Boucher*, Master of her Maiesties Ordinance, and Sir *Geffery Fenton* her Maiesties Secretary for *Ireland*, being by Commis-

on directed to treat againe with *Tyrone*, did by their letters dated the twenty of Ianuarie remember him of the fauour he had receiued at the last treatie at *Dundalke*, and charged him (as formerly he had been charged) with high crimes since that committed by him, to the violation of the Articles then agreed on, therefore aduising him, that since they were for her Maiesties seruice to draw to the Borders, he would there testifie to them his penitencie for offences done since his pardon, by such an humble and heartie submission, as they might recommend into *England* from him. *Tyrone* by his answere of the two and twentie of *Iannuarie*, acknowledged vnder his hand her Maiesties mercy therein extended to him, and confessed offences and breaches of the Articles there signed, withall desiring them, to examine the wrongs and prouocations, by which he had beene driuen thereunto, and protesting his sorrow for these offences. The same day he met the Commissioners neere *Dundalke*, where he being on the one side of the Brooke, they on the other, hee put of his hat, and holding it with great reuerence in his hand, said to them. That hee was come thither, not onely to shew his duty to them, as her Maiesties Commissioners, but his inward desire to bee made & continued a subiect. When he would haue remembered the wrongs since his late Pardon prouoking him to disloyaltie, they cut him off by remembring him of all the benefits, and that of his last pardon, receiued from the Queene, which should haue counterpoised his wrongs, and haue kept him in duty. He confessed this, with shew of great remorse, and protested before God and heauen, that there was no Prince nor creature, whom he honoured as he did her Maiestie; nor any Nation of people that he loued or trusted more, then the English. Protesting further, that if her Maiestie would please to accept of him againe as a subiect, and to take such course as hee might bee so continued, (thus still he reserued pretence of wrongs to shadow his future disloyalties), then he doubted not but to redeeme all his faults past with some notable seruices. Besides, hee gaue answers to diuers questions, and signed them after with his hand. First, asked what messages and letters had passed betweene *Spaine* and him; he answered, neuer to haue receiued any, but encouragements from *Spaine*, and assurances of an Army to aide him: that he neuer had further contract with the Spaniards, and that he had sent the King of *Spaines* letter aboue mentioned to the Lord Deputie and Counsell: that he neuer receiued thence any money or ought of value, nor any of his confederates to his knowledge. Only *Odonnel* had some fifteene barrells of powder, whereof he should haue had a portion, but neuer had it. Secondly, for the late Submitties, Pardons, and Pledges, hee vndertooke that with all speede the Pledges should be sent to *Dublin*, with Agents to sue out the Pardons granted in the last Treatie at *Dundalke*. Thirdly, for his making *O Kealy*, he vowed that the Gentlemen of the Countrie made him, and that he would hereafter neuer meddle in the causes of the Brenny. Fourthly, for the Rebels of *Lemster* and the *Butlers*, he answered, that he neuer had confederacy with any but *Feogh Mac Hugh*, and for the *Butlers*, hee neuer had any thing to doe with them. Fifthly, for Agents in *Spaine*, he denied to haue any, or to know any his confederates had. Sixthly, for his ieaousie of the State, hee auowed it to be vpon iust causes, which hee would after make knowne. This done, hee desired Captaine *warren* might come ouer the Brooke to him; and then by him he requested that himselfe might come ouer to the Commissioners, in token of his faithfull heart to her Maiestie, which granted, he with great reuerence saluted them, and with hat in hand, lifting vp his eyes to Heauen, desired God to take vengeance on him, if (her Maiestie vouchsafing to make him a subiect, and to cause the Articles of *Dundalke* to be kept to him) he would not continue faithfull, and desired neuer to see Christ in the face, if he meant not as he spake. He confessed, that the Spanish ships lately arrived in the North, had brought *Odonnel* the Kings letter, signifying that he heard the Earle of *Tirone* to be dead, and the Irish to haue receiued a great ouerthrow, desiring to be aduertised of their State. And that *Odonnel* before his comming had giuen answere, that if the King sent an Army, he would take his part, and hoped the like of the other Irish. But at his comming, that the Spanish Captaine excusing that the King had not written to him, he only told him, that promise had not been kept with him by the

the English, and therefore he would not refuse the Kings promised aide. And with many execrations swore, that the Captaine left neither Munition nor Treasure with him, and that he neuer receiued any thing from the King of *Spain*; but that letter aboue mentioned, which he sent to the Lord Deputy. And that he neuer wrote but three letters into *Spain*, all about one time, and (as he thought) all intercepted. Lastly, he vehemently denied to haue incited any Mounster men to rebellion; since his last pardon. So with like reuerence as formerly, he tooke his leaue.

Vpon aduertisement hereof into *England*, the Commissioners receiued ample power to conclude all things with *Tyrone*. Thus much they made knowne to him by letters, sent to him by his old friend Captaine *Warren*, the ninth of March, with instructions to appoint the second of Aprill the day of meeting at *Dundalke*, which *Tyrone* accepted, with shew of ioy to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, the sweetnes whereof he had often experienced, and of feare to be pursued by her forces; which he professed himselfe not able to resist. But by his letters the fifteene of March, he made doubt of meeting, pretending that his pledges were not changed according to couenant, nor restitution made him by those that had preyed his Country, and that his confederates could not come so soone. The Commissioners replied by letters the two and twenty of March, that these were but delayes, since the pledges at the meeting (vpon his putting in his eldest sonne for pledge) should be restored, and he in all things reasonably satisfied, protesting that if he refused this occasion, they could doe no more for him, since her Maiesty would be no longer abused by his faire promises and delayes: Adding; that he must conforme himselfe to the directions they had, and could not alter. Master Secretary wrote out of *England* vnto the Commissioners the two and twenty of March; That her Maiesty was displeased to haue the treaty thus delayed, and charged to haue the meeting in a Towne, as a submission of the Rebels, not in the field as a parley. That her Maiesty prepared for the warre, resolving not to haue any more treaties, if this tooke not effect. Lastly, desiring them to acquaint the Lord Deputy with all their directions, and the issues, and to excuse his not writing to his Lordship, thinking that the Commissioners were not at *Dublyn* with him.

Vpon the tenth of Aprill, in the yeere 1597, the Commissioners againe pressed *Tyrone* by letters, not to slacke his owne greatest good by delayes, and appointed for the last day of meeting, the sixteenth of that present moneth, and that his confederates not able then to come, should draw after as soone as they could; protesting that this was the last time that they would write vnto him. *Tyrone* on the seuenteenth of April, sent his reasons of not comming: First iustifying his relaps into disloyalty by the truce not obserued to him, and because restitution was not made him of preyes taken from him, which was promised. Then excusing his not meeting, because his pledges, by the truce being from three moneths to three moneths to be changed, were still detained, yea, his pledges the second time put in, were kept together with the first; And saying, that he durst not come to the Lord Generall, because many promises by him made, being not kept, he knew it was much against his honourable mind, and so could not be perswaded; but that the Lord Generall was ouerruled by the Lord Deputy, so as he could not make good his promises without the Lord Deputies consent, who shewed malice to him, and was no doubt the cause of all the breaches of such promises, as had beene made vnto him. Againe, in regard he heard that the Lord *Bourgh* was to come ouer Lord Deputy, who was altogether vnkowne to him, he protested to feare that the acts of the Lord Generall with him, would not be made good, wishing that rather the Lord Generall might be continued in his command, for then he would be confident of a good conclusion. Finally, he desired a meeting neere *Dundalke* the sixe and twenty of Aprill, but this appointment for the day being against the last finall resolution, and for the place against her Maiesties directions, there was no more speeche of this treaty.

In the meane time Sir *William Russell* Lord Deputy, by the managing of those and like affaires, finding himselfe not duly countenanced out of *England*, in the place he sustained, had made earnest suit to be called home; and accordingly about the end of

May he was reuoked, and the Lord *Bourgh*, (so he himselfe writes, others write *Burke*, and *Camden* writes *Borough*) came ouer Lord Deputy. The ill successe of the treaties and small progresse of the warres, together with this vnexpected change of the Lord Deputy, comming with supreme authority, as well in martiall as ciuill causes, brake the heart of Sir *John Norryes* Lord Generall, a leader as worthy and famous as *England* bred in our age. Of late (according to vulgar speech) he had displeased the Earle of *Essex*, then a great fauourite in Court, and by his merites possessed of the superintendency in all martiall affaires: For Sir *John Norryes* had imbraced the action of Brest Fort in *Britany*, and the warres in those parts, when the Earle himself had purpose to entertaine them, and preuailed against the Earle, by vndertaking them with lesse forces, then the Earle desired for the same. And it was thought that the Earle had preferred the Lord *Bourgh*, of purpose to discontent him, in regard the said Lord *Bourgh* had had a priuate quarrell with the said Generall in *England*, and that besides the superiour command of this Lord, (though otherwise most worthy, yet of lesse experience in the warres then the Generall had), could not but be vnsupportable to him, esteemed one of the greatest Captaines of his time, and yet hauing inferiour command of the Presidentship of *Mounster* in the same Kingdome. Certainly vpon the arriual of this new Lord Deputy, presently Generall *Norries* was commanded to his gouernement of *Mounster*, and not to stirre thence without leaue. When he came thither, this grieffe so wrought vpon his high spirit, as it apparantly brake his braue and formerly vndaunted heart, for without sickenes or any publike signe of grieffe, he suddenly died, in the imbrace of his deere brother Sir *Thomas Norreys*, his vicepresident, within some two moneths of his comming into *Mounster*.

The Lord *Bourgh* at his entry into the place of Lord Deputy, found all the North in Rebellion, except seuen Castles, with their Townes or Villages, all but one lying towards the sea, namely *Newry*, *Knockfergus*, *Carlingford*, *Greene-Castle*, *Armagh*, *Dondrom*, and *Olderfleet*. And all *Connaght* was likewise in Rebellion, together with the Earle of *Ormonds* nephewes the Butlers, in *Mounster*.

In this moneth of May, *Ororke* was sent into *England*, by the King of Scots, and there executed. This *Ororke* seemes to haue beene expelled his Countrey, when Sir *Richard Bingham* was Gouvernour of *Connaght*, but those of his name, and the chiefe of them, vsurping the Countrey of *Letrym*, still continued Rebels.

Tyrone hitherto with all subtilty and a thousand sleights abusing the State, when he saw any danger hanging ouer him, by fained countenance and false words pretended humblest submission, and hearty sorrow for his villanies; but as soone as opportunity of pursuing him was omitted, or the forces were of necessity to be drawne from his Countrey, with the terror of them all his loyalty vanished, yea, he failed not to mingle secretly the greatest Counsels of mischief with his humblest submissions. And these courses had beene nourished by the sloth of our Leaders, the frugality of some of our counsellors, and the Queenes inbred lenity: yet of all other, he had most abused the late Lord Generals loue to him, and his credulity, which specially grew out of his loue. Now of this new Lord Deputy, by letters hee requested a truce or cessation, which it seemed good to the Lord Deputy to grant for a moneth, in regard of the conueniency of her Maiesties present affaires, not any way to gratifie the Rebell, for he had no purpose to entertaine more speech of his submission, or to slacke the pursuit of him and his confederates, to which he was wholly bent. He saw the lamentable effects, which these cessations, together with protections, had hitherto produced, and among other euils, did specially resolue to auoid them.

Therefore as soone as the moneth of truce was expired, the Lord Deputy aswell by his first actions, to giue luster and ominous presage to his gouernement, as because he iudged it best for the seruice to strike at the head, presently drew the Forces towards *Tyrone*. The Irish, in a fastnes neere *Armagh*, (so they call straight passages in woods, where to the natural strength of the place is added the art of interlacing the low bowes; and casting the bodies of trees acrosse the way) opposed the passage of the English, who made their way with their swords, and found that the Irish resolutely assaulted, would

would easily giue ground. Then the Lord Deputy assaulted the Fort of *Blackewater*, formerly built by the English vpon the passage to *Dungannon*, whence the Earle at his first entering into rebellion, had by force expelled the English, as carefully as he would haue driuen poyson from his heart. This Fort he soon wonne, and repaying the same, put a company of English souldiers into it, to guard it. But whilst the Lord Deputy with the whole army were rendering thanks to God for this good successe, the Rebels shewed themselues out of the thicke woods neere adioyning on the North-side of the Fort, so as the prayers were interrupted by calling to armes. The English entered skirmish, and preuayled against them, driuing them to flye into the thickest of their dens. In this conflict were killed *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, and *Robert Turnour* Seriant Maior of the Army, and two foster brethren to *Henry Earle of Kildare*, who with his troope of Horse valiantly serued vpon the Rebelle, and tooke the death of his foster brethren so to heart, (after the education of the Irish) as he shortly after died. Many also were wounded, among whom *Thomas Walker* was of chiefe name.

When the Lord Deputy first resolved to draw vp to *Blackewater*, he sent directions to Sir *Conyers Clifford* to come vp with the Connaght forces by the way of *Ballyshannon*, and to meete him there, which he in like sort attempted, but being ouermatched by the Rebels lying in his way, could not peirce so farre, but was forced to retire, and by that retreat wonne great reputation to himselfe and the men vnder him: for hauing with him some sixe or seuen hundred foote onely; of which part was of the old Britan Souldiers, and being assayed by more then 2000. Rebels, during thirty miles march he valiantly repelled them, and safely retired to the garrison.

The Lord Deputy leaving the Fort at the Blacke-water well guarded to the charge of Captaine *Thomas Williams*, withdrew the Forces towards the Pale. Now the Rebels tossed betweene hope, feare, and shame, resolved to besiege the Fort, and *Tyrone* thought his reputation lost; if he recouered it not, and so with ioynt force they compassed and assayed the same. Whereof the Lord Deputy being aduertised, with all possible expedition gathered the forces, to leade them to the reliefe of that fort, and the Rebels hearing of his Lordships approach, quitted the siege of the Fort, and retired into their strengths. Whereupon the Lord Deputy marched forward, and hauing passed the Blackwater Fort, and purposing to enter and passe the pace leading to *Dungannon* *Tyrone*s chiefe House, he fel suddenly sicke, and being carried backe in his horse litter to *Armagh*, and thence to the *Newry*, died in the way, to the great ioy of the Rebels, deiection with his sharpe prosecution and bold aduentures, and to the no lesse griefe of the English, erected with hope of good successe. Howsoeuer many of good iudgement held his purpose of passing to *Dungannon* very dangerous, and altogether fruitlesse, since no garrisons being planted to gaine ground, no other issue could be hoped in the best euent, then a bragge of courage in passing to *Tyrone*s cheefe seate, which no other Deputy had yet attempted. And as they greatly commended the Lord Deputies valour in these actions, so they feared the ingaging and losse of the Queenes Army, by this or some like bold attempt.

After his death, Sir *Thomas Norreys*, Lord President of *Mounster*, was vnder the Lord In- great seale of *Ireland* prouisionally made Lord Iustice of the Kingdome, (as the custome is in such sudden changes) who repaired to *Dublin*, and there executed his place for one month (as I thinke of September) and no longer, for he being sick & cast down in minde by the great sorrow he had conceiued for the late death of his worthy brother, made great suite to the Queene and the Lords in *England*, to be eased of this burthen of being Lord Iustice, and to haue leaue to retire himselfe to his gouernement of the Prouince of *Mounster*.

And so *Adam Loftus* Lord Chauncellor of *Ireland*, and Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and *Robert Gardner* chiefe Iustice of *Ireland*, by letters out of *England*, the thirteene of October were made Lords Iustices for the ciuell gouernement, and the Earle of *Ormond* with title of Lord Liefetenant of the Army, was authorized to command in chiefe for all martiall affayres. *Tyrone* after his old custome, flies vnto the Lord Lief-

tenant, with protestations of loyalty, and complaines of wrongs, inforcing his disloyall courses, which his Lordship aduertising into *England*, receiued authority from thence, to treat with *Tyrone* about his submission, hauing Sir *Geffery Fenton* Secretary of *Ireland* ioyned with him for an assistant. Hereupon ensued a meeting at *Dundalke* on the 22 of December, where *Tyrone* made his most humble submission in writing, acknowledging her Maiesties great mercie in giuing him and his Associates their pardons vpon former submissions, and vpon the knees of his heart (as he writes) professed most heartie penitencie for his disloyaltie, and especially his foule relapses therein-to, humbly beseeching the Lord Lieutenant to be a meanes to her sacred Maiestie for his pardon, withall making knowne his grieuances, which howsoeuer they could not iustifie his offence, yet might in some measure qualifie the heinoulnesse thereof. And till these might be booked, to be sent ouer with his Submission, most humbly crauing of his Lordship to grant a truce or cessation of Armes for eight weeks following. And further, to the end it might appeare that his submission proceeded from his heart, promising that for the time of this cessation, there should be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers bringing victuals to *Blackwater* Fort, yea, that for a poore token of his humblest duty, hee would voluntarily giue to the hands of the Captaine fortie Beeues, and suffer the souldiers to cut and fetch in wood, or any other prouisions. For his performance whereof hee offered presently to giue Pledges to his Lordship.

The same day hee subscribed the following articles, propounded to him by the Lord Lieutenant. First, he promiseth for him and his associates, faithfully to keepe her Maiesties Peace during the cessation. Secondly, that hee will presently recall all *Ulster* men sent by him into *Lemster*, leauing those who should not obey his directions to the Lord Lieutenants discretion. Thirdly, if any during the Truce shall breake into Rebellion, he promiseth not to aide them, to as none depending on his Truce, be in the meane time taken in by the State without his consent. Fourthly, he agreeth to a generall Liberty, of buying necessaries for his men in the Pale, and for the Queenes subiects in *Ulster*, and nothing to be forceably taken on either side. Fifthly, that vpon pretended wrongs no reuenge be taken, but restitution be made within ten dayes after complaint. Sixthly, that during the Truce hee shall haue no intelligence with the King of *Spain*, or other forraigne Prince, but acquaint the State with any message hee shall receiue, or proiect he shall heare. Seuenthly, that he shall presently draw a booke of his grieuances, such as he can proue, without mention of friuolous matters vnworthie her sacred Maiesties view. Eighthly, that he will deliuer into the Fort forty Beeues, and giue safe conduct to her Maiesties Ministers to vittaille the said Fort of *Blackwater*, and suffer the souldiers to cut and fetch wood on the South-side of *Armagh*, and for all other necessaries permit them to agree with the owners, so as they come not of themselues into his Countrey, but haue his men with them in company. Ninthly, that any prey being tracked into his Countrey, he shall make restitution, and deliuer the theeuers to be executed, and if any be stopped from following of his track the stopper shall answer the goods so tracked; which course the Lord Lieutenant promised likewise to hold towards him and his associates.

The foure and twentie of December, *Tyrone* aduertised the Lord Lieutenant, that he serued the Fort with fortie Beeues; but the Captaine had refused ten of them, wherein his discretion was taxed by the Lord Lieutenant, since they were of voluntarie gift. Yet *Tyrone* promised to send ten other of the best he had in lieu of them.

The eighteenth of Februarie *Brian Oge Ormarke* (commonly called *Ororke*) Lord of *Letrym* (commonly called *Ororkes* Country) submitted himself in a great assembly on his knees to her Maiestie, before Sir *Conyers Clifford* Gouvernour of *Connaght*, subscribing further to these Articles. First, that he and his followers promised in all humbleness to performe all duties to her Maiestie, as becommeth good subiects. Secondly, that he will receiue her Maiesties Sheriffes, and yeeld them all due obedience. Thirdly, that he will pay to her Maiestie her composition or rent, and yeeld to her Highnes all seruices, according to his new Patent to be granted. Fourthly, that hee shall send

out of his Countrie all strangers to their owne dwelling places. Fifthly, that hee will apprehend all Rebels, Theeves or Malefactors comming into his Countrie, sending them and their goods to the Gouvernour. Sixthly, that hee will deliuer Pledges for his Sept (or Family) and the chiefe Septs with him, within twentie dayes. Hereof Sir *Conyers Clifford* aduertised the Lords Iustices, praying that in regard of the strength and fastnesse of *Orocks* Countrie, he might not bee discontented, with hauing Beeves taken from him for reliefe of the Army, without payment of ready money for them, since that course had already grieued all the Submitties. Further, he shewed that the Countrie of *Orooke* was most necessary to be defended. For howsoeuer it was held by Sir *Richard Bingham* the last Gouvernour as by Conquest (vpon expelling of the aboue mentioned *Orooke*), yet then it was all waste, so as the Rebelle could make little vse of it, whereas now it was most replenished with cattle, and therefore like to be assaulted by *Tyrone* and *Odonnel*, incensed against *Orooke* by reason of this his submission. Besides that, the Queenes forces could lie no where so fitly for seruice, as vpon the *Earne*, nor there bee relieved but by *Orooke*, nor receiue reliefe with his contentment but by paying ready money. Lastly, hee shewed that all the people vpon the *Earne*, and in those parts, excepting *Mac Williams*, had submitted themselues to her Maiestie, and deliuered Pledges for their Loyalty, being glad to liue vnder her Maiesties Lawes, and onely terrified with the burden of relieuing the souldiers, without payment for their cattle. Therefore he desired that two of the priuy Counsell might bee sent ouer, to take knowledge of such grieuances, as the Submitties should present vnto them, and to take order for their satisfaction. These goodly submission, had all the same issue, as followeth in that of the famous Faith-breaker *Tyrone*:

Since the last meeting of the Lord Lieftenant with *Tyrone* at *Dundalke*, his Lordship had sent ouer into *England* *Tyrone*s humble submission, and the Booke of his grieuances, and had receiued authority from her Maiesty, to make a finall conclusion with the Rebels, and now at another meeting in *Dundalke*, on the fiftene of March, the Lord Lieftenant signified to *Tyrone*, that her Maiesty by his humble submission had beene induced againe to receiue him to mercy, and to giue him and all the Inhabitants of *Tyrone* her gracious pardon, vpon conditions following. First, that he renew his humble submission to the Lord Lieftenant on her Maiesties behalfe in some publike place. 2. That he promise due obedience of a Subiect, and not to intermeddle with the Irish, nor his adherents, not onely hereafter, but now, leauing them to themselues, that they may become humble suitors for their owne pardons, in which case it is promised them also. 3. That he dispiere his forces, vpon receipt of his pardon, and dismisse all strangers, Irish, Scots, or others. 4. That he renounce the name and title of *Oneale*. 5. Not to intermeddle with her Maiesties Vriaghtes, (so the Irish call the bordering Lords, whom the *Ulster* Tyrants haue long claimed to be their vassals). 6. That he build vp againe, at his owne charges, the Fort and Bridge of Blackewater, and furnishe the souldiers with victuals, as formerly he did. 7. That he deliuer to the Lord Lieftenant the sonnes of *Shane Oneale*, who were her Maiesties Prisoners; till breaking out they fell into his hands, and were imprisoned by him. 8. To declare faithfully all intelligence with *Spaine*, and to leaue it. 9. That he receiue a Sheriffe for *Tyrone*, as all other Countries doe. 10. That he put in his eldest sonne for pledge, and at all times come to the state being called. 11. That he pay a fine in part of satisfaction for his offence, according to her Maiesties pleasure. 12. That he aid no Rebelle, nor meddle with the Inhabitants on the East side of the Ban, yet so as he may enioy any lands or leases he hath there. 13. That he receiue not any disloyall person, but send such to the chiefe Gouvernour.

To the first and second Articles *Tyrone* agreeth, so as time might be giuen for the other Lords his associates to assemble, that they might herein lay no imputation on him. To the third he agreeth, crauing a generall passport for all such strangers. To the fourth he agreeth. For the fifth, he saith that he desireth nothing of the Vriaghts, but such duties as they yeilded, since his Grandfathers time. To the sixth he agreeth. The seuenth he refuseth, because he had not those prisoners from the State. To the eight

he agreeth. To the ninth he agreeth, according to the statute appointing a gentleman of the Countrey to be chosen, yet crauing forbearance for a small time. The tenth he refuseth, for the pledges (in particular). For the eleventh he agreeth to a fine of five hundred Cowes, yet praying the Lord Lieftenant to be a meanes to her Maiesty for the remittall thereof. To the twelfth he agreeth. To the last he agreeth, prouided that he would deliuer no man to the State, who came to him for cause of conscience. Finally, in regard *Odonnell* and other of *Tyrone's* associates, did not then appeare, and in that respect the Lord Lieftenant had beene pleased to grant him further day till the tenth of Aprill following, he promised vpon his credit and honour, and by his hand writing, that in case they or any of them should not then appeare, and submit themselves; yet he at that time would make his submission, and humbly craue and receiue her Maiesties gracious pardon, and goe thorow with all things requisite for a perfect conclusion, and to deliuer in two pledges of his faith, to be chosen out of a schedule presented to the Lord Lieftenant, the same to be changed according to the agreement, and if the Mores and Conners, for whom he had obtained protection, should violate this peace, that he would no way giue aide or assistance to them. Herevpon at the instance of the Lord Lieftenant, the Lords Iustices caused *Tyrone's* pardon to be drawne, and sealed with the great seale of *Ireland*, bearing Date the eleventh of An. 1598. Aprill, in the fortieth yeere of her Maiesties Raigne, and of our Lord the yeere 1598. *Tyrone* receiued his generall pardon, but continuing still his disloyall courses, neuer pleaded the same, so as vpon his aboue mentioned indictment, in September 1595. you shall find him after outlawed, in the yeere 1600.

The Irish kernewere at the first rude souldiers; so as two or three of them were imployed to discharge one Peece, and hitherto they haue subsisted especially by trecherous tenders of submission, but now they were growne ready in managing their Peecces, and bold to skirmish in bogges and wooddy passages, yea, this yeere and the next following; became so disastrous to the English, and successfull in action to the Irish, as they shaked the English gouernement in this kingdome, till it tottered, and wanted little of fatall ruine. *Tyrone* wanted not pretences to frustrate this late treaty, and to returne to his former disloyalty, and the defection of all other submitties depending on him, followed his reuolt.

First he sent aid to *Phelim mac Feogh*, chiefe of the *Obirnes*, the sonne of *Feogh mac Hugh*, (killed in Sir *William Russels* time), to the end he might make the warre in *Lemster* against the English: And because the English Fort of *Blackewater* was a great eye fore to him, lying on the chiefe passage into his Countrey, he assembled all his forces, and assaulted the same. But Captaine *Thomas Williams*, with his company vnder him, so valiantly repelled the great multitudes of the assaylants, with slaughter of many and the most hardy, attempting to scale the fort, (which was onely a deepe trench or wall of earth, to lodge some one hundred Souldiers), as they vtterly discouraged from assaying it, resolved to besiege it a farre off, and knowing they wanted victuals, presumed to get it by famine.

This Captaine and his few warders, did with no lesse courage suffer hunger, and hauing eaten the few horses they had, liued vpon hearbes growing in the ditches and wals, suffering all extremities, till the Lord Lieftenant in the moneth of August sent Sir *Henry Bagnoll Marshall* of *Ireland*, with the most choice Companies of foote and horse troopes of the English Army, to victuall this Fort, and to raise the Rebels siege. When the English entered the Pace, and thicke woods beyond *Armagh*, on the East side, *Tyrone* (with all the Rebels forces assembled to him) pricked forward with rage of enuy and setled rancour against the Marshall, assayled the English, and turning his full force against the Marshalls person, had the successe to kill him, valiantly fighting among the thickest of the Rebels. Whereupon the English being dismaied with his death, the Rebels obtained a great victory against them: I terme it great; since the English from their first arriuall in that Kingdome, neuer had receiued so great an ouerthrow, as this commonly called, *The defeat of Blackewater*; Thirteene valiant Captaines, and 1500. common Souldiers, (whereof many were of the old companies which

*The defeat
of Blacke-
water.*

which had serued in *Brittany* vnder Generall *Norreys*) were slaine in the field. The yeelding of the Fort of *Blackwater* followed this disaster, when the assaulted guard saw no hope of reliefe: but especially vpon messages sent to Captaine *Williams*, from our broken forces retired to *Armagh*, professing that all their safetie depended vpon his yeelding the Fort into the hands of *Tyrone*, without which danger Captaine *Williams* professed, that no want or miserie should haue induced him thereunto.

Shortly after Sir *Richard Bingham* (aboue mentioned) late Gouvernour of *Connaght*, and vnworthily disgraced, was sent ouer to succcede Sir *Henrie Bagnoll* in the Marshallship of that Kingdome.

By this Victory, the rebels got plenty of Armes and victuals, *Tyrone* was among the Irish celebrated as the Deliuerer of his Country from thraldome, and the combined Traytors on all sides were puffed vp with intolerable pride. All *Ulster* was in Armes, all *Connaght* reuolted; and the Rebels of *Lemster* swarmed in the English Pale, while the English lay in their Garrisons, so farre from assailing the Rebels, as they rather liued in continuall feare to be surprised by them.

After the last yeeres nauall expedition out of *England* into the Ilands, certaine old Companies of one thousand and fiftie foote, drawne out of the Low Countries, were appointed to Winter in the West parts of *England*, To these, nine hundred and fiftie new men were added this Summer, and the command of these two thousand Foote, and of one hundred Horse, was giuen to Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, who was appointed to goe with them to *Loughfoyle*, in the North of *Ireland*: but after the defeate of *Blackwater*, they were countermaunded to goe into *Lemster*, to strengthen the Queenes Forces in the heart of the Kingdome.

The old Companies.

Sir <i>Samuel Bagnol</i> , Colonell	150	} 1050 Foot.
Captaine <i>John Iephson</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Iosias Bodley</i>	100	
Captaine <i>John Sidney</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Foulke Conway</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Nicholas Pynner</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Edward Blaney</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Tobey Calfeild</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Austin Heath</i>	100	
Captaine <i>Owen Tewder</i>	100	

To these were added new men, partly vnder old Captains, }
as Captaine *Francis Roe*, Captaine *Charles Egerton*, Captaine } 950 Foot
Ralph Bingley, and partly vnder new Captaines

Besides, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* the Colonell had the command } 100 Horse
of a Troope of Horse new raised

After the defeate of *Blackwater*, *Tyrone* sent Ony *Mac Rory O More*, and one Captaine *Tyrel* (of English race, but a bold and vnnaturall enemy to his Countrie, and the English), to trouble the Prouince of *Mounster*. Against whom Sir *Thomas Norreys* Lord President opposed himselfe: but assoone as he vpon necessarie occasions had with-drawne his forces to *Corke*, many of the *Mounster* men now first about October 1598, brake into rebellion, and ioyned themselues with *Tyrones* said forces, spoyled the Country, burnt the Villages, and puld downe the houses and Castles of the English, against whom (especially the femall sex) they committed all abominable outrages. And now they raised *James Fitzthomas* a *Geraldine* to be Earle of *Desmond*, (which title had since the warres of *Desmond* bin suppressed), with condition, that (forsooth) he should be vassall to *Oneale*. The *Mounster* Rebellion brake out like a lightning, for in one moneths space, almost all the Irish were in rebellious Armes, and the English were murdered, or stripped and banished. Thus hauing inflamed *Mounster* with the fire

Anno 1598

fire of Rebellion, and leauing this sedition to be cherished and increased by this new Earle of *Desmond*, and other Rebels of that Prouince, the *Ulster* forces returned backe to *Tyrone*: The infection which *Mounster* men had drawne from the corrupted parts in Rebellion, did more and more spread it selfe, so as the old practises long held by the Arch-Traytor *Tyrone* to induce them to a reuolt, now fully attained their wished effect. To the working whereof in the hearts of the seditious, there wanted not many strong motiues, as the hatred which the Geraldines bare to those English Vndertakers (of whom I formerly spake, in *Desmonds* warre), which possessed their Ancestors lands; also the encouragement they receiued by the good successe of the Rebels, and no lesse the hope of pardon vpon the worst euent. And to speake truth, *Munster* vndertakers aboue mentioned, were in great part cause of this defection, and of their owne fatall miseries. For whereas they should haue built Castles, and brought ouer Colonies of English, and haue admitted no Irish Tenant, but onely English, these and like couenants were in no part performed by them. Of whom the men of best qualitie neuer came ouer, but made profit of the land; others brought no more English then their owne Families, and all entertained Irish seruants and tenants, which were now the first to betray them. If the couenants had been kept by them, they of themselves might haue made two thousand able men, whereas the Lord President could not find aboue two hundred of English birth among them, when the Rebels first entered the Prouince. Neither did these gentle Vndertakers make any resistance to the Rebels, but left their dwellings, and fled to walled Townes; yea, when there was such danger in flight, as greater could not haue been in defending their owne, whereof many of them had wofull experience, being surprised with their wiues and children in flight. Among the Mounster Rebels were the Vicount *Mountgarret*, the Earle of *Ormonds* neere Kinsman, and the Baron of *Cahir*, a *Butler*, and of the Earles Kindred. Both these pretended their discontent and malice against the said Earle, for cause of their reuolt. But more dangerous causes were suspected, and except a Royall Force were quickly opposed to the Rebels bold attempts, a generall reuolt was feared.

May you hold laughter, or will you thinke that *Carthage* ever bred such a dissembling fædifragous wretch as *Tyrone*, when you shall reade, that euen in the midst of all these garboyles, and whilst in his letters to the King of *Spain* he magnified his victories, beseeching him not to beleue that he would seeke or take any conditions of Peace, and vowing constantly to keepe his faith plighted to that King, yet most impudently he ceased not to entertaine the Lord Lieutenant by letters and messages, with offers of submission. This hee did, but not so submissiuelly as before, for now the Gentleman was growne higher in the instep, as appeared by the insolent conditions he required.

Ireland being in this turbulent State, many thought it could not bee restored but by the powerfull hand of *Robert* Earle of *Essex*. This noble Lord had from his youth put himselfe into military actions of greatest moment, so farre as the place he held in Court would permit, and had of late yeeres wonne much honour in some seruices by Sea and Land, so as he had full possession of a superintendencie ouer all martiall affaires, and for his noble worth was generally loued, and followed by the Nobility and Gentry. In which respects the Queene knew him fit for this seruice. Hee had long been a deare fauourite to the Queene, but had of late lien so open to his enemies, as he had giuen them power to make his imbracing of militarie courses, and his popular estimation so much suspected of his Soueraigne, as his greatnesse was now iudged to depend as much on her Maiesties feare of him, as her loue to him. And in this respect he might seeme to the Queene most vnfit for this seruice. But surely the Earle was perswaded, that his Honour could not stand without imbracing this Action; and since he affected it, no man durst be his riual. Besides that, his enemies gladly put forward this his designe, that they might haue him at more advantage by his absence from Court. Finally, the vulgar gaue ominous acclamations to his enterprize, but the wiser sort, rather wished then hoped happy effects, either to his private or the public good, in regard of the powerfull enemies hee left in Court, (whence all seconds were

were to come to him), and of his owne distracted ends (though enclined to the public good, yet perhaps, in aiming at the speedy end of this warre, and some other particulars, not fully concurring with the same.)

The Earle of *Essex*, when he first purposed to intertaine the managing of the Irish warres, advised and obtained, that two Regiments of old souldiers should be transported out of the Low-Countries into that Kingdome: namely,

The first Regiment.

Sir Charles Percy Colonell	200	1050 Foote.
Captaine Richard Moryson Lieutenant Colonell	150	
Sir Oliuer Lambart	150	
Captaine Henrie Masterfon	150	
Captaine Randal Bret	150	
Captaine William Turret	150	
Captaine Turner	100	

The second Regiment.

Sir Henry Dockwra, Colonel (and Conductor of all)	200	950 Foote.
Captaine John Chamberlin Lieutenant Colonel	150	
Captaine Edmond Morgan	150	
Captaine Edward Michelburne	150	
Captaine Walter Floyd	150	
Captaine Garret Haruy	150	

These Regiments landed in *Ireland* before the Earles comming ouer, and were then dispersed by the Earle into diuers Regiments of new men, to season them, and to replenish them with sufficient Officers.

The Earles Patent was granted with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with more ample authoritie, then many other Lord Deputies had formerly granted them: for whereas others had power to pardon all Treasons, Felonies, and all offences, except such treasons as touched her Maiesties person, her heires, &c, and the counterfeiting of money. This exception was by the Earles importunitie left out, which hee extorted with wise prouidence, since the Lawyers held all Treasons to touch the Princes person. And whereas other Lord Deputies had power to bestow all Offices excepting the chiefe reserved to the Queenes gift, his Lordship had power to bestow some of the chiefe, and to remoue all Officers not holding by Patent, and to suspend such as held by Patent. Besides his Lordship had power in many things, which neuer had been formerly giuen to any: as to make Martiall Lawes (he being Lord Martiall of *England*), and to punish the transgressors. And to let the lands of *Tyrone* and other Rebels named, to any persons whatsoever, and to their heires Males, reseruing due rents to her Maiestie. To command the Ships already sent, and to be sent into *Ireland*, except the Lord Admirall were sent forth to Sea, and commandement were giuen of ioyning the said ships to his Fleete. And lastly to issue the Treasure according to the two establishments, with liberty to alter that which was signed by the Lords in *England*, with the aduise and consent of the Counsell of *Ireland*, so as he exceeded not the summe of the Establishments. He had an Army assigned him, as great as himselfe required, and such for number and strength, as *Ireland* had neuer yet seene.

The establishment was signed by the Queene the foure and twenty of March, being the last day (after the English account) of the yeere 1598. It contained: first, the pay of the chiefe Officers in the Army: the Lord Lieutenant Generall ten pound a day. The Lieutenant of the Army three pound a day. The Generall of the Horse fortie shillings a day: the Marshall of the Campe thirtie shillings a day: the Sergeant Maior twentie shillings a day: the Lieutenant of the Horse twentie shillings a day: The Quartermaster twentie shillings a day: the Iudge Marshall twentie shillings a day: the Auditor Generall thirteene shillings foure pence a day: the Comptroller

The Establishment.

Generall

generall of the victuals ten shillings a day : the Lieutenant of the Ordinance ten shillings a day : the Surueyer sixe shillings eight pence : two Clerkes of Munitions each five shillings a day : foure Corporals of the field sixe shillings eight pence a day a peece : one Commissarie of victuals eight shillings, and three other, each sixe shillings a day : The Carriage Master sixe shilling eight pence a day : and twentie Colonels, each ten shillings a day ; whereof the totall in the yeere amounts to thirteene thousand one hundred twentie seuen pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

It contained further the pay of thirteene hundred Horse, diuided into sixe and twentie Bands, each Band hauing a Captaine at foure shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings sixe pence a day, a Cornet at two shillings a day, and fiftie horsemen each at fifteene pence a day, whereof the totall in the yeere amounts to one and thirtiethousand foure hundred eight pound five shillings.

It contained further the pay of sixteene thousand footemen, distributed into one hundred and sixty Bands, each Band hauing a Captaine at foure shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings a day, an Ensigne eightene pence a day, two Sergeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, each at twelue pence a day, and ninetie foure souldiers, and sixe dead paies (allowed to the Captaine) at eight pence each by the day ; whereof the totall in the yeere amounts to two hundred twenty eight thousand two hundred fortie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence.

Lastly, it contained an extraordinarie supply of six thousand pound to be allowed by concordatum, for Spies, Guides, Messengers, Barks hiring, keeping of Prisoners, buildings, reparations, rewardes, and like charges ; the totall of the Establishment by the yeere amounts to two hundred seuentie seuen thousand seuen hundred eighty two pound fifteene shillings.

Besides her Maiesty was at great charge for many things not contained in the establishment as followeth. First for Officers generall. The Lord Lieftenant for his ordinary entertainment by the yeere, one thousand three hundred pound. His Lordships Band of Horse by the yeere, one thousand five hundred thirteene pound two shillings six pence. His Lordships fifty footmen by the yeere, six hundred eight pound sixe shillings eight pence. Both these bands of horse and foot being not of the Army, I take to be allowed him for his followers, and the seruants in his family, besides his company of horse and foot in the Army ; the Treasurer at warres by the yeere sixe hundred eight and thirty pound fifteene shillings. The Marshall of the Army by the yeere one hundred foure pound eightene shillings and nine pence. The Master of the Ordinance for himselfe by the yeere foure hundred fifty pound three shillings foure pence, and for Clerkes, Gunners, and Ministers of the Ordinance by the yeere, foure hundred fifty nine pound five shillings ten pence. The Muster-Master generall by the yeere two hundred nine pound seuentene shillings six pence. Secondly for chiefe Officers newly erected. The Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle*, by the yeere three hundred sixty five pound. The Gouvernour of *Carricfergus* by the yeere one hundred eighty two pound ten shillings. The Gouvernour of *Dundalke* as much. The Commander of the Forces at *Rathdrum* and *Wickelaw* as much. The Commander of the Forces in *Ophaly* as much. The Commander of the Forces at *Cavan* as much.

These payments being made in sterling money, doe amount to sixe thousand five hundred fourescore ten pound nineteene shillings seuen pence.

Obserue that all these aboue named Officers (excepting the Muster-Master) as also the Lieftenant of the Army, The Generall of the Horse, The Seriant Maior, And likewise the Gouvernours of Prouinces and Garrisons, haue all beside their fees, the command of a band of Horse, or of Foot, or of both. Thirdly for Officers in the foure Courts and certaine Pattentees: In the Exchequer the Earle of *Ormond* Lord Treasurer of *Ireland* hath for his fee, forty pound. The Treasurer at warres, threescore sixe pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence. The chiefe Baron threescore and eleuen pound ten shillings, and in augmentation fourescore eight ponnd seuentene shillings and nine pence. The Chancellor foureteene pound. The second Baron foure and thirty pound. The Auditor Generall two hundred pound. The Surueyor Generall fourescore

Score pound. The Remembrancer forty pound. The Seriant at Law seventeene pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The Attourney Generall one hundred forty nine pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Solicitor one hundred forty nine pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Escheator six pound thirteene shillings and foure pence. The second Remembrancer ten pound ten shillings. The chiete Ingrosser fourteene pound. The second Ingrosser nine pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The chiefe Chamberlaine thirteene pound six shillings and eight pence. The second Chamberlaine sixe pound thirteene shillings and foure pence. The Clerke of the first fruits ten pound. The keeper of the Records thirteene pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The Vsher of the Court three pound sixe shillings and eight pence. The Clerke of the Common Pleas three pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Transcripter fifty three shillings foure pence. The Deputy Auditor eleuen pound. The Vicetreasurers Deputy eleuen pound. The Somoniter one hundred sixe shillings eight pence. The Marshall of the Court one hundred sixe shillings eight pence. A Messenger foure and forty shillings five pence farthing. Two Pursuants each eighteene pound five shillings fee. In the Kings Bench the chiefe Iustice foure hundred pound. The second Iustice one hundred three and thirty pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Clerke of the Crowne ten pound.

In the Common Pleas the chiefe Iustice threescore seven pound ten shillings, and in augmentation fourescore eight pound seventeene shillings nine pence farthing. The second Iustice forty pound, and in augmentation twenty pound. The Protocor ten pound. In the Chauncery. The Lord Chauncellor foure hundred and fiftene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Master of the Roles fifty pound, and in augmentation fourescore eight pound seventeene shillings nine pence. Two Ministers each seven & twenty pound thirteen shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Crowne sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence, and in augmentation six & twenty pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Hamper foureteene pound. Diuers Officers in the Starre-chamber sixe and fifty pound thirteene shillings foure pence. Diuers Ministers of the Ordinance holding by Patent one hundred thirty five pound thirteene shillings five pence farthing. The Constable of the Castle of *Dublyn* and his warders with diuers other Constables and Porters three hundred thirty five pound thirteene shillings two pence farthing.

For Officers of the State. The Secretary one hundred sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Clerke of the Counsell threescore and two pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Surueyer of the victuals one hundred forty three pound sixe shillings eight pence. The King at Armes thirty five pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Seriant at Armes eighteene pound two shillings two pence halfe penny farthing. The Pursuant at Armes thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Irish Interpreter seven and twenty pound seven shillings sixe pence. Officers about the Custome forty pound. For Creation money to Noble men; the Earle of *Ormond* thirty pound. The Earle of *Kildare* twenty pound. The Earle of *Clanrickard* forty pound. The Earle of *Thomond* twenty pound. The Baron of *Kaher* fiftene pound. Diuers annates & procurations two hundred fourescore & nineteene pound nineteene shillings three pence halfe penny. For Parchment, Paper, Inke, Bagges, &c. in the Exchequer, Kings Bench, and Common Pleas, two hundred fourescore two pound, ten shillings eight pence. For other payments by warrant two hundred sixe and twenty pound two shillings foure pence. In the County of *Wexford*, the Iustice of the liberties twenty pound. The Seneschall five & twenty pound. The Receiver twenty pound. The Marshall forty shillings.

The totall of these being paid in Irish mony, is foure thousand six hundred fiftene pound thirteene shillings halfe penny; which reduced to sterling money, makes three thousand foure hundred threescore one pound thirteen shillings 9 pence.

Fourthly for Officers in *Lemster*. The Lieftenant of the Queens County one hundred twenty one pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Prouost Marshall of the Army threescore and seventeene pound eleuen shillings three pence. The Prouost Marshall

of *Leinster* one hundred and two pound thirteene shillings one penny halfe penny. These paid in sterling money, amount to three hundred one pound sixteene shillings eight pence halfe penny.

Fifthly, for Officers in *Mounster*, the Lord President one hundred three and thirty pound sixe shillings eight pence. His diet with the Counsell allowed at his table, five hundred twenty pound. His Retinue of twenty foot with the Officers, and of thirty Horse, eight hundred and three pound. The chiefe Iustice one hundred pound. The second Iustice threescore sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. The Queenes Attourney thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. The Clerke of the Council twenty pound. The Clerke of the Crowne twenty pound. The Seriant at Armes twenty pound. The Prouost Marshall two hundred five and fifty pound ten shillings. The totall being paid in sterling mony, is one thousand nine hundred fifty one pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

Sixtly, for Officers in *Connaght*, the chiefe Commissioner (or Gouvernour) one hundred pound: his diet with the Counsel at his table, one hundred fourescore two pound ten shillings. An allowance to himselfe forty pound. The Iustice one hundred pound. The Queenes Attourney twenty pound. The Clarke of the Crowne twenty pound. The Clarke of the Counsell twenty pound. The Seriant at Armes twenty pound, the Prouost Marshall two hundred threescore and foure pound, twelue shillings sixe pence. An increase of pay to the present chiefe Commissioner, two hundred fourescore two pound ten shillings.

The totall being paid in sterling money, is nine hundred forty nine li. twelue s. sixe d.

Seuenthly, certaine bands of Irish kerne, five hundred threescore nineteene pound eight shillings nine pence.

Eightly, for warders in seuerall Prouinces, three thousand five hundred threescore and seuentene pound two pence halfe penny.

Ninthly, for Commissaries of Musters, five hundred threescore seuentene pound eightene shillings foure pence.

Tenthly, Penlioners of all sorts, as well recorded in the Office of Musters, as those holding by Patent, and recorded with the Auditor, some holding for tearme of yeers, some during life, some during good behauiour, some during pleasure, three thousand two hundred forty nine l. nine d.

Lastly, Almes-men, fourescore eight l. nineteene s. foure d. ob.

The totall of the aboue named charge not contained in the establisment, is twenty one thousand three hundred twenty eight l. eight s. seuen d. ob.

Adde to this the establisment, two hundred threescore seuentene thousand seuen hundred fourescore two pound, fifteene shillings.

The totall of the yeerely charge, is two hundred fourescore and nineteene thousand, one hundred eleuen pound three s. seuen d. ob.

To which if you adde the great charge of all sorts of Munitions, with the like extraordinary expences; and doe also consider that the thirteene hundred Horse, and sixteene thousand Foot, by new supplies were made fully twenty thousand: the heauy burthen of this yeeres warre in *Ireland* will appeare.

The Earle of *Essex* had in speciall charge from the Queene, to bend all his forces against the chiefe Traitor *Tyrone*, (and the *Ulster* Rebels his confederates), and withall to plant Garrisons at *Loughfoyle* and *Balishannon*; to the end they might at the same time assaile him (and them) at the backe (both which courses his Lordship had in all counsels perswaded, and often taxed the omissions of them). Thus with happy acclamations of the people (who to so worthy a Generall in the head of so strong an Army, did ominate nothing but victory and triumphes), yet with a Sunne-shine thunder happening (as Master *Camden* notes for an ominous ill token): This noble Lord (accompanied with the flower of the English Gentry; and conducted on his way with many of the Nobility), tooke his iourney from *London* towards *Ireland*, in the end of the Moneth of March, and the beginning of the yeere 1599, and though crossed with tempestuous weather, (wherein the Earle of *Kildare*, and some gallant gentlemen accompa-

accompanying him in a little barke, chosen of purpose for speed, were vnfortunately cast away), landed within few dayes at *Dublin*, where according to the manner of other Gouvernours, he receiued the Sword.

Vpon his Lordships demaund to bee aduertised from the Counsell of the present state of that Kingdome, a Collection thereof, debated and agreed vpon in Counsell, and signed by the Counsellors, was presented to his Lordship the seuenteenth of April, being to this effect. First, for the Prouince of *Lemster*, in the Countie of *Dublin*, all the Mountainers were in actuall rebellion, as *Phelim Mac Feagh*, and his brother *Redmond*, with their Sept (or name) of the *Obyrns*, and *Phelim Mac Feagh* with his Sept of the *Otooles*, and *Walter Mac Edmond* chiefe of the Galloglasses, with his Sept of *Mac Donnels*; onely two Castles, *Newcastle* and *Wickloe*, Sir *Henrie Harrington* held for the Queene, and all the rest of the Countie continued loyall. The Rebels thereof were in number foure hundred eightie Foot, and twentie Horse. In the County of *Kildare* *James Fitzpierce* a *Geraldine*, two *Geraldines*, base brothers to the late Earle of *Kildare*, some of the *Delahides*, some of the *Odempseys*, and some of the *Eustaces* (of which Sept was the late Vicount *Baltinglasse* attainted), all in action of Rebellion, were in number two hundred and twentie Foote, and thirtie Horse. All the rest of the Countie being wasted by the Rebels, yet held for the Queene. In the County of *Carlogh*, being little and all wasted, the Castles of *Carlogh* and *Laughline*, and her Maiesties house of *Fernes*, held by the Queenes Wardes, and sixe Castles belonging to the Earle of *Ormond*, held for the Queene; but the *Cauanaghs*, and *Keytons*, were in Rebellion. In the County of *Wexford* being wasted, all the Castles held for the Queene, and Sir *Thomas Calclough*, Sir *Richard Master son*, and Sir *Dudly Loftus*, the onely English there inhabiting, held for the Queene. But *Donnel Spaniagh* (alias *Cauanagh*) with all that Sept, the *Omorroghs*, *Mac ony More*, all the *Kinsellaghes*, *Dermot Mac Morice*, and diuers others with their followers, were all in rebellion, and in those two Counties the Rebels were in number seuen hundred and fiftie Foote, and fiftie Horse. In the County of *Leax*, called the Queenes Countie, lately all English, now vsurped by the Rebels *Ormy Mac Rowry Omore*, and all the Sept of *O Mores*, and the chiefe of the Galloglasses in that County, of the Sept of *Mac Donnel*, the Sept of *O Dempseys* (except Sir *Terence O Dempsey*) the Sept of *O doynes* (except *Teig Oge O Doyne*), were al in rebellion, and the base son of the Earle of *Kildare*, a *Geraldine*, lately came in vpon protection. The Rebels were in number five hundred seuentie Foote, and thirty Horse. Master *Hartpol*, Master *Bowen*, and Master *Pygot*, were the onely English Inhabitants, by whom and some others, certaine Castles were kept for the Queene, besides the Fort of *Mariaborough* kept by the Queenes Garrison. In the Countie of *Ophalye*, called (of *Phillip King of England*) the Kings County, lately English, the Fort of *Phillipstowne* was kept by an English Garrison, Sir *George Colley*, Sir *Henrie Warren*, Mast. *John Moore*, and Mast. *Phillips*, held their Castles for the Queene, the rest of the Castles were kept by the sept of the *Oconners* then rebels, and al the land was wasted, the Sept of the *Omolhes* and *Odonners* were likewise in rebellion, and they were all in number foure hundred sixtie and eight Foot, and twelue Horse. In the County of *Kilkenny*, the Vicount of *Mountgaret*, a *Butler*, of the Earle of *Ormonds* Family, and sonne in Law to *Tyrone*, was in rebellion, with his brethren, and with some of his sonnes, and with his followers, being in number one hundred and thirty Foote, and twentie Horse, and held the Castles of *Balliragge* and *Colekil*; the rest of the Castles, and the whole County were held by the Earle of *Ormond* for the Queene. In the County of *Meath*, the sonne and heire of Sir *William Nugent* was in rebellion, and the Countie lying in the heart of the Pale, was greatly wasted by the *Ulsster* Rebels, and many Castles lay waste without inhabitants, but no Rebels possed either Towne or Castle therein. In the County of *Westmeath*, lying for the most part waste; the *Omoloughlines*, and the *Magoghegines*, many of the *Nugents*, and the *Geraldines* were in rebellion, being in number 140 Foot, and twentie Horse, besides Captaine *Tyrel* (a Rebel of English race), who had of *Ulsster* men and other strangers two hundred Foote. In the County of *Lowthe*, Sir *Edward Moore* and Sir *Francis Stafford* were the only English house-keepers, al the lands were wasted by the *Ulsster* rebels;

bels; but the Lord of *Louth*, an English-Irish Barron, and all the Townes and Castles stood firme for the Queene. In the County of *Lonsford*, all the *Ofarrols* were in rebellion, except two chiefe men of that Family, and the Castle of *Longford* was held by an English Warde, and the Rebels were in number one hundred and twenty Foot. The whole number of the Rebels in this Prouince of *Lemster* was three thousand fortie and eight Foote, and one hundred eighty two Horse.

Secondly, for the Prouince of *Ulster* (consisting all of Irish Septs, except the Scots possessing the *Rowt* and *Glinnes*), those of *Lecale*, and the little *Ardes* held for the Queene, but ouerawed by *Tyrone*, were forced to giue way to him to tirannize in their Countries. *Dundalke* the frontier Towne betweene the Pale and *Ulster*, vnd *Knockfergus* (or *Carickfergus*) a frontier Towne towards *Scotland*, were kept by English Garrisons, as likewise the *Newry*, *Carlingford*, *Greene Castle*, and *Narrow water* (all neare *Dundalke*), and the Castle of *Ballinacargie* in the Brenny, the rest were all in Rebellion. *Neale Brian Fertough* in the vpper *Clandeboyes*, had in number eighty Foote and thirtie Horse. *Shane Mac Brian* in the lower *Clandeboyes* had eighty foote and fiftie Horse. The *Whites* Countrie (or the *Duffery*) had twentie Foote. *Mac Arden* and *Sleaght Mac Oneale* had one hundred foote, and twentie horse. *Mac Rorie* Captaine of *Kilwarlin* had sixtie foote, and ten horse. *Cormack Mac Oneale*, Captaine of *Kilultogh* had sixtie foote and ten horse. *Hugh Mac Murtagh* beyond the Min water had fortie foote. *Shane Mac Brian Carogh* vpon the *Banside*, had fiftie foote, ten horse. *Sir James Mac Surleyboy*, and his Scots, possessing the *Rowt* and the seven *Glynnes*, had foure hundred foote, and one hundred horse. The Iland of *Magee*, belonging to the Earle of *Essex*, was altogether waste. *Mac Guire* in *Fermannagh* had sixe hundred foot, one hundred horse. *Mac Mahowne* in *Monaghan*, and *Euer Mac Coohy* in the *Ferney*, and others of that name in *Clankaruil*, had five hundred foote, one hundred and sixtie horse. The *Oreylies* in the Brenny (or the County of *Canaan*) had eight hundred foot, hundred horse. *Ocane* in his Countrie had five hundred foote, two hundred horse. two *Sir Art Oneale* in *Slenght Art* had three hundred foot, sixtie horse. *Henry Oge* in his Countrie had two hundred foot, and fortie horse. *Turlough Mac Henrie Oneale* in the *Fues*, had three hundred foote, sixty horse. *Ohagan* in his Countrie had one hundred foote, thirtie horse. *Oquin* in his Countrie eightie foote, twentie horse. The *Donnaghes* in their Countrie one hundred foote, sixtie horse. *Mac Can* in *Clancan* one hundred foote, twelue horse. *Tyrone* the Arch-traytor in *Tyrone* seven hundred foot 200 horse. *Carmack Mac Baron* his brother, in his Countrie had three hundred foot and sixtie horse. *Mac Gennis* in *Yuogh* (or *Mac Gennis* Countrie) had two hundred foot, fortie horse. In *Tyrconnel Odonnells* Countrie, *Sir John Odogherty* for his Countrie had three hundred foot, and fortie horse. *Odonnells* sonne in the *Conologhs* Countrie one hundred and fiftie foote, and fiftie horse. *Mac Swine* for his Countrie five hundred foote, and thirtie horse. *Oboyle* for his Countrie one hundred foot and twenty horse. *O Donnel* himselfe in the County of *Donnegal* two hundred foote, sixtie horse. *O Gallo-hore* for his Countrie (in which his chiefe house is *Ballaishannon*) had two hundred foote, fortie horse. *Slenght Rorie* for his Countrie one hundred foote, and fiftie horse. The forces of the Rebels in *Ulster* are in all one thousand seven hundred and two horse, and seven thousand two hundred and twentie foote.

Thirdly, for the Prouince of *Mounster*, In the County of *Tipperary*. The Lord Baron of *Cahir a Butler*, with his brother and followers, had three hundred foote twelue horse. *Edmond Fitzgibbon* called the White Knight (this nickname giuen to one for his gray heares, comming as hereditarie to his posteritie), in his Countrie foure hundred foote, thirtie horse. *Richard Pursell* Baron of *Loughwey* 200 foot, 6 horse. The *Omulrians* three hundred foote, sixe horse. The *Omaighirs* sixtie foote, three horse. The *Okennydages* five hundred foot, thirty horse. The *Burkes* in the Lord *Burkes* Countrie, two hundred foote, foure horse. In the County of *Corke*, *James Fitz-thomas*, the supposed Earle of *Desmond*, two hundred and fify foote, thirtie horse. The Lord of *Dowallough* two hundred foote, eight horse. *Barry Oge*, and the Lord *Barryes* brother in the *Muskerye*, one hundred and twentie foote, three horse. *Dany Burke* in the *Carbrye* five

five hundred foote. In the County of *Limrick*, *Pierce Lacy*, with diuers septs, had three hundred foote, and fifteene horse. In the County of *Kerrie*, the Lord *Fitz Morrice*, *Thomas Oge*, *Iohn Delahyde*, with others, five hundred foote, thirtie horse. In the County of *Desmond*, called *Oswyllian Beare*, and *Oswyllian Mores* Countrie, *Dermot Mac Owen* (vsurping the name of *Mac Arty Moore*) had five hundred foote, six horse. In the County of *Waterford*, the Rebels had two hundred foote, and ten horse. In all the Rebels of this Prouince of *Mounster* were strong five thousand thirtie foote, and two hundred fortie two horse. This number the Earle of *Ormond* iudged to bee the least, and thought the horse one hundred more in number. Obserue, that all the Cities and Port-townes, and almost all the Castles in this Prouince of *Mounster*, and many great Lords and Gentlemen, held for the Queene.

Fourthly and lastly, for the Prouince of *Connaught*; In the County of *Roscommen*, the Castles of *Roscommen*, *Athlone*, *Talske*, *Boyle*, and *Ballineslawe*, were kept at her Majesties charge, and the Rebels of diuers septs had five hundred foote, sixtie horse. In the County of *Sligo*, *O Connor Sligo*, and diuers septs of rebels, had three hundred foot, and thirtie horse, and onely the Castle of *Calony* held for the Queene. *Orworke* in *Leytrim* (called *Ororkes* Countrie) had sixe hundred foote, sixtie horse, and not any Castle was kept for the Queene. In the County of *Maio*, some three Castles lately held for the Queene, but were thought to be rendred vp to *Mac William*, who with his followers had sixe hundred foot, sixtie horse. In the County of *Galloway*, the towne of *Galloway*, of *Athenrie*, and the Castle of *Milech*, held for the Queene, but many septs of the Country were in rebellion, who had some foure hundred ninetie foote. In the County of *Clare*, the Earle of *Thomonds* brother (who first was vpon suspicion committed to prison by the said Earle, and after released), with the *Obryans*, and *Mac Marres*, and other septs, had sixe hundred foote, fiftie horse, and not one Castle was there kept for the Queene. In all, the rebels of this Prouince of *Connaught* were strong three thousand and seuentie foote, two hundred and twentie horse. And the Rebels in all the foure Prouinces were strong eighteene thousand two hundred fortie sixe foote, and two thousand three hundred forty sixe horse.

The Earle of *Essex* in the moneth of Aprill dispatched two letters to the Lords in *England*; by the first whereof he aduertised them of this strength of the rebels; and by the second, that *Tyrone* had in counsell resolved, first, to hearten his confederates, and strengthen them in their dependency on his protection; then to make two heads against the Queenes forces, the one in *Ulster*, of some sixe thousand horse and foote, vnder his owne commaund, and the other in *Connaght* of some foure thousand horse and foote vnder *Odonnells* commaund: and further aduertised their Lordships, that many in *Mounster* had taken a solemne oath at a publike Crosse in that Prouince, to be stedfast in their rebellion. And that no traytor sought pardon, but vsed such insolent behauiour, as might well shew they had no such thought. That the mindes of the very subiects were so alienated from the English, as well for Religion as Gouvernement, as some who could bring one hundred horse, and three hundred foote into the field vpon priuate reuenge, would protest not to be able to serue the State with sixe horse or foote. That euery active borderer had a soliciter with the Rebels, and almost euery one of the greatest in the State had some Rebelle or other to his Client. Concluding, that small or no assistance could be promised from the Irish, so as howsoeuer the Queenes Army was great, yet he durst boldly say, that the playster would doe no more then couer the wound.

After few dayes of rest, good part of the English forces being drawne together, this noble Lord Lieutenant gaue entrance to his first actions, from which the progresse commonly receiueth a kind of ominous luster or staine. And therein hee attempted not the head of the Rebellion, according to his own aduise in *England*, and the Queens expresse commaund, but was induced by some of the Coansell in that State, aiming at their owne priuate interest, more then the publike good, to leade his forces against some few Rebels in *Mounster*, where he tooke the Castle of *Cahir*, belonging to *Edward Butler*, Baron of *Cahir*, and making a great prey of the rebels cattle in those parts,

he cast the terror of his forces on the weakest enemies, whom he scattered and constrained to flie into Woods and Mountaines, to hide themselves.

The fiftieth of Iune, while the Lord Lieutenant was yet in this *Mounster* iourney, he receiued aduertisement from a Captaine, whom he had imployed by sea into the North, to spie out *Tyrone's* actions, that two ships lately come from *Spaine*, had put confidence in *Tyrone*, who went from *Dungannon* to *Loughfoyle* about that businesse, but they brought onely munition, not any treasure. That *Tyrone* had giuen forces to *Brian Mac Art*, sonne to *Art Mac Baron*, that hee might take pledges, and watch ouer *Neale Mac Brian*, whom he suspected, and had charged *Mac Genis* to doe the like ouer *Mac Cartan*, also suspected by him, so as there was no possibilitie to parley with them, according to the instructions giuen by his Lordship. That *Tyrone* kept his great pledges, *Shane Oneales* sonnes, in an Iland, within a strong fastnesse, but as yet had neither gathered at home, nor receiued from forraine parts any treasure. That both *Tyrone* and *Odonnell* had their Agents in the out Iles of *Scotland*, to sollicite the Redshankes to assist them for pay. That the King of *Spaine* had promised them aide of men, which they would not haue landed in *Ulster*, but in some Port of *Mounster*, or at *Galloway* in *Connaght*. That Scots daily carried Munition to them, which trafficke might be hindred by two Gallies with Oares, but no ship vsing sayles could stop their passage. That the grosse of the Northerne Rebels in *Ulster*, and part of *Connaght* drawne together, would be nine thousand foote, and one thousand foure hundred horse. That they were confident to draw the warre into such a length, as should be vnsupportable to the State of *England*. To which end *Odonnell* had hired a Masse of Redshankes, who were to be cessed in *Connaght* and *Mounster*, because *Tyrone*, hauing deadly fewde with some of the chiefe Leaders, durst not trust them in *Ulster*. Besides that vpon arriual of forraine treasure, great multitudes of those Scots were like to flocke vnto them. And to the same end *Tyrone* had made strong fastnesses or intrenchments, as well vpon the passages of *Loughfoyle* and *Balishannon*, (where he left forces to resist the *English* Garrisons to be sent thither), as at the *Blackewater*, and *Ballinemoyree*, himselfe purposing to meet the *English* Army in the woods of *Ballinemoyree*, betweene *Dundalke* and the *Newry*, where he hoped to make some of the best to drop, and after to fall backe at his pleasure to like fights of aduantage, which he had prepared at the *Blackewater*. So as the onely meanes suddenly to breake those rebels, was to hier 4000. Redshankes, to breake in vpon them, (by aduantage of their rowing boates) into the heart of *Tyrone*, betweene these intrenchments, where they might easily take from him all his wealth, consisting in cattell, and there intrench themselves, and in despite of all *Tyrone's* forces, be supplied with all necessaries from the *Scottish* Ilands. And indeed to this purpose, the Lord *Bourgh*, if he had not beene preuented by sudden death, had contracted with those Scots, promising 4000. men for the first moneths pay, 1200. pound, the chiefe Leader a Colonels pay, and certaine Captaines the pay of a Captaine of 100. men. After which moneth, their Septs were to be cessed for their victuals, vpon such countreys, as they must haue fought with the Rebels for euery morsell: Namely, the sons of *Agnus mac Connell* with their Sept, vpon the Route, the *Glinnes*, and North *Clandeboy*, who for the pretence they had to inherite that Countrey, would prosecute *James mac Surley*, the possessor thereof to the vttermost. *Donnel Grome* and his Sept, vpon *Yuogh*, being *Mac Genis* his Countrey. The *Mac Lanes* and their Sept, vpon the South *Clandeboy*, and the *Duffren*. All which Septs were to put in pledges to the Lord *Bourgh*, not to prey any vnder the *Queenes* protection, and to depart the Kingdom, when his Lordship should please no longer to make vse of their seruice.

The five and twenty of Iune, during the said *Mounster* iourney, the Lord Lieutenant wrote vnto the *Queene* this Letter following.

VVhen this shall come to your Maiesties hands, I know not; but whensoever it hath that Honour, giue it leaue (I humbly beseech your Maiesty) to tell you, that hauing now passed through the Prouinces of *Lemster* and *Mounster*, and been vpon the Frontire of *Connaght*, (where the *Gouernour* and the chiefe of the Prouince were

were with me); I dare begin to giue your Maieſty ſome aduertifement of the ſtate of this Kingdome, not as before by heare-ſay, but as I beheld it with mine owne eyes. The people in generall haue able bodies by nature, and haue gotten by cuſtome ready uſe of armes, and by their late ſucceſſes boldnes to fight with your Maieſties troopes. In their pride they value no man but themſelues, in their affections they loue nothing but idleneſſe and licentiousneſſe, in their rebellion they haue no other end, but to ſhake off the yoke of obedience to your Maieſty; and to root out all remembrance of the Engliſh Nation in this Kingdome. I ſay this of the people in generall; for I find not onely the greater part thus affected, but that it is a generall quarrell of the Iriſh, and they who doe not profeſſe it, are either ſo few, or ſo falſe, that there is no accompt to be made of them. The Iriſh Nobility and Lords of Countreys, doe not onely in their hearts affect this plauſible quarrell, and are diuided from vs in religion, but haue an eſpeciall quarrell to the Engliſh gouernement, becauſe it limiteth and tieth them, who euer haue bene, and euer would be as abſolute Tyrants, as any are vnder the Sunne. The Townes, being inhabited by men of the ſame religion and birth as the reſt, are ſo carried away with the loue of gaine, that for it; they will furniſh the rebels with all things that may arme them; or inable them againſt the State, or againſt themſelues. The wealth of the Kingdome, which conſiſteth in cattle, oate-meale, and other victuals, is almoſt all in the Rebels hands, who in euery Prouince, till my comming, haue bene Maſters of the field. The expectation of all theſe Rebels is very preſent, and very confident, that *Spain* will either ſo inuade your Maieſty, that you ſhall haue no leiſure to proſecute them here, or ſo ſuccour them, that they will get moſt of the Townes into their hands, ere your Maieſty ſhall relieue and reinforce your Army. So that now if your Maieſty reſolue to ſubdue theſe Rebels by force, they are ſo many, and ſo framed to be Souldiers, that the warre of force will be great, coſtly, and long. If your Maieſty will ſeek to breake them by factions amongſt themſelues, they are couetous and mercenary, and muſt be purchaſed, and their Ieſuites and practiſing Priests, muſt be hunted out and taken from them, which now doe fodder them ſo faſt, and ſo cloſe together. If your Maieſty will haue a ſtrong party in the Iriſh Nobility, and make uſe of them, you muſt hide from them all purpoſe of eſtabliſhing Engliſh gouernement, till the ſtrength of the Iriſh be ſo broken, that they ſhall ſee no ſafety but in your Maieſties protection. If your Maieſty will be aſſured of the poſſeſſion of your Townes, and keepe them from ſupplying the wants of the Rebels; you muſt haue garrifons brought into them, able to command them, and make it a capital offence for any Merchant in *Ireland*, to trade with the Rebels, or buy or ſell any armes or munition whatſoeuer. For your good ſubiects may haue for their mony out of your Maieſties ſtore, that which ſhall be appointed by order, and may ſerue for their neceſſary defence, whereas if once they be tradable, the Rebels will giue ſuch extreme and exceſſiue prices, that they will neuer bee kept from them. If your Maieſty will ſecure this your Realme from the danger of inuaſion, aſſoone as thoſe which direct & mannage your Maieſties intelligences, giue notice of the preparations and readineſſe of the enemy, you muſt be aſwell armed, and provided for your defence: which prouiſion, conſiſts in hauing forces vpon the Coaſt, inroled and trained, in hauing Magazines of victuall in your Maieſties Weſt and North-weſt parts, ready to be transported; and in hauing ſhips both of warre and transportation, which may carry and waſt them both, vpon the firſt allarum of a diſcent. The enrolling and training of your ſubiects, is no charge to your Maieſties owne coſers: The prouiſing of Magazines, will neuer be any loſſe, for in uſing them, you may ſaue a Kingdome, and if you uſe them not, you may haue your old ſtore ſold, and (if it be well handled) to your Maieſties profit. The arming of your Maieſties ſhips, when you heare your enemy armes to the Sea, is agreeable to your owne prouident and Princely courſes, and to the pollicy of all Princes and ſtates of the World. But to returne to *Ireland* againe, as I haue ſhewed your Maieſty the dangers and diſaduantages, which your ſeruants and Miniſters here ſhall and doe meete withall, in this great worke of reducing this Kingdome. So I will now (as well as I can) repreſent to your Maieſtie your ſtrengths and aduantages. Firſt, theſe Rebels are

neither able to force any walled Towne, Castle, or House of strength, nor to keepe any that they get, so that while your Maiesty keeps your Army in strength and vigor, you are vndoubtedly Mistresse of all townes and holds whatsoever. By which meanes (if your Maiesty haue good Ministers) all the wealth of the Land shall be drawne into the hands of your subiects; your soldiers in the winter shall be safely lodged, & readily supplied of any wants, and we that command your Maiesties forces, may make the warre offensive and defensive, may fight and be in safety, as occasion is offered. Secondly, your Maiesties Horsemen, are so incomparably better then the rebels; and their foot are so vnwilling to fight in battell or grosse; (howsoever they be desirous to skirmish and fight loose); that your Maiesty may be alwaies Mistresse of the champion Countries, which are the best parts of this Kingdome. Thirdly, your Maiesty victualling your Army out of *England*, and with your Garrisons burning and spoiling the Countrey in all places, shall starue the Rebelle in one yeere, because no place els can supply them. Fourthly, since no warre can be made without Munition, and munition this Rebelle cannot haue, but from *Spain*, *Scotland*, or your owne Townes here, if your Maiesty will still continue your Ships and Pinaces vpon the Coast, and be pleased to send a Printed Proclamation, that vpon paine of death no Merchant, Townes-man, or other Subiect, doe trafficke with the Rebelle, or buy or sell in any sort any kinde of Munition or Armes, I doubt not, but in short time I shall make them bankerout of their old store, and I hope our Seamen will keepe them from receiuing any new. Fifthly, your Maiesty hath a rich store of gallant Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of quality, whose example and execution is of more vse, then all the rest of your troopes; whereas the men of best qualitie among the rebels, which are their Leaders, and their horsemen, dare neuer put themselues to any hazard, but send their Kerne, and their hirelings to fight with your Maiesties Troopes; so that although their common souldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to stand before such gallant men as will charge them. Sixthly, your Maiesties Commanders being aduised and exercised, know all aduantages, and by the strength of their order, will in all great fights beate the rebels. For they neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship, can come on, and goe off at their pleasure, which makes them attend a whole day, still skirmishing, and neuer engaging themselues. So that it hath been euer the fault and weakenesse of your Maiesties Leaders, whensoever you haue receiued any blow. For the rebels doe but watch and attend vpon all grosse ouersights. Now if it please your Maiestie to compare your aduantages and disadvantages together, you shall finde, that though these Rebels are more in number then your Maiesties Array, and haue (though I doe vnwillingly confesse it) better bodies, and perfecter vse of their Armes, then those men which your Maiestie sends ouer; yet your Maiestie, commanding the walled Townes, Holdes, and Champion Countries, and hauing a braue Nobilitie and Gentry, a better Discipline, and stronger order then they, and such means to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and to waste the Countrey, which should nourish them, your Maiestie may promise your selfe, that this action will (in the end) be successfull, though costly, and that your Victorie will be certaine, though many of vs your honest seruants must sacrifice our selues in the quarrell, and that this Kingdome will be reduced, though it will aske (besides cost) a great deale of care, industry, and time. But why doe I talke of victorie, or of success? is it not knowne, that from *England* I receiue nothing but discomforts and soules wounds? Is it not spoken in the Army, that your Maiesties fauour is diuerted from me, and that already you do boad it both to me and it? Is it not beleued by the Rebels, that those whom you fauour most, doe more hate me out of faction, then them out of dutie or conscience? Is it not lamented of your Maiesties faithfulllest subiects both there and here, that a *Cobham*, or a *Raleigh* (I will forbear others for their places sake) should haue such credit and fauour with your Maiestie, when they with the ill success of your Maiesties most important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfulllest seruants? Yes, yes, I see both my owne destiny, and your Maiesties decree, and doe willingly imbrace the one, and

and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome life, let others live in deceitfull and vnconstant pleasure; let me beare the brunt, and die meritoriously; let others achieve and finish the worke, and live to erect Trophies. But my prayer shall be, that when my Soueraigne looseth mee, her Army may not loose courage, or this Kingdome want phisicke, or her dearest Selfe misse *Essex*, and then I can neuer goe in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I protest before God and his Angels, that I am a true Votarie, that is sequestred from all things but my duty and my charge; I performe the vttermost of my bodies, mindes and fortunes abilitie, and more should, but that a constant care and labor agrees not with an inconstant health, in an vnwholesome and vncertaine clymate. This is the hand of him, that did live your dearest, and will die,

Your Maiesties faithfulllest seruant

Essex.

Towards the end of Iuly his Lord. brought back his forces into *Lemster*, the souldiers being wearie, sicke, and vncredibly diminished in number, and himselfe returned to *Dublin*. All that his Lord. had done in this iourney, besides the scattering of the Rebels weake troopes, was the taking of *Cahir* Castle, and receiuing the L. of *Cahir*, the L. *Roche* and some others into her Maiesties Protection, who after his departure did either openly fall againe to the rebels party, or secretly combine with them. While his Lord. was in this iourney, some 600 men left in the *Glinnes*, by the vnskillfulnesse of some young Captaines and souldiers, and the ill affection of some Irish Officers, received a disgracefull blow from the *Oburns*, whereupon his Lord. now seuerely punished their fault, disarming the souldiers, and executing the tenth man, calling the Captaines to a Martiall Court, and discharging them, and condemning to bee shot to death an Irish Lieutenant, who had parlied with the Rebels, and was thought to haue animated them. Then his Lord. vnderstanding that the Queene was much offended with this *Mounster* iourney, he cast in his letters the fault on the Counsell of *Ireland*, whose aduise, by reason of their long experience in those warres, he thought fittest to follow, at his first entry, but withal gaue her Maieesty full assurance that he would presently leade the Army into *Ulster* against *Tyrone* himselfe. Yet these letters were scarce deliuered, when by others he signified a necessity of a iourney into *Ophalia* and *Leax* neere *Dublin*, against the *Ocobnors* and *Omores*, whom he brake with ease, himselfe leading some 1500 into *Ophalia*, & sending Sir *Christopher Blunt* the Marshal into *Leax* with 1000 men vnder the command of Sir *Charles Percy* and Sir *Richard Moryson*. Then at his returne, taking a view of the Army, he found it so weakened, as by letters signed by himselfe and the Counsell there, hee desired a supplie of 1000 foot out of *England*, to inable him presently to vndertake the *Ulster* iourney.

Thus resolved to march Northward, he commaunded Sir *Conyers Clifford*, Gouvernour of *Cobnaght* to draw his forces vp to *Belske*, that hee might force *Tyrone* to lend some of his forces that way, while he assailed him on the other side. Sir *Conyers Clifford* accordingly marched this way with one thousand foure hundred foote by Pole, and the Earle of *Southampton*s Troop of one hundred horse, vnder the leading of Captaine *John Iephson*, with some other Irish horse: & comming to the *Carlew* mountains he left the munition and carriages vnder the guard of the horse, til he passing forward with the Foote had tried the passage. He had not gone farre, before *Orooke* and other rebels with him, vpon the aduantage of Woods, Bogges, and a stony causay, assailed our men, who at the first valiantly repelled them, till the rebels finding the munition our men had about them beginning to faile, renewed the charge with greater fury then before; at which time our men, discouraged with the want of powder, (almost all they had about them being spent, and their store being behind with the carriage), as also wearied with a long march they had made before the skirmish, began to faint, and take themselves to flight, whom the rebels pursued, & killed some one hundred and twenty in the place, among which the Gouvernour Sir *Conyers Clifford*, and a worthy Captaine Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, were lost, besides as many more hurt, whereof the greatest part recovered. And no doubt the rest had all perished, if the Horse had not valiantly

ly succored them. For the Lord of *Dunkellyn* (who that day had most valiantly behaved himselfe) sent word to Captaine *Iohn Iephson* of their distresse, who presently charged vpon the causay, and to the very skirts of the Wood, with such resolution, as the rebels either thinking Horse could not haue serued there, or expecting aduantages vpon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them, and gaue way, without any resistance for a good space, in which our men had leasure to retire ouer a Ford, into the Plaine, where the carriages were, and thence to the Abby of the *Boyle*, being very neere the place. Afterwards the rebels began to charge our Horse, but their powder being almost spent, Captaine *Iephson* safely retyred, with the losse of some few horses. In a Consultation, some were earnest to haue marched forward the next day: but the Lord of *Dunkellin*, Sir *Arthur Sauage*, Captain *Iohn Iephson*, and many of the best iudgement, considering the Gouvernor was lost, our troopes vtterly dismaied, and *Odonnel* come downe with all his forces into those parts, thought fit our men should retire to their Garrisons. So Captaine *Iephson* all that night kept the Ford, while our Foote in the silent night retired, and in the morning when they were in safetie, hee with the Horse vnder his command went softly after them to the Castle of *Athlone*. It is strange, the rebels then present being but some two hundred, and most of our men being old soldiers, how this defeate could be giuen, but small accidents in militarie affaires, are often causes of strange and great euent: for I haue heard this mischance fully attributed to an vnorderly turning of the whole body of the Van; which though it were toward the enemy, yet being mistaken by some common souldiers for a flight, it caused a generall rowte.

In the meane time the foresaid supply of one thousand foote was sent out of *England* to the Lord Lieutenant, according to his and the Counsels request. But few daies after, his Lordship signified by his letters into *England*, that he could doe no more this season of the yeere, then to draw thirteene hundred Foote, and three hundred horse to the borders of *Ulster*. Whether he came about the Ides of September, and *Tyrone* two dayes together shewed himselfe and his troopes vpon distant hilles, to the English. Then *Tyrone* sent *Hagan* to the Lord Lieutenant, to intreat a Parly betweene his Lordship and him; which his Lordship refused, answering, that if *Tyrone* would speak with him, he should find him next day in Armes, in the head of the Army. The next day, after a light skirmish, one of *Tyrones* horsemen cried with a loud voice, that *Tyrone* would not fight, but would speake with the Lord Lieutenant, and that vnarmed, and both withdrawne aside from the forces. The next day, when his Lordship marched forwards, *Hagan* met him againe, and declared to him, that *Tyrone* besought the Queenes mercy, and that he would vouchsafe to speake one word with him, which granted, he would in all humbleness attend his Lordship at the Foard *Balla-clinch*, neere the chiefe Towne of the County of *Louth*. His Lordship sent some before, to view the Foard, who found *Tyrone* there, and hee assured them, that howsoeuer the waters were something risen, yet they might easily heare one another from each side. His Lordship being come thither, *Tyrone* leauing a troope of horse vpon a hill not far off, came downe alone, and putting his horse vpon the belly in the water, with al humbleness saluted his Lordship standing on the other banke, and there they passed many speeches. Then *Tyrone* called his brother *Cormack*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guire*, *Euer Mac Couley*, *Henrie Ovington*, and *O Quin*, to the Foard, the Lord Lieutenant hauing first called the Earle of *South-hampton*, Sir *George Bourcher*, Sir *Warham Sant Leger*, Sir *Henrie Dauers*, Sir *Edward Wingfeld*, and Sir *William Constable*, to come downe. *Tyrone* very Courtly saluted each one, and after short conference, it was concluded, that the next day Commissioners, should meete to treat of Peace, and they made a mutuall Truce from that day for sixe weekes, and so from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, till the Callends of May, with caution, that it should bee free to either side, vpon foureteene dayes warning first giuen, to renew the warre. And if any of the Earle of *Tyrones* confederates should not assent hereunto, hee left them to bee prosecuted, by the Lord Lieutenant.

By this time the Queene had receiued his Lordships last letters aboue mentioned, signifying

signifying that he could onely for this winter, draw to the confines of *Ulster*, with one thousand three hundred foot and three hundred horse; At which time, to iustifie his resolution, he sent the iudgement of the chiefe Commanders of the Army, subscribed with their hands, dated the one twentieth of August, that for that time more could not be enterprised for these reasons; that the Army was vnwilling to bee drawne towards *Ulster*, so as many ran away from their Colours; that many were sicke; that no Plantation could be made this yeere at *Loughfoyle*, nor any course taken to diuert *Tyrone's* forces; that the *Connaght* Army was defeated; that his Lordships Army had not aboute foure thousand able men at the most; that these were vnable to stand against the rebels, being six thousand shot, and lying within strong intrenchments; that much lesse any strong Garrisons could bee left in the North, and a safe retreit made; And lastly, that those Garrisons, if they could bee left there, would more endanger the English (being continually to supply them with vittles in winter time) then annoy the rebels. Her Maiestie being highly offended, that so royall an Army, maintained with her excessiue charge, had in sixe moneths effected nothing, and now gaue no hope of any important seruice to be done against the rebels, wrote a sharpe letter to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Counsell of *Ireland*, as followeth.

Elizabeth Regina.

By the Queene.

Right trusty and right well beloued Cosen and Councillor, and trusty and welbeloued, We greet you well. Hauing sufficiently declared vnto you before this time, how little the manner of your proceedings hath answered, either our direction, or the worlds expectation. And finding now by your letters by *Cusse*, a course more strange, if stranger may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build vpon by your owne writings to vs in any thing. For we haue clearly discerned of late, that you haue euer to this hower possessed vs with expectations, that you would proceede as we directed you. But your actions shew alwaies the contrary, though carried in such sort, as you were sure we had no time to countermaund them.

Before your departure, no mans counsell was held sound, which perswaded not presently the maine prosecution in *Ulster*, all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation, of so many thousands to be carried ouer with you, as when you arriued we were charged with more then the liste, or which wee resolved, to the number of three hundred horse; Also the thousand which were onely to be in pay during the seruice in *Ulster*, haue been put in charge euerr since the first iourney. The pretence of which voyage, as appeareth by your letters, was to doe some present seruice, in the *Interim*, whilst the season grew more commodious for the maine prosecution; for the which purpose, you did importune with great earnestnesse, that all manner of prouisions might be hastned to *Dublin* against your returne.

Of this resolution to deferre your going into *Ulster*, you may well thinke that wee would haue made stay, if you had giue vs more time, or if we could haue imagined by the contents of your owne writings, that you would haue spent nine weekes abroad. At your returne, when a third part of Iuly was past, and that you had vnderstood our mislike of your former course, and making your excuse of vndertaking it onely in respect of your conformitie to the Councils opinions, with great protestations of haste into the North, we receiued another letter, of new reasons to suspend that iourney yet a while, and to draw the Army into *Ophalia*. The fruit whereof was no other at your comming home, but more relations of further miseries of your Army, and greater difficulties to performe the *Ulster* warre. Then followed from you and the Councill a new demaund of two thousand men to which if we would assent, you would speedily vndertake what wee had so often commanded. When that was granted, and your going onward promised by diuers letters, wee receiued by this bearer now fresh aduertisement, that all you can doe, is to goe to the frontier, and that you haue prouided only for twentie daies victuals. In which kinde of proceeding, wee

*Camden
saith onely
one thousand.*

must

must deale plainely with you & that Councell, that it were more proper for them, to leaue troubling themselves with instructing vs, by what rules our power & their obedience are limited, & to bethink them, if the courses haue bin only deriued from their Counsels, how to answere this part of theirs, to traine vs into a new expence for one end, and imploy it vpon another; to which we could neuer haue assented, if we could haue suspected it should haue beene vndertaken, before we heard it was in action. And therefore we doe wonder how it can be answered, seeing your attempt is not in the capitall Traytors Countrey, that you haue increased our list: but it is true as we haue often saied, that we are drawne on to expence, by little and little, and by protestations of great resolutions in generalities, till they come to particular execution. Of all which courses, whosoever shall examine any of the arguments vsed for excuse, shall find, that your owne proceedings beget the difficulties, and that no iust causes doe breed the alteration. If lacke of numbers, if sicknesse of the army be the causes, why was not the action vndertaken, when the Army was in better state, if winters approach: why were the summer moneths of Iuly and August lost? if the spring was too soone, and the summer that followed otherwise spent, if the haruest that succeeded was so neglected, as nothing hath beene done, then surely must we conclude, that none of the foure quarters of the yeere will be in season for you and that Councell, to agree of *Tyrone's* prosecution, for which all our charge was intended. Further we require you to consider, whether we haue not great cause to thinke, that the purpose is not to end the warre, when your selfe haue so often told vs, that all the petty vndertakings in *Lemster*, *Mounster*, and *Cennaght*, are but losse of time, consumption of treasure, and waste of our people, vntill *Tyrone* himselfe be first beaten, on whom the rest depend. Doe you not see, that he maketh the warre with vs in all parts by his Ministers, seconding all places where any attempts be offered: who doth not see, that if this course be continued, the warres are like to spend vs and our Kingdome beyond all moderation, as well as the report of the successe in all parts hath blemished our Honour, and incouraged others to no smal proportion. We know you cannot so much fayle in iudgement, as not to vnderstand, that all the World seeth, how time is dallied, though you thinke the allowance of that Councell, whose subscriptions are your Ecchoes, should serue and satisfie vs. How would you haue derided any man else, that should haue followed your steps? How often haue you told vs, that others which preceded you, had no intent to end the warre? How often haue you resolved vs, that vntill *Loughfoyle* and *Ballisshannon* were planted, there could be no hope of doing seruice vpon the capitall Rebels? We must therefore let you know, that as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of meanes, for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample then euer any had, or euer shall haue. It may well be iudged, with how little contentment, wee search out this and other errors: for who doth willingly seeke for that, which they are so loth to find, but how should that be hidden which is so palpable? And therefore to leaue that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy matters of weight hereafter, rather then to fill your papers with many impertinent arguments, being in your generall Letters, sauouring still in many points of humours, that concerne the priuate of you our Lord Liefetenant; we doe tell you plainely, that are of that Councell, that we wonder at your indiscretion, to subscribe to Letters which concerne our publike seruice, when they are mixed with any mans priuate, and directed to our Councell Table, which is not to handle things of small importance.

To conclude, if you will say, though the Army be in list twenty thousand, that you haue them not, we answere then to our Treasurer, that we are ill serued; and that there need not so frequent demands of full pay: If you will say the Muster-master is to blame, we much muse then why he is not punished, though say we might to you our Generall, if we would *Ex Iure proprio iudicare*, that all defects by Ministers, yea though in neuer so remote Garrisons, haue beene affirmed to vs, to deserue to be imputed to the want of care of the Generall. For the small proportion you say you carry with you of three thousand five hundred foot; when lately we augmented you two thousand

thousand more. It is to Vs past comprehension, except it be that you have left still too great numbers in vnneccessarie Garrisons, which doe increase our charge, and diminish your Army, which Vve command you to reforme; especially since you, by your continuall reports of the state of euery Prouince, describe them all to be in worse condition, then euer they were before you set foote in that Kingdome. So that whosoever shal write the story of this yeeres action, must say, that We were at great charges to hazard Our Kingdome, and you haue taken great paines to prepare for many purposes, which perish without vnderstanding. And therefore because Vve see now by your own words, that the hope is spent of this yeeres seruice vpon *Tyrone* and *O'Donnell*, We doe command you and our Councell, to fall into present deliberation, and thereupon to send Vs ouer in writing, a true declaration of the State to which you haue brought our Kingdome, and what be the effects which this iourney hath produced, and why these Garrisons which you will plant farre within the land in *Brenny* and *Monaghan*, as others whereof Vve haue written, shall haue the same difficulties.

Secondly, Vve looke to heare from you and them ioynly, how you thinke the remainder of this yeere shal be imployed, in what kind of warre, and where, and in what numbers, which being done and sent Vs hither in writing with al expedition, you shal then vnderstand Our pleasure in all things fit for our seruice, vntill which time, Vve command you to be very carefull to meete with all inconueniences, that may arise in that Kingdome, where the ill affected will grow insolent vpon Our ill successe, and the good subiects grow desperate, when they see the best of Our preserving them.

We haue seene a writing in forme of a cartell, full of challenges that are impertinent, and of comparisons that are needlesse, such as hath not been before this time presented to a State, except it be done now with a hope to terrifie all men, from censuring your proceedings. Had it not bin enough to haue sent Vs the testimony of the Councell, but that you must call so many of those, that are of slender experience, and none of Our Councell, to such a forme of subscription. Surely howsoever you may haue warranted them, Wee doubt not but to let them know, what belongs to Vs, to you, and to themselves. And thus expecting your answere, Vve ende, at Our Mannor of *Nonfuch* the fourteenth of September, in the one and fortieth yeere of Our Raigne, 1599.

The Lord Lieutenant being nettled, or rather galled with this letter, resolved to leave *Adam Loftus* the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and *Sir George Cary* Treasurer at Warres, to gouerne the Kingdome in his absence, and presently sayling into England, posted to the Court, where altogether vnlooked for, he arriued the eight and twentieth of September, and presented himselfe on his knees to the Queene, early in the morning, being in her private chamber, who receiued him not with that chearefull countenance, which she was wont to shew him, but after a briebe conference, commanded him to retire to his chamber, and there to stay, vntill hee knew her further pleasure; from whence his Lordships next remoue, was to the Lord Keepers house, in state of a prisoner.

The list of the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome, and the Army, and the disposall of the forces made in September, 1599, when the Lord Lieutenant left the Kingdome.

Officers and Gouernours.

Lord Lieutenant the Earle of *Essex*. Lord President of *Mounster* void by the death of *Sir Thomas Norreys*. Place of chiefe Commissioner of *Connaght* void or provisionall Lieutenant of the Army Earle of *Ormond*. Treasurer at Warres *Sir George Carey*. The Marshals place of *Ireland* void. Master of the Ordinance *Sir George Bourcher*. Marshall of the Campe provisionally *Sir Oliuer Lambert*. Lieutenant of the Horse *Sir Henrie Dauers*. Serieant Maior *Sir Arthur Chichester*.

Ff

Colonels

Colonels of Horſe.

Sir William Euers. Sir Griffin Markham.

Colonels of Foote.

Earle of Kildare. Earle of Thomond. Lord of Dunkellin. Lord Audley. Lord Dany. Sir Edward Denny. Sir Matthew Morgan. Sir Charles Piercy. Sir Henry Dockwra. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. Sir John Bolles. Sir Edward Harbert. Sir Charles Wilmott. Sir Henrie Power. Sir Arthur Sauage.

Foure Corporals and a Prouost-Marshall of the Army.

The disposall of the forces.

Horſe in Mounſter.

The Earle of Thomond, 25. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Sir Warham Saint Leger, 25. Captaine Thomas White, 50.

Foote in Mounſter.

Earle of Thomond, 200. Master Treasurer, 100. Sir Henrie Harington, 100. Sir Henry Power, 200. Sir Edward Denny, 150. Sir Anthony Cooke, 100. Sir Charles Wilmott, 150. Sir Francis Barkley, 100. Sir John Dowdal, 100. Captaine William Power, 150. Captaine Clare, 150. Captaine Browne, 100. Captaine Keamys, 100. Captaine Beſtock, 100. Captaine Brooke, 100. Captaine Rande, 100. Captaine Flower, 100. Captaine Diggs, 100. Captaine William Tirwhit, 150. Captaine Parker, 100. Captaine William Hartpoole, 100. Captaine Francis Kingſmil, 100.

Horſe in Connaght.

Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Prouost Marshall, 10. Sir Theobald Dillon, 15. Captaine George Blunt, 12.

Foote in Connaght.

Earle of Clanrickard, 100. Lord of Dunkellyn, 150. Sir Arthur Sauage, 200. Sir Thomas Bourke, 100. Sir Gerrald Haruy, 150. Sir Hugh O Connor, 100. Sir Theobald Dillon, 100. Captaine Badbye, 150. Captaine Richard Pluncket, 100. Captaine Moſtion, 100. Captaine Tibot ne long, 100. Captaine Walter Floyd, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. Captaine Oliuer Burke, 100. Captaine Thomas Burke, 100. Captaine David Bourke, 100.

Horſe at Carickfergus.

Neale Mac Hugh, 30.

Foote at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chicheſter, 200. Sir Richard Percy, 150. Captaine Eington, 100. Captaine Norton, 100.

Horſe at the Newry.

Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50.

Foote at the Newrie.

Sir Samuel Bagnoll, 200. Captaine Edward Blaney, 150. Captaine Freckleton, 100. Captaine Iofias Bodley, 150. Captaine Francis Stafford, 100. Captaine Toby Camfeild, 150. Captaine Leigh, 100.

Foote at Dundalke.

Captaine Egerton, 100. Captaine Bingley, 150. Captaine Baſſet, 100.

Foote

Foote at *Atherde*.

Sir Garret Moore, 100. Captaine Roe, 100.

Horse at *Kells and Nawan*.Lord of *Dunsany*, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25.Foote at *Kells and Nawan*.

Lord *Audley*, 200. Lord *Dunsany*, 150. Sir *Fulk Conway*, 150. Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*, 200. Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 200. Sir *John Chamberlaine*, 150. Captaine *John Sidney*, 100. Captaine *Ralph Sydley*, 100. Captaine *Roger Atkinson*, 100. Captaine *Heath*, 150. Captaine *Nelson*, 100. Captaine *Hugh Rely*, 100.

Horse at *Trym*.Sir *Griffin Markham*, 50.Foote at *Trym*.Sir *Charles Piercy*, 200. Captaine *Roger Orme*, 100. Captaine *Alford*, 100.Foote at *Leax and the Barow side*.

Sir *Warham Saint Leger*, 150. Sir *Francis Rush*, 150. Captaine *John Fitz-Piers*, 150. Master *Hartpoole*, 10.

Foote at *Eniscorthy*.Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, 200. Sir *Richard Master son*, 150.Horse in and about the *Nasse*.

The Earle of *Kildare*, 50. Captaine *Richard Greame*, 50. Captaine *Thomas Gifford*, 2. Captaine *George Greame*, 12. Captaine *Thomas Lee*, 12.

Foote in and about the *Nasse*.

Earle of *Kildare*, 150. The Earle of *Southampton*, 200. Sir *Matthew Morgan*, 150. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100. Captaine *Walter Mac Edmond*, 100. Captaine *Edward Loftus*, 100. Captaine *Thomas Williams*, 150. Captaine *Thomas Lee*, 100. Captaine *William Euface*, 100. Captaine *Esmond*, 150. Captaine *John Master son*, 100. Captaine *Ellys Flood*, 100. Captaine *R. Treñor*, 100.

Foote at *Mullingar*.

The Lord of *Deluin*, 150. Captaine *Thomas Mynne*, 100. Captaine *Williams Stafford*, 100. Captaine *Lionel Ghest*, 100. Captaine *William Winsor*, 100. Captaine *Thomas Cooche*, 100. Captaine *Garret Dillon*, 100.

Foote in *Ophaly*.

Sir *Henrie Cooly*, 20. Sir *Henry Warren*, 100. Sir *Edward Fitz-gerald*, 100. Sir *George Cooly*, 20.

Horse at *Kilkenny*.

The Earle of *Ormond*, 50. Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, 25. Sir *Walter Butler*, 50. Sir *Cristopher Saint Laurence*, 30. Captaine *Garret Fleming*, 25. Captaine *William Taffe*, 50.

Foote at *Kilkenny*.

The Earle of *Ormond*, 200. Sir *Carew Reynel*, 150. Sir *Henrie Follyot*, 150. Captaine *Richard Croft*, 100. Captaine *Henry Sheffeld*, 100. Captaine *Nicholas Pinner*, 100.

Foote at *Ballymore, and O Carrols Countrie*.Captaine *Francis Shane*, 100. Captaine *Edward Lister*, 100. Sir *Charles O Carrol*, 100.Horse and Foote at *Newcastle*.Sir *William Warren*, 50 horse. Sir *William Warren*, 100 foote.

Foote at *Athboy* and *Phillipstown*.

Sir *Richard Moryson*, 200. Sir *George Bourcher*, 100.

Foote at *Dublin*.

Sir *Henrie Foulkes*, commanding the Lord Lieutenants Guard, 200.

Horse at *Fingall*, and the *Nauan*.

Sir *William Euers*, 100. The Earle of *Southampton* troope, commanded by Cap-
taine *Iohn Iephson*, 100. Sir *Henry Dauers*, 100.

Horse in the Countie of *Dublin*.

Sir *Henrie Harrington*, 25. Sir *Edward Herbert*, 12. Sir *Gerald Aylemer*, 13. *Mur-
rough Mac Teig Oge*, 10.

Foote vndisposed.

Sir *Iohn Talbot*, 22.

Totall of Horse, one thousand two hundred thirtie one.

Totall of Foote, fourteene thousand foure hundred twenty two.

The foresaid Lords Iustices being left to gouerne *Ireland*, vpon the Lord Lieutenants sudden departure, did easily rule the vnweldy Helme of this Kingdome so long, as the Sea was caline, by the continuance of that truce formerly mentioned to bee made, betweene the Lord Lieutenant and *Tyrone*, which was then concluded for sixe weekes, and so from sixe to sixe weekes, till the Calends of *May*, except either of them should giue fourteene daies warning of their purpose to breake the same. But about the beginning of December, *Tyrone*s party entring into acts of hostility, the Lords Iustices sent Sir *William Warren*, to expostulate with him the cause of this breach. He answered, that he had not broken the Truce, hauing (according to the condition thereof) given them fourteene dayes warning. And that he had so done, because the Earle of *Essex* being imprisoned in *England*, in whom he had placed all the confidence of his life and estate, he was resolu'd not to relye on the Councell of that Kingdome, who had formerly delt deceitfully with him therein. Finally, that he could not now renew the truce, though hee neuer so much desired it, since hee had already sent *Odonnel* into *Connaght*, and diuers of his confederates into other parts to renew the warre.

Thus much their Lordships aduertised into *England*, by letters full of diffidence, professing that they feared the rebels would presently assault the English Pale. Likewise some ill affected to the Earle of *Essex*, aduertised, that among the Rebels a common rumor was spread, and that no doubt from *Tyrone*, that *England* would shortly be in combustion within it selfe, which increased the suspitions already conceined of the foresaid conference had betweene the Earle and *Tyrone*, to the great preiudice of the Earle being in durance.

Now her Maiestie receiuing these aduertisements, and further vnderstanding, that the rebels daily increased in number and courage, that the meere Irish aspired to liberty, and that the English Irish, if perhaps well affected, yet were daunted by the ill successe of the Quenes affaires, (whose great expences, and Royall Army they had seene vanish into smoke), and were besides exasperated with an old grieffe, to be excluded themselves from the Gouvernement, while English Deputies were daily sent to command them. And hauing intelligence, that *Tyrone* full of pride, did euery where boast himselfe as Champion of the Irish Liberty and Romish Religion (euery where reciting to his protection, and cherishing all seditious persons, helping the weake with succours, confirming the diffident with strong hopes), and that he was growne confident to roote out the English Gouvernement, as well by former successes, as by the succour of the King of *Spaine*, (who already had sent him some munition and a little mony, with bragging promises of greater supplies), and by the faire promises and large indulgences sent from the Pope, with a Crowne of Phoenix fethers (perhaps in imitation of Pope *Vrbane* the third, who sent *Iohn*, the sonne to King *Henry* the second, then made Lord of *Ireland*, a little Crowne wouen of Peacocks feathers.)

Her Maiestie (I say) hauing these aduertisements, & finding thereby, that it was high time

time, to make strong opposition to this rebellious monster, made choice of *Charles Blount*, Lord *Mountjoy* to be Deputy of *Ireland*, whom her Highnesse had the last yeere purposed to imploy in that place: At which time, the Earle of *Essex*, though linked in neere friendship with him, yet secretly opposed this her Maiesties determination, alleging that the Lord *Mountjoy* had small experience in martiall affaires, saue that he had gained in the small time he serued in the Low Countries, adding that he was too bookish, and had too few followers, and too small an estate, to imbrace so great a businesse. So as the Earle not obscurely affecting this imployment himselfe, (to the end he might more strongly confirme that dependancy which all military men already had on him) and his enemies willingly giuing second to this his ambition, (that by his absence they might haue better aduantages to hurt him, and to benefit themselves), at that time the said Earle easily drew this fatall gouernement on his owne shoulders, which was one of the first steps, and not the least cause of his ruine.

Being now to write of this Honourable Lord *Mountjoy*, my deceased Lord and Master, I doe faithfully professe, and pray the Reader confidently to beleue, (which I hope most easily to obtaine of those, who best know me), that as in the duty of a seruant I will not omit any thing I remember, which may turne to his Lordships Honor, so in my loue to truth, I will be so farre from lying and flattering, as I will rather be bold modestly to mention some of his defects, whereof the greatest Worthies of the World cannot be altogether free. To which I will onely adde, that as I esteeme lying and flattery by word of mouth, among the liuing, to be vnfallible notes of basenesse and ignorance, so I iudge these vices infamous and sinfull, when they are left in print to deceiue posterity. Since the first may detect falshood by inquiring the truth, but the latter haue no meanes to rectifie their misinformed iudgements.

Thus I returne to proceed in my former narration; and first I will delineate (after my best skill) the true portraiture of this worthy Lords body and mind, then I will collect the Councels, by which he tamed this Monster of Rebellion; and lastly, I will discend by order of time to his Lordships particular actions. But ere I take my pensill in hand to figure this Noble Lords person, I must acknowledge my weakenesse such, as I cannot fully apprehend his compleat worthinesse, and therefore desire, that those of greater iudgement to discern the same, will impute all defects to the vnskilfulnes of the workeman, and that with others, to whom his Lordship was lesse knowne, my rude Pen may not derogate any thing from his due praise. Againe, giue me leaue to remember, that which I receiued from his mouth, that in his child-hood when his Parents would haue his picture, he chose to be drawne with a Trowell in his hand; and this Mot; *Ad reedificandam antiquam Domum*, To rebuild the ancient House: For this noble and ancient Barrony was decayed, not so much by his Progenitors prodigality, as his Fathers obstinate addiction to the study and practise of Alchumy, by which he so long laboured to increase his reuenues, til he had almost fully consumed them. Now to the purpose, let vs obserue how he fulfilled this ominous presage, in rebuilding that Noble House, till by his vntimely death, the same was fatally eclipsed againe.

He was of stature tall, and of very comely proportion, his skin faire, with little haire on his body, which haire was of colour blackish (or inclining to blacke), and thinne on his head, where he wore it short, except a locke vnder his left eare, which he nourished the time of this warre, and being wouen vp, hid it in his necke vnder his ruffe. The crown of his head was in his latter dayes something bald, as the forepart naturally curled; he onely vsed the Barber for his head, for the haire on his chin (growing slowly) and that on his cheekes and throat, he vsed almost daily to cut it with his sizers, keeping it so low with his owne hand, that it could scarce bee discerned, as likewise himselfe kept the haire of his vpper lippe something short, onely suffering that vnder his nether lip to grow at length and full; yet some two or three yeeres before his death, he nourished a sharpe and short pikedeuant on his chin. His forehead was broad and high; his eyes great, blacke, and louely; his nose something low and short, and a little blunt in the end; his chin round; his cheekes full, round, and ruddy; his countenance

cheerefull, and as amiable as euer I beheld of any man, onely some two yeeres before his death, vpon discontentment, his face grew thinne, his ruddy colour faded, growing somewhat swarthy, and his countenance was sad and dejected. His armes were long, and of proportionable bignes, his hands long and white, his fingers great in the ende, and his leggs somewhat little, which hee gartered euer about the knee, wearing the Garter of Saint *Georges* order vnder the left knee, except when he was booted, and so wore not that Garter, but a blew ribben in stead thereof about his knee, and hanging ouer his boote.

The description of his apparrell may be thought a needelesse curiositie, yet must I adde some few words thereof, be cause hauing promised the lively portraiture of his body, as well as his minde, the same cannot otherwise bee so lively represented to the imagination, besides that by his clothes, some disabilities of his body to vndertake this hard war may be coniectured, and especially the temper of his mind may be lively shadowed, since the Wise man hath taught vs, that the apparrell in some sort shewes the man. His apparrell in Court and Cities was commonly of white or black *Tafetaes* or *Sattens*, and he wore two (yea sometimes three) paires of silke stockings, with blacke silke *Grogan* cloakes guarded, and ruffles of comely depth and thicknesse (neuer wearing any falling band) blacke beauer hats, with plaine blacke bands, a tassaty quilted waistcoate in summer, a scarlet waistcoate, and sometimes both in winter. But in the Country, and specially keeping the Field in *Ireland* (yea, sometimes in the Cities), he wore Ierkins and round hose (for hee neuer ware other fashion then round) with laced panes of russet Cloath, and clokes of the same cloth lined with Veluet, and white Beuer hats with plaine bands, and besides his ordinarie stockings of silke, he wore vnder bootes another paire of Wollen or Wooled, with a paire of high linnen bootehose, yea three waistcotes in cold wether, and a thick ruffe, besides a russet scarfe about his necke thrice folded vnder it. So as I neuer obserued any of his age and strength to keepe his body so warme. He was very comely in all his apparrell, but the Robes of Saint *Georges* order, became him extraordinarie well.

For his diet, he vsed to fare plentifully, and of the best, and as his meanes increased, so his Table was better serued, so that in his latter time, no Lord in *England* might compare with him in that kinde of bountie. Before these warres, he vsed to haue nourishing brackefasts, as panadoes, and broths; but in the time of the warre, he vsed commonly to breake his fast with a drie crust of bread, and in the Spring time with butter and sage, with a cup of stale beere, wherewith sometimes in Winter he would haue suger and Nutmeg mixed. He fed plentifully both at dinner, and supper, hauing the choicest and most nourishing meates, with the best wines, which he drunk plentifully, but neuer in great excesse; and in his latter yeeres (especially in the time of the warre, as well when his night sleepes were broken, as at other times vpon full diet) he vsed to sleepe in the afternoones, and that long, and vpon his bed. He tooke Tobacco abundantly, and of the best, which I thinke preserued him from sicknes, (especially in *Ireland*, where the Foggy aire of the bogs, and waterish foule, plentie of fish, and generally all meates with the common sort alwaies vsalted and greene roasted, doe most preiudice the health), for hee was very seldome sicke, onely he was troubled with the head-ach, which duly and constantly like an ague, for many yeeres, till his death tooke him once euery three moneths, and vehemently held him some three daies, and himselfe in good part attributed, as well the reducing of this paine to these certaine and distant times, as the ease he therein found, to the vertue of this hearbe. He was very neat, louing clenlinesse both in apparrell and diet, and was so modest in the necessities of nature, as my selfe being at all howers (but time of sleepe) admitted into his chamber, and (I thinke) his most familiar friends, neuer heard or saw him vse any liberty therein, out of the priueledge of his priuate chamber, except perhaps in Irish iourneys, where he had no with-drawing roome.

The tender vsing of his body, and his daintie faire before the warres, gaue *Tyrone* occasion, vpon hearing of his comming ouer, to ieast at him, as if all occasions of doing service

service would be past, ere he could be made ready and haue his breakfast, but by wo-
 full experience he found this casting to bee the laughter of *Salomons* Foole. His be-
 haviour was courtly, graue, and exceeding comely; especially in actions of solemne
 pompes. In his nature he loued priuate retirednesse, with good fare, and some few
 choice friends. He delighted in study, in gardens, an house richly furnished, and dele-
 ctable for roomes of retrait, in riding on a pad to take the aire, in playing at shouel-
 board, or at cardes, in reading play-bookes for recreation, and especially in fishing and
 fishponds, seldome vsing any other exercises, and vsing these rightly as pastimes, only
 for a short and conuenient time, and with great varietie of change from one to the o-
 ther. He was vndoubtedly valiant and wise. Hee much affected glory and honour,
 and had a great desire to raise his house, being also frugall in gathering and sauing,
 which in his latter daies declined to vice, rather in greedy gathering, then in restrai-
 ning his former bounties of expence. So that howsoeuer his retirednes did alienate
 his minde from all action, yet his desire of Honour and hope of reward and aduance-
 ment by the warres, yea of returning to this retirednesse after the warres ended, made
 him hotly imbrace the forced course of the warre; to which hee was so fitted by his
 wisdom, valour, and frugalitie, that in short time hee became a Captaine no lesse
 wise, wary, and deliberate in counsell, then chearefull and bold in execution, and
 more couetous in issuing the publick treasure, then frugall in spending his owne reue-
 nues. And his care to preserue his Honour, and maintaine this estate, made him
 (though coldly) intertaine the like forced course of a State Counsellor at home after
 the warres. To the manning of which affaires, he was no lesse inabled by the same
 valour, wisdom, and many other vertues, had not the streame of his nature, preuai-
 led to withdraw him from attending them, further then to the onely obtaining of
 these his owne priuate endes. But surely these dispositions of nature (besides others
 hereafter to be mentioned), and these his priuate endes, made him of all men most fit
 for this Irish imployment, wherein the Queene and State longed for an ende of the
 warre, and groned vnder the burthen of an vnsupportable expence.

Touching his affecting honour and glorie, I may not omit, that his most familiar
 friends must needs obserue, the discourses of his Irish actions to haue been extraor-
 dinarily pleasing to him: so that, howsoeuer hee was not prone to hold discourses
 with Ladies, yet I haue obserued him more willingly drawne to those of this nature,
 which the Irish Ladies entertaining him, then into any other. And as hee had it that
 commendable, yea necessary ability of a good Captaine, not only to fight & mannage
 the war well abroad, but to write and set forth his actions to the full at home; so I haue
 seldome obserued any omission of like narrations in him; whereof hee vsed to de-
 late the more weightie seriously, and to mention the smallest, at least by way of a
 ieast.

Touching his studies or Bookishnesse, (by some imputed to him in detraction of
 his fitnes to imbrace an actiue imployment), he came young and not well grounded
 from *Oxford* Vniuersity; but in his youth at *London*, he so spent his vacant houres with
 schollers best able to direct him, as besides his reading in Histories, skill in tongues,
 (so farre as he could read and vnderstand the Italian and French, though he durst not
 aduenture to speak them), and so much knowledge (at least in Cosmography and the
 Mathematices) as might serue his owne ends; he had taken such paines in the search
 of naturall Phylosophy, as in diuers arguments of that nature held by him with schol-
 lers, I haue often heard him, (not without maruelling at his memory and iudgement)
 to remember of himselfe the most materiall points, the subtilest obiections, and the
 soundest answers. But his chiefe delight was in the study of Diuinity, and more espe-
 cially in reading of the Fathers and Schoolemen: for I haue heard himselfe professe,
 that being in his youth addicted to Popery, so much as through preiudicate opinion
 no Writer of our time could haue conuerted him from it, yet by obseruing the Fa-
 thers consent, and the Schoolemens idle and absurd distinctions, he began first to di-
 staste many of their opinions, and then by reading our Authours, to be confirmed
 in the reformed doctrine, which I am confident he professed and beleued from the

heart, though in his innated temper he was not factious against the Papists, but was gentle towards them, both in conuersation and in all occasions of disputation. And I will be bold to say, that of a Lay-man, he was (in my iudgement) the best Diuine I euer heard argue, especially for disputing against the Papists, out of the Fathers, Schoolemen, and aboue all, out of the written Word, (whereof some Chapters were each night read to him, besides his neuer intermitted prayers at morning and night). Inso much as I haue often heard him, with strange felicity of memory and iudgement, discover the Papists false alleagings of the Fathers, and Texts, or additions, & omissions in them, and to vrge arguments strongly, and (as much as becomed him) scholarlike, as well in discourses with Iesuites and Priests in *Ireland*, (more specially at *Waterford*, where he made the very seduced Irish ashamed of them), as vpon diuers occasions with other Papists his friends.

Further, in his nature he was a close concealer of his secrets, for which cause, least they should be revealed, and because he loued not to be importuned with suites, a free speaker, or a popular man, could not long continue his fauorite: He was sparing in speech; but when he was drawne to it, most iudicious therein, if not eloquent. He neuer vsed swearing, but rather hated it, which I haue seene him often controle at his Table with a frowning brow, and an angry cast of his blacke eye. He was slow to anger, but once prouoked, spake home. His great temper was most seene in his wise carriage betweene the Court factions of his time: He was a gentle enemy, easily pardoning, and calmly pursuing reuenge; and a friend, if not cold, yet not to be vsed much out of the high way, and something too much reserued towards his dearest Minions; besides that, the strength of his iudgement made him so confident, as they had more power in seconding his Counsels, then in diuerting or altering them. To his seruants he was milde, seldome reprouing them, and neuer with ill words: for his looke of displeasure was sufficient to checke them, and the best sort nearest him, did so well know him, as they serued and obserued him, as much almost by his lookes as his words. He made no seruant partner of his secrets, further then his place necessarily gaue him knowledge thereof, neither could any of them leade him, or if any did, it was more by art to know his humours, then power to sway them. I cannot say that he was bountifull to them, some of their places drew profit, which could no more be stopped, then the Miller can stay the draining of his water through his damme gates; otherwise his gifts to them were rare and sparing, so as if it were aboue an hundred pound, it was no morsell for a seruant, yet still he kept their hopes so greene, as might continue their diligence, and at his death he gaue a thousand pound by will, to be diuided by his executors discretion among them. They who had his eare, might easily season him with good or ill opinion of his seruants and strangers, by reason he dranke in their speeches, without vttering them, onely his iudgement was excellent, to discerne the truth of the relation, as well out of the informers passions, as obseruing the others actions. He kept his word in publike affaires inuiolably, without which he could neuer haue beene trusted of the Irish: but otherwise in his promises, he was delatory and doubtful, so as in all euent, he was not without an euasion. Lastly, in his loue to Weomen, (for as wanton peace succeeds bloody warre, so in the last period of his life, after the Irish warres, grieve of vnsuccessfull loue brought him to his last end): He was faithfull and constant, if not transported with selfe-loue more then the object, and therein obstinate.

This worthy Lord *Mountioy* was he, whose knowrie valour, sound wisdom, graue constancy, and singular temper, two old Counsellors of *Ireland* well obseruing, did on their death bed, (as it were by diuining faculty) pronounce to be the man, by whom *Tyrone's* fatal rebellion (in which their thoughts and endeuours had long beene wearied) was to be suppressed, if euer the English were to recouer the helme of that gouernement. Neither did their presage deceiue vs herein: for like another *Fabius*, he did by the ensuing deliberate and slow counsels, restore his Countries declining power.

I. He entertained & cherished (especially at his first entering the gouernment, when he

he was yet vnskillfull in the affaires of that State and warre) all actiue spirits, whose endeouours he saw like to be of good vse in that great action; and this he did, rather with a pleasing familiarity, then with any large bounty.

2. The hearts of the English common souldiers broken with a currant of disastrous successes, he heartned and encouraged, by leading them warily; especially in his first actions, being more carefull, that our men should not bee toiled, then that the rebels should be attempted with boldnesse. To this end also, and that he might bee euer at hand, as well to incourage and direct them fighting, as to second them by any accident dismaied, he brauely aduentured his person, more then in the opinion of Militarie wise men, a Generall should ordinarily hazard himself (howsoeuer I must confesse, the nature of the Irish fights, maintained vpon passages, by sudden eruptions of hidden rogues, doth more expose the Generall to these dangers, then any other warre.) And such was his forwardnesse, as his Lordships seruants may, without offence boldly say, they were a small part of this great action. For howsoeuer we had neither stipend in the warres with the souldier, nor pensions with them after the warre ended, yet by reason of this our Lords extraordinarie forwardnesse to put himselfe into danger, and for that the Rebels vse most commonly to assault vpon Woody places, and difficult passages, where euery man must needes be in danger, and they most who ride in the best troope, it could not be but that we should haue our share in the aduerture of our persons. And lest I should seeme to arrogate that to my selfe and my fellowes, which is not due to vs, the euent may cleare this point. Since in this short warre (not to speake of many lesse dangers), my Lord himselfe had his horse shot vnder him, his *Galloglas* carrying his helmet, had the same brused with the grasing of a bullet vpon it; yea, his Lordships very Grayhound, likewise vsing to waite at his stirrop, was shot through the body. Among his Lordships Chaplaines, Doctor *Lattware* was killed; and Maist. *Ram* had his horse shot vnder him. Among his Lordships Secretaries, Master *Cranmer* was killed, and my selfe had my thigh brused with a shot I receiued in my saddle. Among the Gentlemen of his Lordships Chamber, Master *Childley* had his horse killed vnder him, Master *Dane* was shot in the legge, and Master *Saint John*, a Gentleman attending neere his Lordship, was killed. I haue heard a pleasant report of a Generall in our age, who on the contrary was so sparing to hazard himselfe as a Gentleman his follower, hearing some maruel at a cold peece of seruice performed by his Maist. merily replied for his owne excuse, that he went to follow his General, and not to go before him. But I wil boldly say, that if our noble Lords followers did well attend his person, they found danger enough without seeking it. But enough (and I feare too much) of this point, I will now returne to this worthy Lords Counsels; by which he effected this great worke.

3. The Rebels being swolne to the height of pride by their full numbers, and much more by continuall successe in their actions, hee proceeded in like sort with them, as formerly with his owne men, at the first warily tasting them with light skirmishes, yet he so prudently and brauely pursued his attempts, as he stil caried what he attempted.

4. The wise distribution of the forces auailed him much: for first he planted Garrisons vpon the chiefe rebels Countries; as likewise he compassed *Tyrone* on euery side with them, which kept the rebels at home; so as they could not second one another, for feare of loosing their owne goods.

5. And whereas other Deputies vsed to make some two or three iournies in a Summer against the rebels, and then did leade a great Army with them. And whereas this kind of seruice neuer rooke any good effect, as well because the bruit thereof came long before to the rebels, as because these great forces could not long be kept together. So as the rebels hearing the bruit of any such iourney, took victuals with them for certaine daies, and assembling themselues together, did lie vpon the bogs and hard passages, where without danger to themselues, they were able to annoy the greatest Army could be led against them. This noble Lord Mount-iouy on the contrary (as I said) by Garrisons keeping them at home, himselfe kept the field with some thousand foot and two hundred horse (whereof my selfe haue many times obserued the great

ter part to be English Irish), and not onely was able to affront *Tyrone* himselfe (specially since the Garrisons lying vpon his Country drew towards him at the same time; on all sides together), but also (by reason of his singular secrecy, in keeping his purposes vnknowne, and casting out false reports of them to deceiue the rebels) had the opportunity to assaile and spoyle any one of the rebels on the sudden, while he kept all the rest like dazed larkes in continuall feare, as well of himselfe, as of the Garrisons adioyning.

6 Again, where other Deputies vsed to assaile the rebels onely in Summer time; this Lord prosecuted them most in the Winter, being commonly five daies at least in the weeke on horsebacke, all the Winter long. This brake their hearts; for the aire being sharpe, and they naked, and they being driuen from their lodgings, into the Woods bare of leaues, they had no shelter for themselves. Besides that, their cattle (giuing them no milke in the Winter) were also wasted by driuing to and fro. And that they being thus troubled in the Seede time, could not sowe their ground. And as in Haruest time, both the Deputies forces, and the Garrisons, cut downe their Corne, before it was ripe, so now in Winter time they carried away, or burnt, all the stores of victuals in secret places, whether the Rebels had conceied them.

7 Again, he had a speciall care to cut downe and cleare the difficult passages, that so our forces might with more safetie meete together, and vpon all occasions second one another.

8 For protections and pardons (the easie obtaining whereof had formerly encouraged the rebels, as well to enter into rebellion, as to breake their faith after submissions, in hope to be againe receiued to mercy), although it was necessary for the State in this generall rebellion, like a mother, to open her bosome to her children, lest being driuen to dispaire, they should plunge themselves into all mischiefes, yet he neuer receiued any to mercy, but such as had so drawne blood on their fellow rebels, and were themselves made so poore, as there was small danger of their relaps. To which ende he forbad all conferences and parleys with the rebels, by pretence whereof many treacherous plots had formerly beene drawne, by the false-hearted subiects, and many corruptions had been practised by some couctous commanders. But to such as were receiued to mercy, (that he might take away the diffidence they had long conceiued of the State), he kept his word inuiolable.

9 And whereas these rebellious people, are by nature clamorous (which made them tedious in complaints), and also vse great oppression vnder the shadow of Iustice, (which made the continually importune the Gouvernors with petitions, which being signed by them, gaue those Irish Lords a shadow of authoritie to oppresse the people; by shewing the Gouvernours hand, and concealing the matter to which he subscribed. This worthy Lord Deputie, for their encouragement in the first, vsed singular patience in hearing their tedious complaints, and for the second, gaue them such delatory answers, as might well hearten them in obedience, but could no way strengthen their tyranny over the poore people.

10 To conclude, nothing furthered this noble Lord more in his designs, then his singular temper, not so much in secrecy, and in sparingnesse of speech (though many great Captaines haue hindered their proceedings by letting fall rash speeches), as more specially in Court factions: for he vsed in such sort the familiar loue of the Earle of *Essex*, in his doubtfull courses, as he not onely kept him from intertaining dangerous counsels, so long as hee liued with him in *England*, but demeaned himselfe towards his enemies with such moderation, as he little prouoked their enuy, yea, rather gained an inclination of their good affection towards him. So as they at this time gouerning all the affaires in *England*, were readie to giue all possible seconds to his ends, which (as I formerly shewed) did aime at nothing but the speedy ende of this warre. By these counsels this worthy Lord restored the declining State of *Ireland*, from the desperate termes wherein he now found it.

I haue before set downe, in the Earle of *Essex* his Gouvernement, the power of the rebels, through all the Prouinces of *Ireland*, and haue shewed, that at his Lordships lea-
uing

uing that Kingdom, the same was nothing abated, and from that time, the rebels were *The Rebels* in all parts increased. The Mountain rebels in the County of *Dublin*, then 480 foote strength. 20 horse, now by the going out of the *Walshes* and *Harrols* were increased 100. In the County of *Kildare*, the rebels then in number 220 foote, and 30 horse, were now more then doubled, by the going out of the *Briminghams*, all the *Leynaghs*, & many of other Septs. In the two Counties of *Catharlough* and *Wexford*, the rebels then 750 foote and 50 horse, were now increased an hundred. In the County of *Ophaly*, five strong Castles then held by the English, were now betrayed, & about 468 foot, & 12 horse then were in rebellion, but now *Mac Coughlan* was gone out with 200 more, and the *Odoines* with 100 more, were now in rebellion. In the County of *Meath* the rebels were increased in number 150; by the *Delahides*, the *Raphs*, *Husies*, and *Darcies*. And beyond the River, Capt. *John O'Rely*, having then 100 foote in her Maesties pay, well armed, was now revolted. In the County of *West-Meath*, the rebels then 140 foote and 20 horse, were now increased 100 at least, by the revolt of the eldest sonne of *William Nugent*, second brother to the Lord of *Deluin*, with diuers of the *Pettyes* and *Daltons*. In the County of *Longford*, the rebels then 120 foote, were now increased 180: so the rebels in *Lemster* being then in the whole number 3048 foote, and 182 horse, were now increased 1280, and made in all 4510.

For the Prouince of *Mounster*, *Tyrone* in his present iourny thither, taking pledges of almost all the Irish Lords and Gentlemen, the number of the rebels were now there increased beyond estimation.

For the Prouince of *Cennaght*, the rebels were increased three hundred, by the revolt of *O'Connor Sligo*, besides the vncertainty of *Tybot ne Lang*, who had one hundred Irish men in her Maesties pay.

So as at this time, I may boldly say, the rebellion was at the greatest strength. The meere Irish puffed vp with good successe, and blouded with happy incounters; did boldly keepe the field, and proudly disdain the English forces. Great part of the English-Irish were in open action of rebellion, and most part of the rest, temporised with the State, openly professing obedience, that they might liue vnder the protection thereof, but secretly relieuing the rebels, and practising with them for their present and future safeties. Among the English, the worthy Generals of this age, partly by this fatall warre, partly by the factions at home, were so wasted, as the best iudgements could hardly finde out any man fit to command this Army in chiefe. The English common souldiers, by loosenesse of body, the natural sicknesse of the Country, by the pouerty of the warre, in which nothing was to be gained but blowes, and by the late defeats, wherein great numbers of them had perished, were altogether out of heart. The Colonels and Commanders, though many in number, and great in courage and experience, yet by these considerations of the Armies weakenesse, were somewhat dejected in mind. Yea, the very Counsellors of State were so diffident, as some of them in late conferences with *Tyrone*, had descended (I know not vpon what warrant) to an abiect Intreaty for a short cessation. Not to speake of the Generall distraction of the hearts of all men in *England*; and much more of the souldiers, by the factions of this age, between the worthy Earle of *Essex* now imprisoned and his enemies, able to ruine a great Kingdome, much more to diuert the successe of any great action. And the generall voyce was of *Tyrone* among the English, after the defeat of *Blackwater*, as of *Hanibal* among the Romans; after the defeat of *Cannas*; *Thou knowest how to overcome: but thou knowest not how to vse victorie*. To conclude, not onely the remote parts, but the very heart of the Kingdom now languished vnder the contagion of this rebellion. *Leax* and *Ophalia* being possessed by the *O'Mores*, and the *O'Connors*; and the *Glynnes* or Mountainous Country on the South-West side of *Dublin*, being in the hands of the *Obyrnes* and *O'Tooles* (and more remotely of the *Cauanaghs*), who nightly made excursions to the very Gates of the City, giuing alarm of warre to the long gound Senate, and (as it were) to the chaire of Estate. In this miserable estate was *Ireland*, when the Lord Mountjoy, like a good Planet, with a fortunate aspect began to shine thereon, whose happy actions I will now set down particularly, yet as briefly as I can.

The

An. 1599.

The tenth of January, towards the end of the yeere 1599, the Lords of England signified by their letters, to the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Sir *George Carey* Treasurer at warres, which were then Lords Iustices of that Kingdome, that from that day forward, the entertainment due to them as Lords Iustices, should cease, and bee conferred on *Charles Blount* Lord *Mountjoy*, whom her Maiestie had made Lord Deputy.

And now *Tyrone* (who hitherto had contained himselfe in the North, onely making short excursions from thence into the Pale), being proud of victories, and desirous to shew his greatnesse abroad, resolved with his forces to measure the length of *Ireland*, and to the end hee might, by his presence strengthen, and increase the rebellion in *Mounster* (which in abscence by practises he had raised), vnder the religious pretence of visiting a piece of Christs Crosse, kept for a holy relike in the Monastery of the holy Crosse in the County of *Tipperary*, he entred this iourney about the twentieth of Ianuarie. On the three and twenty the rebels of the *Brenny* met him in the *Cavan*, from whence he marched forward, taking the rebels of *Lemsler* in his company, and leading with him some two thousand five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, leauing the rest of his forces, & the Gentlemen of the North to guard those parts: The intent of his iourney, was to set as great combustion as he could in *Mounster*, and so taking pledges of the rebels, to leaue them vnder the command of one chiefe head.

This Moneth of Ianuary, her Maiestie signed that warrant, which is vulgarly called the great Warrant for *Ireland*, whereby authority is giuen to the Lord Treasurer and Chamberlaine of the Exchequer in *England*, that according to an Establishment, after signed by her Maiesty the first of February, and to begin that day, (wherein the Army is reduced to twelue thousand foote, and one thousand two hundred horse), they should pay to the Treasurer at warres for *Ireland* such summes, as should bee signed by sixe of the priuy Counsell of *England*, the Lord Treasurer, the Principall Secretary, and the vnder-Treasurer alwaies being three of them. Secondly, aboue the foure thousand pound for extraordinaries therein mentioned, to pay him such summe as should by the same be signed. Thirdly, to pay in like sort according to an Establishment or list of Officers and others not contained in the former Establishment, it not exceeding yeerely fifteenethousand pound, which List was then to bee signed by the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell. Fourthly, to pay in like sort diuers Officers payable out of the reuenues, in case the reuenues extended not to pay them. Fifthly, to pay in like sort all summes for reinforcing the Army, for leauyes of men, for conducting, transporting, and victualling them at Sea, according to the rates of the first Establishment.

*The Establishment signed by her Maiestie, the first
of February, 1599.*

The Lord Deputies entertainment to be paid according to the List after following, which List was to be signed by the Lords. Officers of the Army: Lieutenant of the Army *per diem* three li. Serieant Maior *per diem* twenty s. Comptroller Generall of the victuals *per diem* ten s. Foure Commissaries of victuals, whereof three at sixe s. *per diem*, and the fourth at eight s. *per diem*. Twelue Colonels, each at ten s. *per diem*. A Prouost Marshall for *Loughfoyle*, another for *Ballsbannon*, each at foure shillings *per diem*.

Summa per annum, foure thousand foure hundred fiftie three pound.

The pay of three hundred horse, diuided into sixe Bands, each Band consisting of fiftie, *viz.* the Captaine foure shillings *per diem*; Lieutenant two shillings sixe pence *per diem*; Cornet two shillings *per diem*; and fiftie Horsemen at eightene pence *per diem* a piece. The pay of two hundred Horse, diuided into foure Bands, each Band consisting of fiftie, *viz.* Captaine foure s. *per diem*; Lieutenant two s. six d. *per diem*. Cornet two s. *per diem*, and fiftie Horsemen at fiftene d. a piece *per diem*. The pay of seuen hundred Horse, diuided into fourteene Bands, each Band consisting of fiftie
viz.

viz. Captaine, foure shillings *per diem*. Lieutenant, two shillings sixe pence *per diem*, Cornet two shillings *per diem*. Fiftie horsemen at twelue pence a peece *per diem*.

Summa per annum twenty nine thousand two hundred threescore thirteene pound.

The pay of twelue thousand footmen, diuided into 120 Bands, each Band consisting of a hundred heads, *viz.* Captaine foure s. *per diem*. Lieutenant two shillings *per diem*, Ensigne eightene d. *per diem*, two Serieants, a Drum, and a Surgion, at twelue d. a peece *per diem*, and fourescore fourteene Souldiers, and sixe dead payes, at eight d. a peece *per diem*.

Summa per annum one hundred threescore eleuen thousand one hundred fourescore and fiae pound.

Extraordinaries, *viz.* for sending of letters, hyring of Barkes, for passage of packquets, for gifts and rewards, for espyes from abroad or at home, carriage of treasure, victuall, or munition, and the like, &c. for a whole yeere, foure thousand pound.

Summa totale per annum, two hundred eight thousand nine hundred and eleuen pound.

The Lord Mountiory hastened away from Court, did not stay for the Lords signing of the aboue mentioned second establishment, as a thing of ordinary course continued for many yeeres, with little or no alteration. And being now in this iourney towards Ireland, the tenth of Februarie he wrote to Master Secretarie from Daintrie, intreating him, that whereas her Maiestie, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of all admitted to that consultation, had reduced the Army to twelue thousand foote, and that hee found by letters from the Counsell and other Commanders in Ireland, a general concurring in opinion, that these forces were not sufficient (especially since the Plantation of Loughfoyle and Ballyshanon Garisons were presently to be made, and that Tyrone was now Master of the field, hauing led his forces in person as farre as Mounster), he would moue her Maiestie to giue him power, to retaine one or two thousand in Lyst, of those English, which otherwise he was to cast.

The aboue mentioned second Establishment, or Lyst of diuers Officers and Seruitors, not contained in the former Establishment, which list was signed by the Lords the eleuenth of Februarie, the end of the yeere 1599.

THe Lord Deputies ordinarie entertainment *per mensem* one hundred pound, *per annum* thirteene hundred pound. To him for a Band of horsemen in his family foure pound foure shillings *per diem*. To him for fiftie footmen in his family, eight pence a man *per diem*. The Treasurer at Warres *per diem* thirtie fiae shillings. The Marshall at fiae shillings nine pence *per diem*. The Master of the Ordinance *per diem* three and twentie shillings eight pence. Note that the aboue named, as also the chiefe Gouvernours of Prouinces vndernamed, had besides in the Army the command of a Band of foote, or horse, or both. Diuers Ministers of the Ordinance *per diem* twentie fiae shillings two pence. Mustermaster two shillings eight pence *per diem*.

Summa per annum fiae thousand three hundred seuen d. seuen shillings eleuen d.

The Lord President *per annum* one hundred thirtie three d.; his diet at ten pound a weeke, and so *per annum* fiae hundred twenty pound. His guard of horse and foote at thirtie shillings seuen pence halfe-penny *per diem*. Chiefe Iustice *per annum* one hundred pound. Second Iustice sixty sixe pound, thirteene shillings foure pence. Queenes Atturney thirteene pound sixe shillings eight pence. Clerke of the Counsell twentie pound. Prouost Marshall two hundred fiftie fiae pound ten shillings.

Summa per annum one thousand sixe hundred threescore seuen pound eight shillings two pence halfe penny.

Gouvernour of Connaght *per diem* ten s., for increase *per annum* one hundred d. Chiefe Iustice *per annum* one hundred pound: for his diet fortie pound. Clerke of the Counsell twenty pound, for his diet twenty pound. Prouost Marshall one hundred two pound thirteene shillings one peny half-peny, besides twelue Horse out of the Armie.

Summa per annum fiae hundred sixtie fiae pound three s. two pence halfe-penny.

Officers.
Generall.

Mounster.

Connaght.

Ulster.

Gouvernor at *Loughfoyle* *per diem* foure shillings foure pence, besides his entertainment as a Colonel. Gouvernour of *Carickfergus* and *Dundalke* no entertainment, but as Colonels of the Army.

D

Lemster.

Summa per annum threescore pound sixteene shillings eight pence.

Gouvernour of the Queenes Countie at sixe shillings eight pence *per diem*. Prouost Marshall of the Army *per diem* foure shillings three pence. Prouost Marshall of *Lemster* five shillings seven pence *per diem*. And to both Prouosts, Horses to bee assigned out of the Army, at the Lord Deputies discretion.

Summa per annum three hundred one pound two shillings seven pence.

Warders in diuers Prouinces three thousand thirtie one pound seven pence halfe-penny. Pensioners, fortie foure, at foure pound nineteene shillings two pence *per diem*. Almshouses fourteene, at sixe pence Irish a peece *per diem*. Commissaries of Musters, twenty, at sixe shillings eight pence a peece *per diem*.

Summa per annum three thousand one hundred twenty two pound five s. sixe d.

Summa totalis per annum fourteene thousand fiftie five pound foure shillings eight pence halfe-penny.

The same day this List was signed, being the eleuenth of Februarie, the Lords by their letters to the Lord Deputie (being yet in *England*, but newly gone from *London*, and in his way towards *Ireland*), appointed that the ships of *Bristol*, which had transported one thousand two hundred foote from thence to *Dublin*, should there be staid, to the end they might transport a thousand men, which were to be sent from *Dublin*, to meete with three thousand more sent out of *England*, out of which the Garrison of *Carickfergus* was to be strengthened, and a new Garrison planted at *Loughfoyle*.

The Lord Mountioy lying at *Westchester* for a passage into *Ireland*, and there receiuing notice, that the imprisoned Earle of *Essex* had signed a submission to the Queene, whereupon her Maiestie began to be inclined to shew him mercy, directed his letters thence the eighteenth of Februarie to Sir Robert Sicill Secretarie of State, therein auowing, that as his loue made him interested in that noble Earles fortunes, so hee would thankfully acknowledge from him such fauour, as he should be pleased to shew that distressed Earle, withall protesting, that he would alwaies be a free man, and slaue to no mans humour; but as he in this Irish imployment expected all fauourable seconds from him (according to his noble promise, whereupon his hopes chiefly relied), so he would euer be honest and thankfull towards him in all occasions. And vpon these termes all exchange of good offices passed betweene this Lord Deputie and Master Secretarie, till the fatall death of that noble Earle of *Essex* hereafter to bee mentioned, and the Lord Deputies participation of that ruine, made him change his stile, and neuer to cease, till hee had confirmed a neere friendship betweene himselfe and the Secretary, at least as intire, as greatnesse admits, as hereafter shall bee shewed.

A new Lord
President of
Mounster.

The twentieth sixe of Februarie, the Lord Deputie landed in *Ireland*, and there receiued the sword, and within few dayes, by warrant out of *England*, he granted her Maiesties letters Patents to Sir George Carew, to bee Lord President of *Mounster*, which place had layen void some few moneths, from the death of Sir Thomas Norreys. The 27 he receiued aduertisement from the Earle of *Ormond*, Generall of the English forces till his comming ouer, that *Tyrone* was in the West part of *Mounster*, hauing about him not only his owne forces, but those of the Rebels of that Prouince, which were so great, as he had not hitherto power to oppose them: but now hauing gathered all the Queenes forces he could make, purposed the next morning to set forwards towards him. The fifth of March his Lordship receiued aduertisement from other parts, that *Tyrone* could not escape in his returne to the North, but either ouer the Riuer *Shanon*, which passage the Earles of *Thomond* and *Clanrickard* might easily stop, or by the Westward borders of the Pale, where if his Lordship would draw his forces to *Athboyne*, *Mullingar*, *Ballymore*, and *Athlone*, it was not possible for him to escape them. That *Tyrone* had thus engaged himselfe, presuming on the corruption of the State, and little expecting his Lordships so sudden comming ouer, so as if his Lordship

Lordship forgave him this fault, he was not like to catch him againe in the like, neither could any thing but want of intelligence, make his Lordship faile in stopping the returne of *Tyrone*, and his forces into the North. Aduising his Lordship to be wary in crediting intelligences, which were commonly false, and made of purpose, and to expect, that besides the knowne enemy, and a confused warre, he should finde a broken State, a dangerous Counsell, and false hearted subiects. The eight of March the Earle of *Ormond* sent aduertisement, that *Tyrone* purposed to passe the Riuer *Shannon*. That he had written to the Earle of *Thomond* to draw towards him, that they might oppose his passage, but that his Lordship could not performe his order, by reason that the Mayor of *Lymbricke* would not afford him carriage for his victuals. That *Tyrone* in scattered Troopes and a cowardly manner, hastened his returne, and that present day had marched foure and twenty miles, without any stay. That Sir *Warham Sent Leger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, joint Commissioners for gouerning of *Mounster*, with the forces vnder their charge, had met neere *Corke* with *Hugh Mac Gwier*, chiefe Lord of *Fermanagh* (in the North) and that in the incounter Sir *Warham Sent Leger*, and the said *Mac Gwier* were killed. That his Lordship had burned all the Townes where the Traytors might find reliefe, and that they vsed the same course towards her Maiesties Subiects. The same day the Lord Deputy receiued further aduertisement from *Mounster*, that *Tyrone* was compassed in by the Earle of *Ormond*, on the one side, and the Earle of *Thomond* on the other, and by the Commissioners forces on the third side, (who ruled the Prouince after the death of Sir *Thomas Norreys*, vntill a Lord President should be chosen, for he that was newly sent ouer, was yet at *Dublyn*); that the Mayor of *Lymbricke* had commandement to lay ships and boates, to hinder his passage by that Hauen, as likewise the Mayor of *Galway* to interrupt his passage by sea, and the Earle of *Clanrickard*, to stop his passage by land through *Connaght*. So as howsoeuer he were five thousand strong in able men, besides many of baser sort, yet he being far from any second of *Ulster* men, in whom the chiefe strength of the Rebellion consisted, and no way able to returne thither, his vtter confusion was confidently hoped. But these were onely Irish ostentations of seruice, which seldome vse to take effect, and many times are not truly intended, as the sequell will shew.

And lest the Lord Deputy should expect faithfull dealing of the English Irish Subiect in the other kind of seruice, by supplying the Army of necessaries, the nobilitie & Gentry of the very English Pale, the same day exhibited a petition to his Lordship, to preuent the opinion of disloyaltie, vpon refusal of such supplies, by pretending of disability vpon the great spoiles, which aswell the rebels, as the English souldiers had made vpon all the inhabitants.

The Lord Deputy had written a former letter to Master Secretarie, in excuse of not reducing the Armie from foureteene thousand foote to twelue thousand, according to the new Establishment (aswell because the same was to begin the first of February, which his Lordship could not effect, since he arriued not in *Ireland* vntill the twentieth sixe of the same moneth, as also because the Army was presently farre diuided, the greater part thereof being with the Earle of *Ormond*, and for that, whensoever they returned, the discharged Companies must presently bee reduced into some other, or else so many men and Armes should bee meere ly lost, as the Lords Iustices had lately found by experience, when determining to cast a Company of one hundred and fiftie, being by Pole a hundred, of the oldest and best souldiers, with purpose next day to deliuer them to other Captaines, vpon the diuulging thereof, onely three of the whole Company with their Armes could be found, to be so transmitted.)

To this letter formerly written, and perswading that the two thousand might still be continued in pay, his Lordship receiued the following answer from her Maiestic, dated the fifteenth of March.

Elizabeth Regina.

Althoough we haue vpon your earnest request (in whose affection and duty we doe repole trust and confidence) yeelded to the continuance of fourteene thousand foot for some small time, both because we conceiue, that according to your reasons, it will give good assurance to the Planration of *Loughfoyle*, and the reduction of *Leinster*, and preuent the present terror, which this proud attempt of *Tyrones*, to passe ouer all the Kingdome, hath stricken into the hearts of all our Subiects, and would increase, if we should presently haue abated our numbers: yet must we let you know, that we doe expect at your hands, and doe determine, that assoone as the present brutes are passed, you shall diminish the same by little and little hereafter, according to our first determination: for we haue had too good prooffe of that gouernement, as not to know and discerne, that all the mischiefes of our seruice, haue growne most by lacke of discretion and order, by vaine iournies, whilst better opportunities haue beene lost, by vndiscreet carriages of all secret purposes, by placing Captaines of small merit or experience, and which is aboue all, by nourishing the Irish, who are snakes in our bosomes, whilst we hold them, and when they are out, doe conuert vpon our selues, the experience and strength they haue gotten by our making them to be Souldiers. And therefore you shall vnderstand now, that although we haue beene content to grace some such as are of noble houses, and such others as haue drawne blood on the Rebels, with charge of Companies, yet we find it now growne to a common opinion, that it is as good to be a Rebelle as a Subiect: for Rebels find and feele it, that they shall be hired (euen with whole companies in our pay) onely to forbear doing harime, and not for hauing done any such seruice, as may make them irreconcilable. And further we see, that others that are in pay in their owne Countrey, are so farre from doing seruice on their neighbours, that are out, as when they tarry in for a shew, they are the chiefeft meanes vnder hand, to helpe the rebels with such powder and munition, as (to our no small charge) we put into their hands, to be vsed against them. In this point therefore, we command you henceforth to bee considerate, and not to be induced to put such in pay, as spend our treasure onely to their owne aduantage, vpon this supposition or bragge of theirs, that they must runne to the enemies if they be not entertained: for when we consider the effects that are deriued from our charges, to haue so many foote and horse of the Irish entertained, onely to saue their owne Cowes and Countries, we are of opinion, so they went not with our Armes to the Rebels, that it were better seruice for vs, to saue our treasure, then to pay for their bodies, seeing they that liue by the warre better then they should doe in peace, intend nothing lesse then our seruice. And therefore we command you, not onely to raise no more, when these shall be decayed, but to keepe them vn supplied that are already, and as they waste to Casse their bands: for we can neuer allow of this entertainment of them. Whilst you are forced to keep the 2000. men for our seruice, you may keepe the Captaines vn cased, but not giue any warrant to them to supply their Companies with any more Irish. We doe also require you, that you doe seeke by all meanes possible, where the Irish are entertained, to vse their seruice as farre from their owne Countries as may be; wherein we pray you especially to take care in the Prouince of *Connaght*, where there are so many Irish bands together; and rather to draw some of them to serue else where, and send English in their stead. This shal serue for the present, to answere your dispatch, wherein we doe write to you, (whom we know to loue our Commandements) more directly in this point of our desire to haue our charge abated, then we doe to you and the Counsell together, because we would haue them apprehend, (seeing you thinke such an opinion would be good), that our Army shall not be so soone abated, as we hope you will; wherein notwithstanding we doe referre things to your discretion, whom we will trust with the charge of 2000. men, seeing we haue committed to you our whole Kingdome, &c.

His

His Lordship in a second dispatch to Master Secretary, had written, that *Tyrone* having passed through the Pale into *Mounster* with some one thousand five hundred horse and foote, of such sort as so many of the Queenes worst men were able to encounter them, was now in *Mounster* with an Army of 4 thousand in reputation, and was there attended by the Queenes Army of three thousand foote, and three hundred horse, commaunded by the Earle of *Ormond*; so as onely the dregges of the Queenes Army were now neare him; out of which notwithstanding, he hoped to bee able to draw one thousand five hundred foote, and three hundred horse, and therewith to make head against *Tyrone* at his returne: but in regard the Plantation of *Loughfoyle* and *Ballyshannon* were presently commaunded him, whether Sir *Henrie Dockwra* was to ship three thousand out of *England*, and another thousand were to be shipped from *Dublin*: these one thousand being part of the men he was to draw against *Tyrone*, he durst not leadethem farre from the Sea, and so might perhaps be forced to loose good occasion of service, whereas if these things had been left to his discretion, hee would have deferred the Plantation of *Ballyshannon* to a time of more safety, and with these one thousand men and their munition to bee sent thither, would now attend *Tyrone* in his passage with so great aduantage, as he was not likely to finde hereafter, and if he escaped, would presently have put himselfe in the head of the Earle of *Ormonds* Troopes, to prosecute him into the North, and would further have aduised Sir *Henrie Dockwra* in his passage from *Chester* to *Loughfoyle*, to descend at *Carickfergus*, and thence to take five hundred old souldiers, leauing so many new in their roome.

To this dispatch his Lordship receiued the Queenes gracious answer, by a letter dated the sixteenth of this moneth, wherein allowing his beginnings, and approving his reasons: the forbearing presently to plant *Ballyshannon*, and the ordering of *Loughfoyle* Plantation, and the disposing of Garrisons aptly (for the defence of such as in that case offered to returne to due obedience), were all freely left to his Lordships discretion, with promise to make good construction of his actions, being confident that they had no other obiect, but loyall seruice.

The Lord Deputie hauing drawne as many together as hee could about *Mullingar*, to lye for *Tyrone* in his returne out of *Mounster*, receiued aduertisement the fifteenth of this present, that *Tyrone* hearing of his preparations to meete him, had left a thousand *Connaght* rogues to assist *Desmond*, and some eight hundred men with *Richard Butler*, and hauing made Captaine *Tirrell* chiefe commander of all the *Lemster* Rebels, was stolne out of *Mounster* with sixe hundred in his company, and had passed the *Enney*, and so escaped into the North.

Whereupon the Lord Deputie the same day writ to the Earle of *Ormond*, to send backe from *Mounster*, the forces hee had drawne thither out of *Lemster*, and with all sent him her Maiesties letters, importing thanks for the seruice hee had done, and her desire that hee would still hold the place of Lieutenant of the Army. In the acceptance whereof, the Lord Deputie professed, that hee should esteeme himselfe much honoured, and would be ready, after putting off the person which now was imposed on him, with much contentment to be commaunded by his Lordship.

The same time the Lord Deputie aduertised Master Secretary, that his intelligence had been so bad (not onely in false reports of *Tyrones* purposes, but also in the relation of the Forces he had with him to bee farre greater then indeede they were, by which intelligence of false hearted subiects to discourage the Queenes Forces, the Rebels vied to preuaile more then by fighting, and now hoped to discourage him at his first comming, from any present attempt against *Tyrones* returne), as in one and the same day hee first heard together of *Tyrones* looking back out of *Mounster*; comming into *Lemster*, and passing ouer the *Enney*, and the next day being assured of his escape, hee then receiued the first intelligence (the former letters of the eight of March being not till then deliuered) that euer came to his hands from the Earle of *Ormond* concerning *Tyrone*, who in this returne had gone further in three dayes,

then at his setting forth in thirteene, hauing in one day marched twenty seuen miles, so speedily, as he could not ouertake any of his troopes with the Queenes forces, though he marched after him twentie miles in foure houres; adding his purpose to make present head towards the North, without which diuerſion of the rebels, the Garrison to be planted at *Loughfoyle* was like to runne a dangerous fortune. And withall sending ſome of *Tyrone*s Mandates, by which hee ſummoned the ſubiects of *Mounſter* to appeare before him, and to ioyne with him, of which I haue thought good, for the ſtrangenelle of the forme, to inſert this one following.

O Neale commendeth him vnto you *Moriſh Fitz Thomas*, *O Neale* requesteth you in Gods name to take part with him, and fight for your conſcience and right; and in ſo doing, *Oneale* will ſpend to ſee you righted in all your affaires, and will helpe you: And if you come not at *Oneale* betwixt this and to morrow at twelue of the clocke, and take his part, *Oneale* is not beholding to you, and will doe to the vttermoſt of his power to ouerthrow you, if you come not to him at furtheſt by Saturday noone. From *Knocke Dumayne* in *Calrie*, the fourth of February 1599.

Oneale requesteth you to come ſpeake with him, and doth giue you his word that you ſhall receiue no harme, neither in coming nor going from him, whether you be friend or not, and bring with you to *Oneale* *Gerat Fitz-gerald*.

Subſcribed *O Neale*.

The ſeuenth of March the Lord Deputy was aduertised, that *Tyrone* returned to *Dungannon* his Houſe the fifteenth day, and brought with him out of *Mounſter* foure pledges of *Deſmonds* faith vnto him. That the Earle of *Clanrickard* had ſworne, ſo ſoon as the Lord of *Dunkellyn* his eldeſt ſonne returned out of *England*, to take no longer day then May next, to ioyne with *Tyrone*, and enter into action, (ſo the Iriſh terme rebellion): and that *Tyrone* had called the Lords of the North together, to conſult about the oppoſition to be made againſt the intended plantation of the Engliſh Garrifons at *Loughfoyle*.

The twentieth of March Maſter Secretary wrote to the Lord Deputy, that the Earle of *Effex*, hitherto reſtrained in the Lord Keepers Houſe, had found the Grace with her Maieſty, to be ſent to his owne houſe in *London*, yet with a keeper, for Sir *Richard Barkley*, had the guard of him, with the keyes of the water-gate and ſtreet doore, and the Earle had the freedome of the whole Houſe, with a dozen ſeruants to attend him, who might freely go in and out at pleaſure, and the Counteſſe of *Effex* had liberty to come thither to him. And the Lord Deputy ſtill continued frequently to ſolicite the Secretaries fauour to this noble Earle, many times inlarging himſelfe ſo farre, as to iuſtifie the Earles faithfull endeauours in the maine point of the late Iriſh ſeruice, about which he was moſt queſtioned. Inſomuch as ſeeing the Earles actions in *Ireland* to be narrowly liſted, he wrote not long after to the Secretary, expreſſely auowing; That if the Earle of *Effex* had brought with him a farre greater Army, the eſtate of the yeere being as then it was, and he coming at that time of the yeere when he did, yet during his abode there, (which was from *March* to *September*); there could no other conſequence haue iuſtly beene expected in that ſo ſhort time; but that the Rebels moued with the countenance and terrour of the Army, ſhould generally (or for the moſt part) haue ſought her Maieſties mercy, and making their ſubmiſſion, haue beene receiued vpon pledges to continue ſubiects, or elſe to haue ſought to haue ruined them by planting ſtrong garrifons, which in moſt places muſt haue beene done by an Army, and they being in ſeueral places, and many circumſtances beſides required thereunto, the effecting thereof would haue taken vp as much time as he ſpent here. And though the terrour of the Army did not worke the firſt effect, being in the choyce of the enemy, vntill by the ſecond courſe they might be conſtrained, that the fault was in their diſpoſition, and not in the Earles endeauours or power. And though the garrifons were not accordingly planted, that as well the ſhortnes of the time, as the Counſels to which the Earle was tied at that time, might iuſtly cleere him of that default.

CHAP. II.

Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of
the Rebels in the yeere 1600.

He twenty foure of March, being the last day of the former yeere, the Lord Deputy signed the following List of the Army, to bee a direction to the Treasurer at warres, for the payment thereof, from the first of Aprill in the yeere 1600, so forward.

Generall Officers for the Army.

The Earle of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of the Army *per diem* three pound.

Sir Oliuer Lambert Sergeant Maior *per diem* twentie shillings.

George Beuerley Controller of the victuals *per diem* ten shillings.

Five Commissaries of the victuals, whereof one *per diem* eight shillings, the rest sixe shillings a peece.

Twelue Colonels at ten shillings a peece *per diem*.

Earle of Thomond.

Sir Henry Poore,

Sir Charles Willmot.

Lord Audley.

Sir Charles Percy.

Sir John Bolles.

Lord Dunkellin.

Sir Matthew Morgan.

Sir Arthur Savage.

Sir Henry Dockwra.

Sir Christop. St. Laurence.

Sir Richard Moryson.

A Prouost Marshal of Ballishannon, and another of Loughfoyle, each at foure shillings *per diem*.

Companies of Horse.

The Lord Deputy, one hundred, at eightene pence a peece *per diem*. The Earle of Ormond fiftie, at twelue pence. The Earle of Southampton one hundred, halfe at eightene pence, and halfe at fiftene pence. The Earle of Kildare fiftie at twelue pence. The Earle of Clanrikard fiftie, at twelue pence. The Lord of Dunsany fiftie, at twelue pence. The Lord President of Mounster fiftie, at eightene pence. Sir Garret Moore twentie five, at twelue pence. Sir Christopher Sant Laurence twentie five, at twelue pence.

The Lord Dunkellin

25

Captaine Wayman Prouost Mar-

Sir Henrie Harington

26

tiall of Connaght

12

Sir William Warren

25

Captaine Richard Greame

50

all 12 pence

Sir Samuel Bagnal

50

Captaine Thomas Gifford

25

per diem.

Sir Edward Herbert

12

Captaine Fleming

25

Sir Oliuer Lambert

25

Captaine Taffe

25

Sir Richard Wingfield Marshall 50, whereof 20 at eightene pence, and thirtie at twelue pence *per diem*.

Captaine Thomas White 50

50

at fiftene pence *per diem*.

Sir Anthony Cooke 50

50

Sir Henrie Dauers 100 at eightene pence. Sir Henrie Dockwra 50, halfe at eightene pence, halfe at twelue pence. Sir Grif. Markam 100, halfe at fiftene pence, halfe twelue pence.

Totall of Horse 1200.

Companies of Foot.

To be sent from Dublin to Loughfoyle in Plster.

Sir Henry Dockwra Gouvernor of Loughfoyle, and Colonel of the Army.

200

Captaine Errington

100

Sir Matthew Morgan Colonel

150

Captaine Heath

150

Sir John Chamberlaine

150

Captaine Badbye

150

Captaine Lister

100

Gg 4

To

To be sent out of England to the same place.

Sir John Bolles one of the Colonels of the Army	150	Captaine Lionel Guest	150	Captaine Pinner	100
Captaine Vaughan	150	Captaine Leigh	100	Captaine Orrel	150
Captaine Thomas Coche	100	Captaine H. Clare	150	Captaine Sidney	100
Captaine Dutton	100	Sir John Pooley	150	Captaine Windsor	100
Captaine Ellis Flad	150	Captaine Masterfon	100	Captaine Staley	100
Captaine Ralph Bingley	150	Captaine Stafford	100	Captaine Digges	100
Captaine Basset	100	Captaine Atkinson	100	Captaine Brooke	100
Captaine Oram	100	Captaine Hales	100	Captaine Rand	100
		Captaine Alford	100	Captaine Plunket	100

Totall of Loughfoyle Garrison deuided into three Regiments vnder the Gouvernour Sir Henrie Dockwra, and the two Colonels aboue named, Sir Matthew Morgan, and Sir John Bolles, 4000.

Carickfergus Garrison. Foote.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouvernour	200	Captaine Egerton	100
Sir Fulk Conway	150	Captaine Norton	100
Captaine Laurence Esmond	150		Foote 700

Foote at the Newrie.

Sir Samuel Bagnol	200	At Carlingford Capt. Ferdinando Freckleton	100
Captaine Blanye	150		Foote 450.

Foote in the Prouince of Connaght.

Sir Arthur Saunge Gouvernour	200	Sir Robert Louel	150
The Earle of Thomond	200	Sir Tibot Dillon	100
The Earle of Clanrickard	100	Captaine Thomas Bourgh	100
The Lord Dunkellin, the Earles eldest sonne	200	Captaine Tibot Nelong	100
Sir Thomas Burgh his younger sonne	150	Captaine Hugh Mostian	100
			Foote 1400.

Foote in the Prouince of Mounster.

Sir George Carew Lord President	200	Captaine Roger Haruy	150
The Lord Audley	200	Captaine Thomas Spencer	150
Sir Henrie Poore	200	Captaine Flower	100
Sir Charles Willmot	150	Captaine Sheffield	100
Sir George Cary Treasurer at warres	100	Captaine George Kingfmell	100
Sir Richard Percy	150	Captaine Garret Dillon	100
Sir Francis Barkely	100	Captaine Hugh Oreilly	100
Sir Edward Fitzgarret	100	Captaine William Poore	100
Sir John Barkley	200	Captaine Saxy	100
Sir Gerald Haruy	150	Captaine Bostock	100
Sir John Dowdal	100	Captaine George Blount	100
Sir Richard Masterfon	100		Foote 2950.

Foote in the Prouince of Leymster.

The Lord Deputies Guard	200	Sir Charles Percy	200
The Earle of Southampton	200	Sir Oliner Lambert	200
The Earle of Ormond	200	Sir Richard Moryson	200
The Earle of Kildare	150	Sir Thomas Wingfeild	150
The Lord of Dunsany	150	Sir Henrie Warren	100
The Lord Deluin	150	Sir Garret More	100
Sir Gorge Bourcher	100	Sir Francis Rushe	150
Sir Richard Wingfeild	150	Sir Henrie Follyot	150
Sir Christoper Sant Laurence	200	Sir William Warren	100
			Sir

Sir Thomas Loftus	100	Sir James Fitzpeirse	150	Capt. Roe	100
Sir Oliuer Saint Johns	150	Sir Francis Stafford	200	Capt. Toby Caseild	150
Sir Charles Ocarrol	100	Sir Henrie Harington	100	Capt. Iosias Bodley	150
Sir Henrie Dauers	200	Capt. Thomas Williams	150	Capt. Francis Shane	100
The totall of the Foote				14000.	Foote 4500.

A list of such as the Lord Deputy could draw into the field to prosecute Tyrene, all
consisting of the companies lying in Lemster, and those of
the Newrie and Carlingford.

Horse.

The Lord Deputy 100. Sir Henry Dauers 100. Sir Samuel Bagnol 50. The Lord
Dunsany 50. Sir Garret More 25. Horse 325.

Foote.

The Lord Deputy 200. The Earle of Southampton 200. Sir Francis Stafford 200.
Sir Samuel Bagnol 200. Sir Richard Moryson 100. Sir Henry Dauers 200. Sir Charles
Percy 200. Sir Oliuer Lambert 200. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Oliuer Saint Johns 150.
Sir Henrie Follyot 150. The Lord of Dunsany 150. Sir Garret More 100. Sir Thomas
Wingfeild 150. Captaine Edward Blayne 150. Captaine Iosias Bodley 150. Captaine
Ferdinand Freckelton 100. Captaine Toby Caseild 150. Captaine Francis Roe 100. Cap-
taine Thomas Williams 150. Foote 3200

Out of these taken to guard places til the returre of the Army. —————	}	Foote.	Horse.
Dead payes allowed in each hundred of foote 9,		810	20
and in each fiftie horse 4. —————	}	288	26
		Totall 1098	46

Deduct this 1098 out of the Foote, and 46 out of the Horse, and so remaines for the Lord Depu- ties Armie in field —————	}	Foot.	Horse.
		2102	279.

Out of this a further allowance (though vncertaine) must be deducted for sick and
deficient men not mentioned formerly.

Obserue that many Gunners, Canoniers, Armorers, and Clerks of the Ordinance,
some at foure s. some at two s. *per diem*, and an Inginiere at ten s. *per diem*. That some
sixteene Surgians, the chiefe at five l. the other disperfed in Prouinces and Garrisons
at thirty or forty s. a peece the weeke, and that the Lord Deputies Doctor of Physicke
at five l. the weeke, and his chiefe Chaplaine at the same rate, and some ten other Prea-
chers disperfed, at thirty or forty s. the weeke: each are all paid by the defalcation of
one pay in each company of foot, and likewise of certaine futes of apparell due to
the same companies. And that the Commissaries of the Musters (raised from five to
twenty) at three s. 4 d. a piece *per diem* are paied out of the Checques which themselues
raise, and one of them following the Army in field in each Prouince; the rest are di-
tributed to be resident in particular garrisons.

Hauiug made distribution of the Forces for the present: It remaines I should dis-
cend to the brieffe narration of the Lord Deputies particular Counsels, and actions a-
gainst the Rebels. About the beginning of Aprill, it was determined in counsell by
the Lord Deputy and the generall assent of the Counsellors, that the Ilander Scots
should be hired to serue against James Mac Sorley. That Agnus pretending right to his
Countrey, was the fittest for that purpose, and vpon his refusall, Mac Alaine was
thought fittest to be entertained for this seruice. That the number of Scots should be
1500. or 2000. at most. That they should not land till the end of August, and remaine
in pay as occasion should serue, their pay being to each man a Cow for a moneth, or
for the default of Cattell, sixe d. by the day. And that they should land betweene the
Band and Oldenfleet, except they thought some other place fitter. Two Inhabitants
of Caricfergus were appointed to treat with these Scots, and they were to haue the L.
Deputies Letters to the Earle of Argile, and to the Queenes Agent in Scotland, for the
furtherance

furtherance of this businesse. But this Councell tooke no effect, by reason the course was disliked in *England*. In the same Councell it was propounded, how the Army should be employed till the Lord Deputies going into the field, which in all probability could not be for some two moneths after. And it was resolved to prosecute the Rebels at one instant, both on the borders in the North, and in *Leinster*. For the North borders 650. foot, and 100. horse, were to lie in garrison in *Dundalke*, 700. foot, and 50. horse at *Ardee*, 400. foot and 50. horse at *Kelles*, 1000. foot and 50. horse at the *Newry*, and a hundred foot at *Carlingford*. If *Tyrone* drew not to a head, it was concluded these garrisons were to infest the *Fewes*, *Ferny*, *Ohanlon's* Countrey, *Mac Gennis* his Countrey, and other parts of *Monaghan*, and the *Cavan*. If *Tyrone* drew to a head, then it was concluded, his owne troopes were like to spoile these Countries, and our men sent to *Loughfoyle* should plant themselves with more ease, & shortly be able to spoile both *Tyrone* and *Odonnells* Countrey. For *Leinster* a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, were to draw into *Ophalia*, to build up the *Togher*, to victuall the Fort of *Phillipstone*, and to spoile the *Connors*, *Macgoghigans*, *Omoloyes*, and *Mac Coghlin's*. This done, it was concluded, these forces should passe into *Leex*, there to attend direction, or if that passage were difficult, then to returne the way they went, and by the way to send for further direction. And to further the last prosecution, the *O Carrols* were commanded at the same time to invade the *Omoloyes*, and the Lord of *Deluin*, and Sir *Francis Shane* were to meet, and ioyn with the Lord *Dunkellin* in *Mac Coghlin's* Countrey, and there to invade the neighbour Rebels.

The third of Aprill the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary, that the Queene had few Subjects in *Ireland* of any sort, who had not either some kinde of intelligence with *Tyrone*, or had not framed their hearts that way, whereof the whole Pale made sufficient ouerture, by a petition lately deliuered, and by their contestation at the Councell Table. That the old Earle of *Clanrickard*, at *Tyrone's* going into *Mounster*, had taken day with him till May next, to declare himselfe on that party: But that the Lord of *Dunkellin* his eldest soone, hated by his younger brother, whom the father esteemed much aboue him, gaue him great confidence of his firme alleagiance, who suspecting his fathers disposition that way, had taken occasion by repairing to *Dublin*, and after going for *England*, to put himselfe as a gage and bridle to his fathers proceedings. Concluding, that he the Lord Deputy had taken order for securing the Castle of *Athlone*, but that all his hope of keeping the Prouince of *Connaght* in obedience, was in the Lord of *Dunkellins* honesty. Neither was the Lord Deputy deceiued in this worthy Lord, who as during his fathers life, so from his death, (happening within few moneths), to the end of the warre, serued the Queene as nobly, valiantly, and faithfully, as any nobleman or gentleman in the army. The Lord Deputy explained the danger of the Irish Commanders and Companies, yet for the time shewed the remedy to be more dangerous then the disease, protesting that her Maiesty could not take a more vnprofitable way to satisfie the Irish sutors, then by giuing them Companies. His Lordship further advertised Master Secretary, that vpon *Tyrone's* retiring out of *Mounster* into the North, in manner of a fearefull flight, he the Lord Deputy had drawne from the Earle of *Ormond* such Companies as were not appointed for *Mounster*, and vpon their arriual to *Athye* had sent Sir *Richard Moryson*, to take possession of the gouernement of *Leax*, and Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, to leade and bring backe the forces sent with victuals to relieue the Fort, called *Mariabourg* (of Queene *Mary*) situate in *Leax*, (otherwise called the *Queenes* County) which Fort being before in extreame distresse, now he had supplied for three moneths. That he had imployed *Brimingham*, (who had about that time submitted himselfe to the *Queenes* mercy), to put in some Cowes into the Fort of *Ophaly*. That he purposed to prosecute the Rebels in *Leinster* with one thousand foote and a hundred horse, and to lodge the rest in garrisons vpon the North, so as on the sudden he might diuert *Tyrone* from resisting our present plantation at *Loughfoyle*. That hee would presently send a thousand old souldiers from *Dablyn* to *Loughfoyle*, and likewise with them such as were to lie in garrison at *Ballishannon*, vnder the command of Sir *Matthew Morgan*, but that, for some difficulties, they

they could not yet be settled there, yet lying at *Loughfoyle* in the meane time, might doe seruice, and alwaies be ready to be sent thither. That *Tyrone's* confederates were discouraged at his fearefull retreat into the North, which could not haue beene greater, if he had beene broken with an Army. For after an vnreasonable dayes march, hearing of the Lord Deputies drawing towards him, within one houre of his sitting downe, he did presently rise againe at seuen a clocke in the night, and being assaulted by some of our scattered bands, still marched, leauing to the sword as many of his men as were ingaged, and leauing or leeing all his carriages, so as now almost euery day the heads of some rebels or others were sent him, and many seruices were of late done, as ther recovery of a prey by the garrison at the *Naas*, with the killing of many Rebels, and the defeat of one hundred and forty Rebels by Sir *Francis Shane*, whereof forty five were killed, and of them some foureteene with his owne hand. And the Rebels of *Lcmsler* daily made meanes to be receiued to mercy. Onely the Townes were the stores of the Rebels, and stood so saucily vpon their priuiledges, as a sharpe rod and strong hand were requisite to amend them. For which cause his Lordship aduised, that the Castle of *Lymrick* might be repaired, to bridle that Town, which seemed of more importance, then any other City of that Kingdome whatsoeuer. That the despairing rebels were by *Tyrone's* cunning raised to some hopes, by two ships lately come into the North out of *Spaine*, which brought the rebels some munition, and either assurance of great and present succours, or *Tyrone* at least so vsed their comming to his purpose, as the rebels beleueed such assurance was giuen. Besides, many Priests came in those ships, of which one termed himselfe the Popes Legat, and Leger Ambassadour for the King of *Spaine*, and Archbishop of *Dublin*, giuing out that he was content to suffer death, if he preached not in *Dublyn* before Michaelmas day. Whereupon the Rebels beganne to auow themselues the King of *Spaines* subiects, and onely the expectation of *Loughfoyle* garrison, together with the doubt of these succours, kept the very Pale from the boldnes to professe the same. Lastly, his Lordship vehemently complained, that her Maiesty by absolute command disposed of charges in that Kingdome, so as he could neither pleasure his owne friends, nor reward her Maiesties best seruants; yea, that hauing already giuen the gouernement of *Leax* to Sir *Richard Moryson*, (a friend whom he confessed especially to loue, and whom he would vndertake to be as worthy in his profession, as any of his time, or any the Queene had in that Kingdome), now by the Lords Letters signifying her Maiesties pleasure, he was forced to his friends and his owne disgrace, to conferre the place on another: and in conclusion, besought her Maiesty, in such recommendations to leaue them somewhat to his choice, promising to execute them, or else to yeeld great reason to the contrary.

The sixth of Aprill the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary, that the Earle of *Ormond* was gone from *Dublyn* to his Country, hauing made great complements of affection to her Maiesties seruice, yet it was apparant that either he was growne weaker in iudgement, or worse affected to the Queenes seruice, then was imagined in *England*, affirming of certainty that in the last cessation he had thrice at least spoken very long with *Tyrone*, and at his last being in *Mounster*, had once heard from him. And in generall, that the subiects were no better seruants to her Maiesty then the rebels, with whom they daily practised, and would giue no assistance with bodies or goods to her Maiesties seruice, yea, would (no doubt) quit their allegiance whensoever they might doe it with safety. That euery rogue asked a Company, and if he had one, then sought a Regiment, but that (God blessing her Maiesties Army) he hoped shortly to giue law to their irregular humours.

The Prouince of *Mounster* (as I formerly said) was much confirmed in rebellion by the Earle of *Tyrone* his last iourney into those parts, where he strengthened *James Fitz-thomas*, (who by the Northerne rebels sent thither from *Tyrone*, was exalted to be Earle of *Desmond* in the yeere 1598. and was by a nicke-name called the *Suggon Earle*), he combined with *Florence mac Carty*, (called by the Irish, *Mac Carty more*, a name greatly followed there) and in like sort with most of the great men of those parts, encouraging those whom he found willing to persist, taking pledges of those he suspected

*Affaires of
Mounster.*

suspected to be wauering, and burning and spoyling those few, who did absolutely refuse to ioyne with him, as the Lord *Barry* with some others. And at this time another accident seeming of great consequence, did much erect the hearts of the Rebels, and dismay the subiects of those parts, which I will briefly set downe. Sir *George Carew* hauing newly receiued letters Pattents to bee Lord President of *Mounster*, and resolving presently to repaire to his charge, departed from *Dublin* on his iourney thitherward the seuenth of Aprill, and vpon the ninth came to *Kilkenny* with the Earle of *Thomond* in his company, and one hundred horse to attend him, where the Earle of *Ormond* told them he had appointed to parley with some Rebels of those parts, where of *Owney Mac Rory* was the chiefe, and desired them to accompany him. The tenth of Aprill they rode out of *Kilkenny* with some twentie Horse of the Earle of *Ormonds* followers, and some few others mounted vpon hacknies, his Lordship refusing to haue the Lord Presidents Horse to guard him. So they rode eight long miles to the place of meeting: and the Earle of *Ormond* left his Company of two hundred Foot two mile short of that place. The Rebelle *Owney* came out of the Woods with five hundred men well Armed, and leauing his shot, and the grosse of his troope some Calieuers shot distant from the Earle, came vp to him with some choise pikes. After an hower spent, & nothing concluded, the Lord President moued the Earle to returne, but he would first speake with the Iesuit *Archer*, and the Rebels calling him, his Lordship reproued *Archer*, and called him traytor. In the meane time the grosse of the Rebels had crept ouer the shrubs, and compassed round the Earle and his companie, which the Lord President disliking, prayed the Earle to returne: but as he turned about his hackney, the Rebels tooke him prisoner, and *Owney Mac Rory* laid hands on the Lord President, but the Earle of *Thomond* rushing vpon him with his horse, made him leaue his hold, and they both escaped by the swiftnesse and strength of their horses from the pushs of many pikes, wherewith the Earle of *Thomond* was slightly hurt in the backe. This treacherie was said to be plotted by *Owney* and *Archer*, and very few others, for if more had knowne it, many thought that the Earle had such spies, and was so feared among the Rebels, as his Lordship would haue had notice thereof either for feare or loue. But there wanted not others, who thought the Earle was willingly surprisid. Howsoeuer it were, the Rebels did him no hurt in his person, onely one of the Earles men was slaine, five were hurt, and fourteene taken prisoners. The Lord President with the one hundred horse attending him, and sixe hundred foote, which he sent for out of *Mounster*, kept the vnsetled humours of those parts from present tumult, where the Earles true followers wanting their head, and the ill affected now standing in no awe of his power, were all at liberty. The Countesse of *Ormond* was much afflicted with her husbands misfortune, and with feare of her own and her daughters estate. For diuers pretended to be heires to the Earle; as Sir *Edward Butler* his brother, and in respect his blood was attainted, Sir *Walter Butler* the Earles Nephew, and for other reasons the Vicount *Mount-Garret*. And each of these was likely to seeke to haue the Earles sole daughter in their hands, besides that these controuersies bred distracted humours among the Gentlemen and others of those parts. The Lord Deputie hearing hereof, presently dispatched Sir *George Boucher* to command in chiefe, and Sir *Christop. Saint Laurence* to assist him, in guarding the Countesse, her daughter, and the Earles houses, with the forces appointed by the Lord Deputie for that seruice, namely,

The Earles Company of foote 200. The foote Company of Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence* 200. The Earles troope of horse 50. Horse of *Saint Laurence* 25. Sir *George Bouchers* horse 10.

Yet the Lord Deputie conceiued the Earles surprisid to bee an euill more spetious then materiall, seeing no reason, why the Counsels of the warre should stagger vpon his wel or ill doing. For wheras some were of opinion, that he was willingly taken, and would declare himselfe for *Tyrone*, his Lordship resolved, that if he continued faithfull, his Countries might easily be defended, if otherwise, as easily wasted, since after the Garrisons should be once planted at *Loughfoyle*, and those parts on the backe of

Tyrone.

Tyrone, hee should bee able to spare forces for any such service. And whereas many thought the newes would much amaze the Court of *England*, his Lordship on the contrary (since neither the Lord President nor himselfe deserved any imputation for this event, the parley being contrived without the Lord Presidents priuity, and both contrived and executed, without making himselfe acquainted therewith) conceived, it would make the Army both better, and more carefully seconded out of *England*. And whereas it was thought, that this accident would erect the rogues spirits, which before began to bee dejected, and so hinder the submission of many, his Lordship knowing that they would never be faithfull to the State, till they could not subsist against it, was of opinion, that till they were brought into greater extremities, it would proue better, that they should stand out, then come in.

His Lordship the fifteenth of Aprill advertised Master Secretarie of this accident, and how he had sent forces to strengthen those parts, and had taken speciall care for the safetie of the Earles daughter and heire, and being loth suddenly to give his opinion herein, onely professed to thinke it strange, that one so full of regard to himselfe in all his proceedings, should be so easily overtaken. Then his Lordship gave confidence, that if the *Butlers* declared themselves for *Tyrone*, as soone as *Loughfoyle* Garrison was planted at his backe, his Lordship doubted not to be able to meete the Lord President in *Kilkenny*, and with their ioynt forces to subdue the Rebels, and set those parts in obedience.

At this time the Fort of *Phillipstown* in *Ophaley* (otherwise called the Kings County) was to be victualled, and *Ony Mac Rory* with the *O Mores* in *Leax*, together with the *O Connors* in *Ophaly*, bragged that the Queenes forces should not be able to victuall it. Now by the emulation of one of our chiefe Commanders, against another preferred before him, and strengthened by the Court factions of *England*, the said Commander had set out some weake Companies for this service, to be led by the other, as in preheminance of his place, but a neerer friend to the Lord Deputie, conceiving how much this first actions successe might adde reputation, or give a blemish, both to his Lordship and the Army, gave notice thereof, so as his Lordship offering the same Commander the leading of those Companies, he refusing to goe with them, manifested the suspected emulation. Whereupon his Lordship caused foureteene strong Companies to be allotted, and gave the command of them in chiefe to Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, who conducted the victuals, and led the men with such iudgement and valour, as being strongly fought with at the comming off, and especially at the going on, yet they performed the service with great losse and discouragement to those proud Rebels, and the fifteenth of Aprill his Lordship advertised Master Secretary of this good service.

The thirtieth of Aprill the Earle of *Ormond* sent to the Lord Deputie from the Woods the conditions, *Ony Mac Rory* demanded vnder his owne hand for his liberty, which till then he could not get, because *Ony* staid for *Tyrones* and his confederates aduice, adding a postscript of his Lordships owne hand; that the letter was brought to him ready written, neither was he allowed any man of his owne to write for him. The insolent demands were these: First, that her Maiesties forces should bee removed from *Leax*, and the Garrisons deliuered to *Ony Mac Rories* hands. Secondly, that pledges should be deliuered him for caution, that no garisons shuld euer be planted there, which done, *Ony* and his followers would submit themselves. Thirdly, if pledges were not giuen, then the Garrisons also in *Ophaly* should be removed, and euery man left to shift for himselfe. The postscript required, that vpon such pledges deliuered, a generall protection for sixe weeks should be sent to *Onye Mac Rorie*, and all his friends in *Leinster*, whereupon answere should be returned, who desired the benefit thereof, but during the said time of the protection, no forces of her Maiesties should bee sent against their confederates in *Ulster* and the North. The 5 of May the L. Deputie drew into the North parts, to make *Tyrone* look towards him, & so to giue better facility to our men to settle themselves in garrison at *Loughfoyle*. But before his departure from *Dublin*, for the better gouerning & defending the Pale, his L. did by cōmission leaue Sir *H. Poore*.

The fight at
the Moyry.

to commaund in all martiall affaires, and some of the Counsell to gouerne Cinill matters during his absence. And staying some few daies at *Tredagh*, for the Companies which had victualed *Phillipston*, and for the Garrisons of *Kels* and *Ardee*, as also for victuals, he marched to *Dundalke*, whence taking that Garrison also with him, he passed the pace of the *Moyry* on Whitsunday morning, and so came to the *Newry*, where hee vnderstood, that according to his opinion, *Tyrone* turning his forces from *Loughfoyle*, was come in great haste to *Dungannon*, had razed the old Fort of *Blackwater*, burned *Armagh*, and had drawne his men into the strong fastnes of *Loughlurken*, where with great industrie the rebels had made trenches, and fortified the place some three miles in length. His Lordship to the former end aduancing towards him, on the 16 of May, drew out of the *Newry*, and incamped in the way towards *Armagh* with 1500 foote, and some 200 horse. And there hauing notice, that the rebels inquired after the time when the Earle of *Southampton* and Sir *Oliuer Lambert* Sergeant Maior were to come to the Army, and with all hearing, that the said Earle and Sergeant Maior were that day arriued at *Dundalke*. His Lordship early in the morning on the 17 of May, sent Captaine *Edward Blany* with 500 foot and 50 horse, to secure their passage through the pace of the *Moyrye*, who marched from the Campe, and so through the *Moyrye* to the *Faghard*, from which hill to *Dundalke*, there was no danger. There he made a stand, and leauing his foot in two squadrons of 250 each, himselfe with the horse passed to *Dundalke*, and told the Earle of the forces the Lord Deputy had sent to conduct him, assuring him further, that his Lordship with the rest of the Army would meete him by two of the clock in the afternoone, at the causey beyond the pace, from which the whole pace hath the name of the *Moyrye*. Hereupon the Earle hauing with him, besides this conuoy, the foot Companies of Sir *Oliuer Lambert* and Sir *Henry Follyot*, and some 50 horse of voluntary Gentlemen, marched to the *Faghard* where hee commanded one of the two squadrons aboue mentioned to march on, and after that the carriages; then his Lordship with the horse followed, after whom the second Squadron marched, and last of all the two foot Companies of Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, and Sir *Henry Follyot*, Captaine *Blany* commanding the vanguard, aduanced towards the *Four-mile-water*, being a Forde all inuironed with Woods, in the middest of this dangerous pace called the *Moyrye*. And comming within halfe a mile of the same, they discouered the rebels on both sides in the Wood, whereupon the Earle directed the Vanguard to passe ouer the water, and to make good the rising of the hill beyond it. When these came within a Musket shot, they perceiued two hundred foote of the enemy lodged beyond the water, in the most aduantageous places. Then Captaine *Blany* diuided his men into three Maniples, sending 60 on the right hand vnder Captaine *Henric Atherton*, and as many on the left hand vnder Captaine *Williams* his Lieutenant, and keeping the rest in the middest with himselfe. And so by the Sergeant Maiors directions, they gaue the charge. In the meane time the Lord Deputy being on the hill beyond the pace, had sent his Vanguard consisting of two Regements, the one vnder Sir *Charles Percy*, and the other vnder Sir *Richard Moryson* (two Colonels of the Army), to aduance towards the pace. And at this instant, when Captaine *Blany* gaue on vpon the Rebels, the said Lord Deputies vanguard appeared on the left side, within two musket shot. After some vollyes on either side, the Rebels on the right hand, and those right before Captaine *Blany* quitted those places, and retired through the woods to the Earle of *Southampton*s Reare, so as Captaine *Blany* passing the water, made a stand there, as he was appointed to doe, till the carriage and horse should be passed. And now the Lord Deputies Vanguard being come to the passage of the said water, maintained a resolute skermish with the Rebels on the left hand, and altogether secured the Earles troopes on that side. The rebels thus beaten on both sides, left some one hundred shot to skirmish with the Lord Deputies vanguard, and all retired to the Earle of *Southampton*s reare, and came desperatly on our men, both with horse and foot. But Sir *Henry Follyot* made a very good stand, and Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, fearing lest our men should be distressed, the more to encourage them, tooke his colours in his owne hand and together with some 30 of the Earle of *Southampton*s Vangards best men, sent back

to

to the Rere, hastened towards the Assailants, to second the Earle, who at that time with some 6 horse did charge the assailing Rebels, and beate them a musket shot back, still pursuing them, til they hauing spent their powder, and throwne their staues, darts, and innumerable stones, recovered the place, where *Tyrone* stood himselfe with some 220 horse and 200 foote in sight (besides a far greater number hid in the woods), which neuer came vnto this fight. When our men had thus gained much ground, the Earle commaunded them to march towards the Army, and presently Sir *Richard Wingfield* the Marshal of the army of *Ireland* came to the, with order from the L. Dep. that since the repulsed rebels were not like to giue any second charge, they should continue their march, following his L^{ty} troopes directly to the *Newry*. In this conflict 2 of our men were slaine, Capt. *Atherton* and Mast. *Cheut* were shot, and some few hurt with swords and such weapons. On the rebels side there were in all 1200 foot thus aduantageously lodged, and 220 horse, and *Tyrone* himself confessed, that ten of his men died with ouertrauelling in this hasty march, besides such as were killed, whose number could not certainly be learned. The 21 of May, his L^{ty} was aduertised from Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Gouvernour of *Carickfergus*, that the English sent to plant at *Loughfoyle* were safely landed with small resistance, and had taken *Newcastle* belonging to Sir *John Odogherty*, whose country they had spoiled & wasted, and that some of them sent forth vpon a draught, had taken good store of cowes, and killed some of *Odonnells* people, and that they were now busie in fortifying about the *Derrie*, so as many of that country Southward did passe their cowes and moueables into *Scotland*, depending specially vpon the hopes of Spanish succours. That *Brian Mac Art* a rebel bordering on *Carickfergus*, had left his fastnes of *Kilultagh*, and now lay on the borders of *Lecale*, where he purposed to assaile him, the rather because he had sent 200 men to assist *Tyrone*: that diuers Gentlemen and others did daily flie from the rebels, and resort vnto him with their goods, to the number of 1200 cowes, and more would come, but that he doubted their faithfulness. That to free himself of the imputation to keepe *James Mac Surley* an enemy, till he had reuenged on him his brothers death, he had imployed Colonell *Egerton* to inuite that rebell to submission, but receiued onely temporising answeres; whereupon according to his L^{ty} directions, hee had written and sent a messenger of purpose, to the Lord of *Clantyer* an Ilander Scot, to stirre him vp against *James Mac Surley*, wrongfully possessing his rightfull inheritance in those parts of *Ireland*, offering to ioyne the Queenes forces vnder his commaund, to those powers he should bring, for recouerie of this his right, so as he would after yeeld due tribute and obedience to her Maiesty: but that vpon the King of Scots late Proclamation, that al bearing Armes should be ready to attend the King on the 17 of Iuly next following, in prosecution of the Ilander Scots (as was giuen out), refusing to pay tribute, he feared that this Lord would bee diuerted from imbracing this busines, howsoeuer aduantageous to him. That he had receiued *Con Mac Neale*, the son of *Neale Mac Brian*, and his horsemen, into her Maiesties pay, and would shortly waste his fathers Country, whence *Brian Mac Art* and some 400 Bonnaghtes (or hired souldiers) were maintained and fed. Finally, that he thought fit to rebuild *Olderfleete*, and leaue some in Ward there, because the Hauen was commodious to succour weather-beaten ships, going to supplie the Garrison of *Loughfoyle* with necessaries.

The 26 of May, the Lord Deputie receiued a letter from the Lords in *England*, with full answer to his late dispatches. For the Earle of *Ormonds* detention, they signified her Maiesties grieve to be the greater, because any attempt made for his recouerie was like to proue his ruine, and that her Maiestie had written to the Countesse, to send the Earles young daughter and heire into *England*. For Sir *Arthur Chichester*s demaunds, vpon his comming in to serue her Maiesty, in the first point concerning religion, her Maiesty bare with it, because she took it to proceede of his ignorance, not of presumption; only wishing the L. Dep. to let him see, that her Maiesty pursued none in those parts for religion, and so to satisfie him, but in no wise by any contract or condition. Next for his and others suits for land, and for entertainements, because such ouertures were like daily to be made, by such as submitted themselves, and protraction of sending to

and fro, might lose many opportunities. First, touching the sutes for land, her Maiesties directions in particular cases following, should be a rule to the Lord Deputie for his graunts of that kind. And first for Sir *Arthur Oneale* demanding *Tyrone*'s estate, that could not be granted him, by reason *Tyrone*, vpon pretence of an old inquisition, had extended the limits of his Countie, and incroched far into the South and East. But her Maiesty was pleased to giue him *Tyrone*'s principall seates, reseruing places for forts, and lands to maintaine them, and reseruing all dependancy of the Vriaghtes (or neighbour Lords), also reseruing lands in *Tyrone* to reward the seruices of such Gentlemen as should serue vnder Sir *Arthur* in these warres, which they should onely hold of her Maiestie by letters Patents. For the rest Sir *Arthur Oneale* to be chiefe in *Tyrone*, as well in superioritie, as in reuenuer. Touching *Neale Garues* demands for *O Donnell*'s estate, her Maiesties pleasure was to reserue some Portes and Castles, and some lands to reward the seruices of that Countie's Gentlemen, intending that these, and more specially the *Mac Swynes*, should depend onely vpon her Maiestie, and haue right to those lands by her letters Patents. Touching *Mac Guires* Countie, her Maiestie directed like reseruatiens of land, for Fortes and rewards of seruices, and generally in all grantes charged to reserue her Maiesties ancient rights. Secondly, touching suitors for entertainments in pay, her Maiesties pleasure was signified to allow one thousand pound a moneth, so long as the Lord Deputy and the Council there should thinke fit, to be imployed that way, according to the Lord Deputies discretion. But their Lordships aduised warily to obserue, and know, such as offered submission, because it had alwaies been the Arch-traitors practise, to let slip such as he could not defend, that they might saue their goods, and liue vpon her Maiestie, without any intent to doe her seruice. Lastly, whereas the Lord of *Dunkellin* by his letters, in regard of some restrictions, whereby hee was disabled to serue her Maiestie as he desired, had made offer to resigne the gouernement he had in the Prouince of *Connaght*. And forasmuch as the Queene was alwaies vnwilling to imploy any great Lord in his owne Countie, yet finding him placed in that gouernement by the Earle of *Essex*, had still continued him there, only out of her speciall fauor to him. And for that of late some insolencies had bin offered to Companies of the English, by the old Earle of *Clanricards* soldiers in her Maiesties pay. Their Lordships signified, that the Queenes pleasure was, to accept the Lord of *Dunkellins* resignation, in the fairest maner, and withall carefull tendering of his honour, aduising the Lord Deputie to inuite him to accompany his Lordship, and serue in the Army vnder him. And Sir *Arthur Savage* then a Colonel of the Army, and lying with his Company at *Athlone*, was appointed provisionall Gouernour of the Prouince of *Connaght*, except the Lord Deputie knew some sufficient cause to the contrary. The Lord Deputy hauing attained his end of drawing the Army into the North, by the safe landing and setting of *Loughfoyle* Garrison, in the farthest North of *Ireland*, on *Tyrone*'s backe. His Lordship the twentieth of May hearing that *Tyrone* had drawne backe his men two miles further into the fastnesse, and being informed that the Pace of the *Moyrye*, by reason of much wet lately fallen, and the Rebels breaking of the causiey, was hard to passe, returned by *Carlingford* pace to *Dundalke*, and so to *Dublin*, where he vnderstood that the Rebels had in his absence burned the Pale, though he left for defence of it 2000 foot and 175 horse in *Lemster*, but the damage was not answerable to the clamour; for many priuate men haue in *England* sustained greater losse by casuall fire in time of peace, then the whole Pale had done by the enemies burning in warre, and many priuate men in *England* haue in one yeere lost more cattel by a rot, then the Pale lost by this spoyling of the rebels, of which they lamentably complained. Besides that indeede this burning and spoyling of the very Pale, did further the greatest end of finishing the warres, no way so likely to be brought to an end, as by a generall famine.

Giue me leaue to digresse a little, to one of the fatall periods of *Robert* the noble Earle of *Essex* his tragedy, (and the last but one, which was his death) whereof the following relation was sent into *Ireland*. The fifth of Iune there assembled at *Yorkehouse* in *London*, about the hearing of my Lord of *Essex* his cause, eightene Commissioners, viz. my Lord of *Canterburie*, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admirall,

Lords of *Worcester, Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Huntington, Darby, & Zouch*, Mast. Comptroller, Master Secretarie, Sir *thom Fortescu*, Lord *Popham* Chiefe Iustice, Lord *Anderson*, Chiefe Iustice of the common Pleas, Lord *Perian* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer: Iustices, *Gandy* and *Walmesley*. They sate from eight of the clock in the morning, till very neere nine at night, all at a long table in chaires. At the Earles comming in, none of the Commissioners stirred cap, or gave any signe of curtesie. He kneeled at the vpper end of the Table, and a good while without a cushion. At length my Lord of *Canterbury* moued my Lord Treasurer, and they ioyntly my Lord Keeper and Lord Admirall, that sat ouer against them, then was he permitted a cushion, yet still was suffered to kneele, till the Queenes Sergeants speech was ended, when by the consent of the Lords, he was permitted to stand vp, and after vpon my Lord of *Canterburies* motion, to haue a stoole.

The manner of proceeding was this. My Lord Keeper first deliuered the cause of the assembly, and then willed the Queenes Counsaile at Law, viz. Sergeant, Attorney, Solicitor, and Master *Bacon* to informe against him. The Sergeant began, and his speech was not long, onely a preface as it were to the accusations. The summe of it was, to declare the Queenes Princely care and prouision for the warres of *Ireland*, and also her gracious dealing with the Earle before he went, in discharging ten thousand pound of his debts, and giuing him almost so much more, to buy him hortes, and prouide himself, and especially in her proceedings in this cause, when as after so great occasion of offence as, the consumption of a royall Army, fruitlesse wasting thirty hundred thousand d. treasure, contempt, and disobedience to her expresse commandement, she notwithstanding was content to be so mercifull towards him, as not to proceede against him in any of her Courts of Iustice, but only in this priuate sort, by way of mercy and fauour.

After him the Attorney began, whose speech contained the body and substance of the accusation, it was very sharp, & stinging, for besides the many faults of contempt and disobedience, wherewith hee charged him, he did also shrewdly inferre a dangerous disposition and purpose, which was by many rhetoricall amplifications, agrauated to the full; he diuided his speech into three parts, *Quomodo ingressus, Quomodo progressus, Quomodo regressus*; In the ingresse, hee obserued how large a Commission he stood vpon, such a one as neuer any man had the like before, namely, that he might haue authoritie to pardon all Traytors of himselfe; yea, to pardon treason committed against her Maiesties owne person, and that he might mannage the warres by himselfe, without being tied to the aduice of the Counsell of *Ireland*, which clause hee said was granted, that he might at first proceede in the Northerne iourney, which the Counsell of *Ireland* (whose lands and liuings lay in the South), might perhaps hinder, and labor to diuert him, to the safeguard of themselves. In the other two parts of his speech were contained five speciall crimes, wherewith the Earle was charged, viz. His making the Earle of *Southampton* Generall of the Horse. 2. His going to *Lemster* and *Mounster*, when he should haue gone to *Ulster*. 3. His making so many Knights. 4. His conference with *Tyrone*. 5. His returne out of *Ireland*, contrary to her Maiesties command. These all sauing the fourth, were recited by the Lords in their censures, as the crimes for which he was censured by them. The first was amplified, for that he did it contrary to her Maiesties mind, plainly signified vnto him in *England*, that hee increased that offence, by continuing him in that office stil, when her Maiesty by letters had expressely commanded him to displace him; and thirdly, for that he wrote a very bold presumptuous letter to her Maiesty, in excuse of that offence, which letter was afterward read. The second point of his Southerne iourney was agrauated, in that it was made contrary to her Maiesties aduised resolution, agreed vpon by her Counsel, and approued by her martial men, as the only means to reduce *Ireland*, and contrary to the Earles own project, yea, & that without the aduice of the Counsell of *Ireland* also, as appeared by a letter of theirs vnder their hands, though now the Earle pretended their aduice for his owne excuse; wherupon followed the harrowing out, and the weakning of the royallest Army that euer went out of *England*, the wasting of that huge expence, and the ouer-

throw of the whole action. The third point, *viz.* the making of Knights, was vrged to haue beene contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement, a question being once made, whether he should haue that authoritie or no, because he had abused it before, yet the same being at the last granted, with this limitation giuen him in charge, that he should make but few, and those men of good ability, whereas he made to the number of threescore, and those some of his meniall seruants, yea & that in a most vnreasonable time, when things were at the worst, which should haue been done vpon victorie and triumph onely. The fourth point, namely, his conference with the Rebell, was agrauated, in that it was an equall and secret conference, dishonourable to her Maiestie, for him that sustained her royall person, to conferre in equall sort with the basest and vilest traytor that euer liued, a bush Kerne, and base sonne of a Blacksmith; suspicious also, in that it was priuate and secret, no man suffered to approach, but especially no English man; the end of the conference most shamefull, that the wretched traytor should prescribe conditions to his Soueraigne; abominable and odious conditions, a publike tolleration of Idolatrous religion, pardon for himselfe and all the traytors in *Ireland*, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all the sort of them. It was added, that before this parley, a messenger went secretly from the Earles Campe to the traytor, *viz.* Captaine *Thomas Leigh*, if not sent by the Earle, at least by his conniuecy, at least by the conniuecie of the Marshall, whom the Earle did not punish. Lastly, the fifth point was vrged to be intollerably presumptuous, contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement in writing, vnder the seale of her priuy signet, charging him vpon his dutie not to return vntil he heard further from her; that this his returne was also exceeding dangerous, in that he left the Army diuided vnto two diuers men, the Earle of *Ormond*, and the Lord Chauncellor, men whom himselfe had excepted against, as vnfit for such a trust, and that he so left this Army, as that if God his prouidence had not been the greater, the ruine and losse of the whole Kingdome had ensued thereupon. This was the summe of the accusation, euery part interlaced with most sharpe and bitter rhetoricall amplifications, which I touch not, nor am fit to write, but the conclusion was (whereby a taste of the same may be had) that the ingresse was proud and ambitious, the progresse disobedient, and contemptuous, the regresse notorious and dangerous. Among other things the Lady *Rich* her letter to the Queene was pressed with very bitter and hard termes: my Lady *Rich* her letter he termed an insolent, saucy, malipert action. He proposed also in the end a president for the Earles punishment (saying, he was faine to seeke farre for one gentle enough): one *William* of *Britten* Earle of *Richmond*, who refusing to come home out of *France* vpon the Kings letter, was adiudged to loose all his goods, lands, and chattels, and to indure perpetuall imprisonment. Master *Attorney* particularly said the following words, whereas the Earle in his letter exclaimeth *O tempora, O Mores* (for so I thinke he construed these words of his, O hard destiny of mine, that I cannot serue the Queene and please her too)! let me also say with the Orator concerning him; *Hac Regina intelligit, hec Senatus videt, hic tamen viuunt*. In the end of his speech, Now (saith he) nothing remaineth but that wee inquire *quo animo*, all this was done. Before my Lord went into *Ireland*, he vaunted and boasted, that hee would fight with none but the Traytor himselfe, he would pull him by the eares out of his den, hee would make the Earle tremble vnder him, &c. But when he came thither, then no such matter, hee goes another way, it appeareth plainly he meant nothing lesse then to fight with *Tyrone*. This was the effect of Master *Attorneys* part:

Master *Solliciter* his speech followed, which contained the vnhappy successe, which ensued in *Ireland* after the Earles departure, whereby appeared how little good the Earle had done, in that the Traitor was growne much more confident, more insolent, and stronger then euer he was before, as appeared principally by his declaration, which he hath giuen out since the Earles departure, vaunting that he is the vpholder of the Catholike faith and Religion, that whereas it was giuen out by some that hee would follow the Earle of *Essex* into *England*, hee would perhaps shortly appeare in *England* little to *Englands* good: many things he added to that purpose.

After

After him Sir *Francis Bacon* concluded the accusation with a very eloquent speech. First by way of Preface, signifying, that he hoped both the Earle himselfe, and all that heard him, would consider, that the particular bond of duty, which he then did and euer would acknowledge to owe vnto the Earle, was now to be sequestred, and laied aside. Then did he notably extoll her Maiesties singular grace and mercy, whereof he said the Earle was a singular work, in that vpon his humble sute, shee was content not to prosecute him in her Court of Iustice the Starre-chamber, but according to his owne earnest desire, to remoue that cup from him, (those he said were the Earles own words in his Letter), and now to suffer his cause to be heard. *Inter priuatos parietes*, by way of mercy and fauour onely, where no manner of disloyalty was laide to his charge, for (quoth he) if that had beene the question, this had not beene the place. Afterwards passing along most eloquently through the Earles iourney into *Ireland*, hee came to charge him with two points not spoken of before. The first was a Letter written by the Earle vnto my Lord Keeper, very boldly and presumptuously, in derogation to her Maiesty, which letter he also said was published by the Earles own friends. The points of the letter which he stood vpon, were these; No tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince; as if her Maiesty were deuoid of reason; carried away with passion (the onely thing that ioineth man and beast together): Her Maiesties heart is obdurate, he would not say that the Earle meant to compare her absolutely to *Pharaoh*, but in this particular onely, which must needs be very odious. Cannot Princes erre: Cannot Subiects suffer wrong? as if her Maiesty had lost her vertues of iudgement, Iustice, &c. Farre be it from me (quoth he) to attribute diuine properties to mortal Princes, yet this I must truly say, that by the Commō Law of *England*, a Prince can doe no wrong. The last point of that Letter, was a distinction of the duty a subiect oweth to his Prince, that the duty of Allegiance, is the onely indissolueble duty, what then (quoth he) is the duty of gratitude? what the duty of obedience? &c. The second point of Master *Bacons* accusation was, that a certaine dangerous seditious Pamphlet, was of late put forth into print, concerning the first yeeres of the raigne of *Henry* the fourth, but indeed the end of *Richard* the second, and who thought fit to be Patron of that booke, but my Lord of *Essex*, who after the booke had beene out a weeke, wrote a cold formall letter to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to call it in againe, knowing belike that forbidden things are most sought after: This was the effect of his speech. The speciall points of the whole accusation were afterwards proued by the Earles owne Letters, by some of her Maiesties Letters, and the Counsels, and by the letter of the Earle of *Ormond* and others of the Counsell of *Ireland*, openly red by the Clerke of the Counsell.

The accusation ended, the Earle kneeling, beganne to speake for himselfe, in effect thus much. That euer since it pleased her gracious Maiestie to remoue that cup from him (which he acknowledged to haue beene at his humble sute) and to change the course of proceeding against him, which was intended in the Starre-chamber; he laied aside all thought of iustifying himselfe in any of his actions, and that therefore, he had now resolved with himselfe neuer to make any contestation with his Soueraigne: that he had made a diuorce betwixt himselfe and the World, if God and his Soueraigne would giue him leaue to hold it; that the inward sorrow and afflictions which he had, laied vpon his soule priuately, betwixt God and his conscience, for the great offence against her Maiesty, was more then any outward crosse or affliction that could possibly befall him. That he would neuer excuse himselfe neither a *toto* nor a *tanto*, from whatsoeuer crimes of error, negligence, or inconsiderate rashnes, which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might leade him into, onely he must euer professe a loyall faithfull vnspotted heart, vnfaigned affection and desire, euer to doe her Maiesty the best seruice he could, which rather then he would lose, he would, if Christianity and Charity did permit, first teare his heart out of his breast, with his owne hands. But this alwaies preferred vntouched, he was most willing to confesse and acknowledge whatsoeuer errors and faults it pleased her Maiesty to impute vnto him. The first part of his speech drew plenty of teares from the eyes of many of the hearers; for it was vtte-

red with great passion, and the words excellently ordered, and it might plainly appeare, that he had intended to speake no more for himselfe. But being touched (as it seemed) with the ouersharpe speeches of his accusers, he humbly craued of their Lordships, that whereas he had perceiued many rhetoricall inferences and insinuations giuen out by his accusers, which might argue a disloyall, malicious, wicked, and corrupt affection in him, they would giue him leaue, not in any sort to excuse himself, but only by way of explanation, to lay downe vnto them those false guides, which had deceiued him, and led him into all his errours, and so he entered into a kind of answering Master Attornies speech, from point to point in order, alleaging, for the point of his large Commission for pardoning treason against her Maiesties person, that it was a thing he had learned of Master Attourney himselfe, onely to meete with the rebels curiosity, which had an opinion, that all treason in *Ireland*, might be interpreted treason against her Maiesties person, and therefore would trust no pardon without that clause. That in making the Earle of *Southampton* Generall of the Horse, the deceiueable guide which misled him, was an opinion that her Maiesty might haue beene satisfied with those reasons which moued him, as also with those reasons which he had alleaged in his letters, for continuance of him in the place, but that after he perceiued her Maiesties mind plainly in her second letter, he displaced him the next day: For his iourney into *Mounster*, hee alleaged diuers things, principally that the time of the yeere would not serue for an *Ulster* iourney, and then the aduice of the Counsel there, which he protested to alleage, not to excuse himselfe, but rather to accuse his owne errours, and the errours of the Counsellors in *Ireland*: and whereas some of them to excuse themselves, and charge him the deeper, had now written the contrary to the Counsell: he protested deeply that therein they had dealt most falsely, and it seemeth (saith he) that God his iust reuenge hath ouertaken two of them already, the Earle of *Ormond* by blindness, and Sir *Warham St Leger*, by violent death. For his making of Knights, he alleaged the necessity and straights he was driuen vnto, that being the onely way he had to retaine the voluntaries, the strength and pride of the Army; that he made but two of his seruants, and those men of speciall desert and good ability: that he thought his seruice ought not to be any barre against them, for the receiuing the reward of their deserts.

But before he had thus waded through halfe his answer, my Lord Keeper interrupted him, and told him, that this was not the course that was like to doe him good, that he beganne very well in submitting himselfe, vnto her Maiesties mercy and pardon, which he, with the rest of the Lords, were glad to heare; and no doubt but her Princely and Gracious nature was by that way most like to be inclined to him: that all extenuating of his offence, was but the extenuating of her Maiesties mercy in pardoning: that he with all the rest of the Lords would cleere him of all suspicion of disloyalty: and therefore he might doe well to spare the rest of his speech, and saue time, and commit himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. And when the Earle replied, that it might appeare by that hedge which he diligently put to all his answers, that he spake nothing but onely to cleere himselfe from a malicious corrupt affection. My Lord Keeper told him againe, that if thereby he meant the crime of disloyalty, it was that which he needed not to feare, he was not charged with it, as the place & course taken against him might warrant; all that was now laied vnto him, was contempt and disobedience. And if he intended to perswade them, that he had disobeyed indeed, but not with a purpose of disobeying, that were friuolous and absurd.

Then my Lord Treasurer beganne to speake, and cleering the Earle from suspicion of disloyalty, did very soundly controll diuers of his other excuses.

After him Master Secretary, making a Preface why he spake before his turne, by reason of his place, tooke the matter in hand, and first notably cleering the Earle from all suspicion of disloyalty, which he protested he did from his conscience, and afterwards often iterated the same, and persued it vnto him entire, he spake singularly for the iustifying of her Maiesties speciall care and wisdom for the warres in *Ireland*, in prouiding whatsoeuer could be demanded by the Earle for that seruice before his go-
ing

ing out ; with supplying him afterwards with whatsoeuer hee could aske , so it were possible to bee giuen him : in prescribing that course , which had it beene followed , was the onely way to haue reduced that Realme , and which being forsaken , was the onely ruine and losse of that royall army.

And as for all those excuses which the Earle alleaged for himselfe , hee cleerely cut them off , shewing that his excuse of following the Counsell of *Ireland*s aduice , was nothing , his commission being so large , that he was not bound to follow them ; and if he had beene , yet were they a Countell at his command , he might force them to say what he list : his own letters which he alleaged , might be prouisionary , written of purpose then to excuse him now . To be short , he greatly iustified her Maiesties wisdom , in managing that whole action , as much as lay in her , and laid the whole fault of the bad successe in *Ireland* , vpon the Earles ominous iourney (so he called it) into *Mounster* . And thus in the behalfe of her Maiesty , he fully satisfied the Auditors . Master Secretary gaue the Earle his right alwaies , and shewed more curtesie then any , yet saied he , the Earle in all his iourney did nothing else but make (as it were) circles of errors , which were all bound vp in the vnhappy knot of his disobedient returne . Also he gaue the Earle free liberty to interrupt him at any time in his speech .

But the Earle being contented with the opinion of loyalty so cleerely reserued vnto him , was most willing to beare the whole burthen of all the rest of the accusation , and therefore neuer vsed any further reply ; onely by reason of a question or two , that were moued by my Lord of *Canterbury* and my Lord Admirall , some little speech there was to and fro : My Lord of *Canterburys* question was concerning the conditions of yeelding vnto *Tyrone* in tolleration of religion ; the Earle heartily thanked him for mouing that doubt , & then protested , that it was a thing mentioned in deed , but neuer yeelded vnto by him , nor yet stood vpon by the Traitor , to whom the Earle had said plainly ; Hang thee vp , thou carest for religion as much as my horse . Master Secretary also cleered the Earle in that respect , that he neuer yeelded to *Tyrone* in that foule condition , though by reason of *Tyrones* vaunting afterwards , it might haue some shew of probability . By reason of my Lord Admirals question , the Earle spake somewhat of his returne , that he did it vpon a false ground of hope , that her Maiesty might pardon him , as shee did the Earle of *Leicester* in the like case , who returned out of the Low-Countries contrary to her Maiesties expresse Letter . This I thought with my selfe , (quoth the Earle) if *Leicester* were pardoned , whose end was onely to saue himselfe , why might not *Essex* be pardoned , whose end was to saue a Kingdome . But Master Secretary replied , that vpon his knowledge there neuer passed any letter from her Maiesty , to forbid the Earle of *Leicesters* returne .

Iudge *Walmesley* his speech was more blunt then bitter , Prisoners at our barres (saith he) are more gracelesse , they will not confesse their faults . Againe , he compared my Lord his comming home , and leauing the army there , to a shepheard that left his flocke to the keeping of his dogge .

In conclusion the Earle protested , that all he sought for , was the opinion of a true and a loyall subiect , which might appeare by the speech , wherewith he hedged in all his answeres , namely , that he intended onely to shew those false guides , which misled him , whether they were his owne errors , or the errors of his Counsellors , whom he followed , that he yeelded himselfe wholly to her Maiesties mercy and fauour , and was ready to offer vp his poore carkasse vnto her , he would not say to doe (for alas he had no faculties) , but to suffer whatsoeuer her Maiesty should inflict vpon him , and so requested them all , to make a iust , honourable and fauourable report of his disordered speeches , which had fallen from him in such sort , as his aking head and body weakened with sicknesse , would giue him leaue . This done they proceeded to the censure . My Lord Keeper beganne with a good , powerfull , and eloquent speech .

That by Iustice and Clemency the Throne is established , as for mercy , her Maiesty had reserued it to her selfe ; but for the satisfying of her Iustice , shee had appointed them to enquire into the cause . That they were to enquire onely of those faults of contempts and disobedience laid vnto the Earle , and to censure him accordingly , and for
her

her mercy, they had nothing to doe with it, onely God was to worke it in her Princely breast. In examining the Earles faults, he laid these for his grounds, that the two grounds and foundations of the Princes Scepter and Estate, are the reputation of a diligent and carefull prouidence for the preservation of her estate and Countries, and the obedience of her Subiects; and he that should take either of these from her, should take from her the Crowne and Scepter. For the first, he notably shewed at large, how her Maiesty had deserued it in the whole course of the Irish warres; for obedience he shewed the nature of it, consisting in precisely following the streight line of the Princes commandement, and vpon that straine he amplified to the vttermost all the Earles contempts and disobediencies, that her Maiesties great mercy might appeare the more cleerely. Among the rest, (for he went through them all in order) he answered thus to the pretence of *Leicesters* president for excuse of the Earles returne. In good things, the example is better then the imitation of another, he that doth wel of his owne head, doth best, and he that doth well by imitation, doth commendably in a lesse degree; but in bad things, the proportion is otherwise, the example being naught, the imitation is worse: Therefore if my Lord of *Leicester* did euill, in comming ouer contrary to the Queenes commandement, my Lord of *Essex* did worse in imitating my Lord of *Leicester*, and is so much the more to be punished for it. In the end, he came to the censure, which was this. If quoth he this cause had beene heard in the Starre-chamber, my sentence must haue beene so great a fine, as euer was set vpon any mans head in that Court, and perpetuall imprisonment in that place which belongeth to a man of his quality, that is the Tower; but now that we are in another place, and in a course of fauour, my censure is, that he is not to execute the office of a Counsellor, nor to hold himselfe for a Counsellor of Estate, nor to execute the office of Earle Marshall of *England*, nor of the Master of the Ordinance, and to returne to his owne house, there to continue a prisoner as before, till it shall please her Maiesty to release both this and all the rest.

After my Lord Keeper all the rest in order gaue their censures, (amplifying her Maiesties clemency and the Earles offences), according to the manner in the Starre-chamber; but all accorded to this censure, (for so they called it, and not a sentence), Master Secretary said, my censure is, that the Earle deserueth, &c. The greater part of the day was spent in the Lords censures, who were many of them very long, onely the noble men (not Counsellors) were short.

The Earle of *Worcester* cited these two verses;

*Scilicet a Superis etiam fortuna laenda est,
Nec veniam, leso numine, casus habet.*

Euen for our fortune Gods may cast vs downe;

Neither can chance excuse, if a God frowne.

The Earle of *Cumberland* said, if he thought that censure should stand, he would craue longer time, for it seemed vnto him somewhat hard and heauy, intimating how easily a Generall Commander might incurre the like; but (quoth hee) in confidence of her Maiesties mercy, I agree with the rest.

The Lord *Zouch* would giue no other censure, but that which he thought the Earle would lay vpon himselfe, that was, that he would restraints himselfe from executing his Offices, &c. and keepe himselfe in his house, till her Maiesty shall release all.

They all seemed by their speeches to conceiue a sure hope of her Maiesties releasing this censure, and the Earle was reasonably chearefull, onely his body seemed weake and distempered with sicknesse, and now and then he shewed most manifest tokens of sorrow for his offence to her Maiesty, by teares in his eyes, (specially in the first part of his owne speech, and when my Lord Keeper spake).

Now I returne to the Irish affaires. *Tyrone* on the fifth of Iune wrote to the Countesse of *Ormond*, that he had written to *Owney mac Rory*, requesting him to take pledges for the Earle her husband, and so to enlarge him; conditionally, that he should sweare to doe henceforward no hurt or hinderance to any in action with him. And further, that the young Lady his mistresse, (meaning the Earles daughter and heire) should in

no sort betaken for a pledge, especially because it was giuen out, that vnder that colour, he sought to marry her to his eldest sonne. Auowing lastly, that where it was said, that the Earle was treacherously surpris'd, (which could hardly haue beene so proued, that *Tyrone* and his rebellious confederates should haue beleeu'd it), he would in that case not onely take his fauour from *Owry*, but procure the Earles enlargement without any condition, though by his release all *Ireland* should be destroyed. To the same effect *Tyrone* writ to the Earle of *Ormond*; whose Letter he sauced with generall complaints against the Earle, for the rigorous prosecutions he had formerly made against him and his associates, but this letter being permitted to be sent to *Dublyn*, the said point could not be thought void of that cunning, wherein the writer excelled. A third Letter he wrote at the same time to *Owry mac Rory*, making *Owry* himselfe Iudge, whether hee had treacherously taken the Earle or no, aduising him to take the best pledges he could, (the aboue named young Lady excepted); and for more security, to send them to be kept in *Tyrone*, if he concurred with him in opinion, that his so doing would be more safe, then if *Owry* himselfe should keepe them in those parts. These Letters he dated (forsooth) from his Campe neere the Newry, so gallant was the Gentleman, now the Lord Deputy was returned with his forces into the Pale, who otherwise neuer appeared in Campe, but hid himselfe and his in boggy woods, and like fortified passages.

The eight of Iune the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary concerning the state of *Connaght*, wherein nothing was surely the Queenes, but *Athlone* by a prouident guard, and *Galloway* by their owne good disposition, wishing that the gouernement of that Prouince might be conferred on the Earle of *Southampton*, (to whom the Lord of *Dunkellin* would more willingly resigne, and might doe it with greater reputation to himselfe, in respect of the Earles greatnes), rather then vpon Sir *Arthur Sanage*, (who notwithstanding vpon the Queenes pleasure againe signified, was shortly after made Gouernour of that Prouince). His Lordship protested that it was such a place, as he knew the Earle would not seeke, but onely himselfe desired this, because he knew the Earles aptnes and willingnes to doe the Queene seruice, if he might receiue such a token of her fauour, iustly commending his valour and wisdom, as well in generall, as in the late particular seruice in the Moyry, when the Rere being left naked, he by a resolute charge with sixe horse, vpon *Tyrone* in the head of 220. Horse, droue him back a musket shot, and so assuring the Rere, saued the honour of the Queenes Army. To which purpose, though not so amply, his Lordship also wrote to the Queene.

At this time the County of *Dublyn*, on the South of the Riuer *Liffy*, was in effect wholly ouerrunne by the Rebels, the County of *Kildare* was likewise possessed or wasted by them. The County of *Meath* was wasted, as also the County of West *Meath*, (excepting the Barrony of *Delvin*), and the County of *Louth*: So that in the English Pale, the Townes hauing Garrisons, and the Lands from *Drogheda* (or *Tredagh*) to the *Nauan*, and thence backe to *Trym*, and so to *Dublyn*, were onely inhabited, which were also like to grow waste, if they were further charged with the souldiers.

The fifteenth of Iune the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Gouernour of *Carickfergus*, that he should not spare the subiects lately submitting, who protected the rebels goods; that he should receiue no more, but such as would simply submit, and giue good pledges, neither should giue pay to any, except he knew their seruice would be very beneficiall to the Queene, that he should continue to treat with the Ilander Scots, till aduice came out of *England* what course should be taken with them. That he should take in *Shane Oneale*, with promise of lands and entertainment, and promise, that for preyes hee should take of the Rebels, if the English assisted him, he should haue a third part, and if he tooke them without the assistance of the English, he should haue three parts of foure.

The nineteenth of Iune the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary, that he was more troubled to gouerne the friends, then to suppress the enemies. That finding the Army a meere Chaos, he had giuen it forme. That finding it without spirit, he had giuen it life. That in all attempts, hee had preferued the whole body of it, and euery

part

part from any blow, restored the reputation of it, and possessed it with a disposition to vndertake, & a likelihood to effect great seruices. That he had omitted nothing, which might be performed by this Army, in this estate, during this time. That the assurance the Irish had receiued of succours from *Spaine*, was the onely fewell of the last blaze of this Rebellion: Therefore praying that, except Master Secretary had some certainty that *Spaine* would not at that time assist the Rebels, the Army might by all meanes be strengthened, which would be necessary if such assistance were sent, and would make an end of the warres if none were sent. And howsoever that befell, yet for prevention of Munition and such supplies to be furnished to the Rebels from *Spaine*, aduising that some few of the Queenes ships might lie on the West, and somewhat towards the North of *Ireland*: Adding that some little boats made both to row and to saile, would barre the Ilander Scots from supplying the Rebels with any munition: And that his Lordship to meet with the Earle of *Ormond*, (lately set free by *Ony mac Rory*, who had taken him Prisoner), that day tooke his iourney towards *Carlegh*, where he hoped to sound the bottome of the conditions of his deliury, with the best course how to disintangle him, and by his conference, to make a shrewd guesse, how the Earle stood affected in these doubtfull times. His Lordship in his next Letters aduertised into *England*, that he was not priuy nor consenting to the giuing of pledges at the Earle of *Ormonds* deliury; but since they were giuen, in regard of her Maiesties extraordinary care for the Earles liberty, he did not shew any manifest dislike thereof; and now conceiued the Earle did apprehend the indignity done to him by those base traitors, and therefore had such a spleene against them, as hee had ioyned with him in diuers plots, as well to recouer the pledges (wherein the Earle protested to spare no money, if they were so to be redeemed; besides that he and their Fathers protested, that their danger should not hinder them from doing their vttermost seruice to the Queene), as also to worke his reuenge vpon the Rebels.

At this time *Tyrone* attending the garrison at *Loughfoyle*, & *Odonnell* starting through *Cennaght* into *Thomond*, and spoyling both Countries, Sir *Samuel Bagnoll* drew out of the *Newry* into *Monaghan*, where he tooke a prey, and killed sixe Commanders, and some sixty of the common rebels, onely three of his being slaine, and twenty hurt.

The subiects of the Pale, (fearing belike to be complained on, for the small assistance they gaue to the Queenes seruice), sent ouer the Lord of *Howth*, and Sir *Patricke Barnewell*, to make first complaint, (after the Irish manner) of the wrongs done them by the Army, neuer acquainting the Lord Deputy and Counsell therewith. And notwithstanding their former vnwillingnes, to beare any charge for the Queenes seruice, now they were content, for these their Deputies expence in *England*, to cesse euery plow land at three shillings.

From the seuenth of Iuly to the twelfth, Sir *Oliuer Lambert* with some troopes lay encamped at the *Tougher* in *Ophalia*, where he made a Causey, and built a Fort, and there left a Guard to keepe the passage alwaies open, for the victualling of *Phillipstowne* Fort, in which seruice the Earle of *Southampton* as a voluntary, by his presence and valour much encouraged our men. At this time many of the Rebels in *Lemster*, and the Northerne borders, made sute to the Lord Deputy to be receiued to mercy, with offer of large summes of money to the Lord Deputy for their pardons, but his Lordship refused their offer; till they had first done some seruice, and had drawne blood against some of their confederates. Thus much his Lordship aduertised into *England*, the sixteenth of Iuly, as likewise a good seruice presently done, and a great prey taken in the Fuse by Sir *Richard Morysen* the Gouvernour of *Dundalke*.

The same twelfth of Iuly; his Lordship tooke his iourney towards the borders of the North, vpon hearing that *Tyrone* was drawne into those parts. There his Lordship intended to spoyle the corne, as likewise in all other parts, when it should be a little riper. *Mat Mahowne*, and *Patricke mac Art Moyle*, offered now to submit, but neither could be receiued, without the others head. But *Oconnor Roe mac Gwire*, for good respects of seruice, was at the same time receiued to mercy. His Lordship hearing that *Tyrone* contained himselfe in his fastnes, and being required out of *England* to attempt some-

*Tougher, means a
Causeway over a bog.*

Something vpon the Lemster Rebels, left the Northerne borders strongly guarded against any inuasion, and left order with the Counsell to hasten the generall hoasting, and make ready all prouisions for a iourney into the North, and leauing *Dublyn* the twelfth of August rode to the Nasse, and so marched to the Fort of *Philippstowne* in *Ophaly*, with five hundred sixty foote and sixty horse, besides voluntaries in his company.

In the way into *Leax* his Lordship tooke a prey of two hundred Cowes, seven hundred garrons, and five hundred sheepe, besides great store of small cattell. The sixteenth of August, his Lordship burning the Countrey and spoyling the corne, marched towards the passage, (one of the most dangerous in *Ireland*), where Sir *Oliuer Lambert* with the Forces he had was to meet him. Both of them fought all the way, and killed diuers rebels, whereof the Lord Deputy left fifteene dead in the place, besides many hurt, they met together at noone. The seuenteenth day the army marched towards a fastnes, where the rebels had stored great plenty of corne. At the entry there was a Foard, compassed in with woods, and a bogge betweene them, where the rebels let the vanguard of the horse passe; but his Lordship passing with a few gentlemen, and his owne seruants before the vanguard of the foote, the rebels began the skirmish with him, and the foote wings being slowly sent out, they came close vp to him, the traytor *Tyrrel* hauing appointed an hundred shot to wait on his Lordships person, with markes to know him. In this skirmish we killed thirty five rebels, and hurt seuenty five on our part, two onely being killed, and a few slightly hurt, Captaine *Master son* dangerously hurt in the knee, and his Lordship hauing a very good horse killed vnder him, and another killed vnder Master *John Chidley* a gentleman of his Lordships chamber: But the best seruice at that time done, was the killing of *Owny mac Rery*, a bloody and bold yong man, who lately had taken the Earle of *Ormond* prisoner, and had made great stirres in *Mounster*. He was the chiefe of the *O Mores* Sept. in *Leax* and by his death they were so discouraged, that they neuer after held vp their heads. Also a bold bloody rebell *Callogh mac Walter*, was at the same time killed. Besides that his Lordships staying in *Leax* till the twenty three of August, did many other waies weaken them; for during that time, he fought almost euery day with them, and as often did beate them. Our Captaines, and by their example (for it was otherwise painefull) the common souldiers, did cut downe with their swords all the Rebels corne, to the value of ten thousand pound and vpward, the onely meanes by which they were to liue, and to keepe their Bonaghts (or hired souldiers). It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the Townes so frequently inhabited, and the high wajes, and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the Queens forces, during these warres, neuer till then came among them. The Lord Deputy in his returne the first day passed into another part of the Countrey with the foot alone; for the horse not able to passe were sent about, so as the rebels had the aduantage they most desire, to fight with our foot, without assistance of horse: yet all the rebels of *Lemster* here gathered together, and fighting vpon their naturall ground, had beene so beaten, as that they suffered our men to passe without a blow. That night eight heads were brought to the Lord Deputy, and with them one *Lenagh* a famous rebell, taken aliue, who was presently hanged on the same tree, where he plotted all his villanies. Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, with some troopes marched into *Donnell Spagniahs* Countrey, where he tooke 1000. Cowes, 500. Garons, great store of sheepe, and killed twenty rebels at the first entry, besides many killed in a fight, which the rebels after maintained all the day and part of the night. Sir *Arthur Savage* coming out of *Connaght* to meet the Lord Deputy, fought long with the Rebels, spoiled the Countrey, and tooke a great prey, but could not passe to his Lordship. In the Lord Deputies returne out of *Leax*, *Redmond Keating*, and the chiefe of the Septs of the *Kellies* and *Lalors* were receiued into her Maiesties protection, vpon condition to set at liberty the Earle of *Ormonds* pledges in their hands.

By this time his Lordship had receiued out of *England* gracious allowance of his
I i
former

former Northerne iourney, with her Maiesties promise to reinforce the Army with two thousand foote, and two hundred horse, against the next iourney into those parts, requiring him not to giue any one man the commaund of both horse and foote; and whereas all Companies were of two hundred, or one hundred fiftie, aduising to distribute some part into lesse numbers, that more Gentlemen might be satisfied with commaunds, with the onely increase of some chiefe officers pay, and that his Lordship would be sparing to giue passports for any to come into *England*, to trouble her Maiestie with suites, and most of all not to suffer able men to returne out of *Ireland*, as they daily did, with their Captaines passportes. And to the end the Commanders might not be idle, her Maiestie required, that all seruices done by them, might be certified monethly into *England*. About this time the Earle of *Southampton*, leauing the warres of *Ireland*, sayled into *England*. This Summers seruice made it appeare, that iourneys with a great Army did not so much good, as Garrisons lying vpon the Rebels, which vpon any sudden seruice, might easily bee drawne together in competent numbers, and in the meane time kept the Rebels at home, from seconding one another.

The Lord Deputy by his letters, during the foresaid iourney, explained to the Lords in *England*, that he had been most carefull not to increase her Maiesties charge in any thing, the want whereof would not haue made the rest of her great expence to be vnprofitable: and to the end the Commanders might not be thought to lye idle, besides the good fortune that none of them had receiued any blow, hee particularly remembred many preyes taken, and seruices done, and for the chiefe Garrisons on the North borders, aduertised, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had layde all the Countrey waste within twenty miles of *Carickfergus*; that Sir *Samuel Bagnol* at the *Newry* had done the like; that Sir *Richard Moryson* at *Dundalke* had banished *Turlough Mac Henry* out of the *Fuze* into *Monaghan*, and yet the two last, with most part of their Garrisons, had bin part of the Army in all former iournies.

The twentieth sixe of August his Lordship returned from this iourney of *Leax* to *Dublin*, and there receiued aduertisement, that her Maiestie could not refuse to heare the complaints of the Pale, by the Deputies formerly mentioned to bee sent ouer, though she had sharply rebuked them, that they did not first complaine to the Lord Deputy, which they excused by experience, that like complaints in *Ireland* had euer been vaine. The chiefe complaints were these; that the forces that should lye vpon the borders, neare the Rebels, were lodged vpon them. That the fetching of one barrell of powder, was often made a sufficient reason to spoyle them, by a company of horse and foote sent to conuoy it. That the Clarkeship of the Counsell was sold, and then executed by a Deputy, who for euery small petition tooke great fees. That the spirituall liuings were giuen to ignorant and idie persons, being the chiefe cause of this rebellion; scarce any Church standing for sixtie miles betweene *Dublin* and *Athlone*. That they were spoyled as much by the Army as Rebels, no souldier nor Captaine being punished, nor any order giuen for remedie taking effect. That priuate Captaines gaue passportes to run awaies, and her Maiestie was deceived by false Musters, so as the forces were weake to end the warre, and they were spoyled as much as if the number were full, requiring that some Gentlemen of the Pale might be ioyned with the Commissaries, in taking the musters of adiacent Garrisons. In the same letter her Maiestie commaunded the Lord Deputy to signifie to Sir *Arthur O Neale*, that she purposed to create him Earle of *Tyrone*, and giue him a portion of lands fit for an Earledome. And for *Tyrone*, that the Lord Deputy should proclaime him Traytor, with promise of two thousand pound to any should bring him aliue, and one thousand pound to him that should bring his head to any of hir Maiesties Fortes or Garrisons. Lastly, her Maiesty gaue letters of fauour to the Deputies of the Pale, directed to the Lord Deputy, to whom the complaints were wholly referred, it being her Maiesties pleasure, that only before him, and by him, they should be heard and redressed.

Yet because the Lord Deputy was many waies taxed in these complaints, hee did expostulate in his next letters to Master Secretarie, that hee should be taxed for those things, for which he expected approbation and thanks. The wisest Counsels (said he

he) are vncertaine, and the wisest men vnperfect, and what shall I looke for, when out of my weakenesse (though free from wilfulnesse) I shall happen to commit any error of consequence, seeing I am now charged with so many matters, and those nothing belonging to me. His Lordship added, that in his opinion, nothing had made the affaires of *Ireland* more vnprosperous, then that the State vsed to heare euery man against and before the chiefe Gouvernour, so as hee was driuen to let matters goe as they would, so as hee might saue himselfe. Another discontented letter he wrote to the same effect, and to the same person, but therein explained other grievances, besides the former complaints. And whereas the Lords of the Counsell had taxed him, for being ruled by young counsell (wherby he vnderstood his three most familiar friends to be meant, namely, Sir Henry Dauers, Sir Richard Moryson, and Sir William Godolphin) he boldly answered, that besides the Counsellors of State, hee vsed the familiarity of none, which were not older then *Alexander* the great, when he conquered the World. Lastly, he protested to Master Secretarie, that he tooke him for his chiefe friend, and knew that he had more power to do him good or hurt, then any other, yet as he would not dishonestly lose him, so he would not basely keepe him, beseeching him to vse his power, in mediating licence vnto him, that he might come ouer for a short time, to kisse the Queenes hand, for touching other fauours concerning the publike, he would neuer acknowledge any particular obligation to him, or to any other, since hee made his demands as he thought best for the seruice, but the granting or denying thereof, concerned not him.

*The Muster of the Army at Dundalke, before the sitting
downe at the Faghard Hill.*

Colonels of Regiments.	In List.	By Muster.	Where of Irish- men.	Swords want- ing.	Sick & hurt lying at Dun- dalk.
Captaine Berey. 472.	The Lord De- puties Guard.	Targets	28		
		Pikes	32	120	01
		Shot	60		00
The Marshall Sir Rich. Wing- field	150	Targets	4		
		Pikes	39	96	10
		Shot	53		30
The Sergeant Maioir Sir Oliuer Lambert.	200	Targets	10		
		Pikes	46	108	08
		Shot	52		05
Vnder the Lord Deputie. 400.	Capt. Handferd.	Targets	1		
		Pikes	28	79	20
		Shot	50		10
Capt. Fisber.	100	Targets	3		
		Pikes	21	69	05
		Shot	45		20
Sir Christopher Saint Laurence.	200	Targets	10		
		Pikes	61	141	113
		Shot	70		14
Sir Christopher Saint Laurence. 367.	150	Targets	6		
		Pikes	36	90	15
		Shot	48		10
Earle of Kil- dare.	150	Targets	6		
		Pikes	35	81	78
		Shot	40		06
Sir Fra: Shane.	100	Targets	00		
		Pikes	18	55	47
		Shot	37		04

120/01/10
96/120/301
108/080505
79201006
69/052011
141/1131472
90151000

80

Colonels	In Lyst.	By Muster.	Drift.	Swords	Sick & wanting.	hurr.
Sir Charles Percy 336.	Sir Charles Percy	200	Targets Pikes Shot	10 54 85	149	28 30 04
	Captaine Williams.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	00 37 53	90	06 03 10
	Captaine Roe.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	4 25 30	59	08 05 01
	Capt. Staunton.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	00 18 20	38	00 00 10
	Sir Rich. Morryson.	200	Targets Pikes Shot	6 44 68	118	22 25 36
	Sir Hen. Dauers.	200	Targets Pikes Shot	26 37 65	128	12 15 20
Sir Richard Morryson. 473.	Capt. Canseild.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	07 32 55	94	10 10 28
	Capt. Constable.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	3 25 48	76	01 12 05
	Ca. Ranenscroft.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	3 24 30	57	01 23 06
	Sir Thom. Bourk.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	06 25 54	85	82 26 14
Sir Thom. Bourk 276.	Lord Deluin.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	03 30 43	76	74 30 10
	Sir Henrie Harrington.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	03 29 17	40	37 08 12
	Sir Garret More.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	07 23 45	75	13 02 08
Sir Oliver Saint Johns. 370.	Sir Oliver Saint Johns.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	10 33 52	95	24 15 05
	Sir Thom. Wingfeild.	150	Targets Pikes Shot	05 29 68	102	25 20 13
	Capt. Billings.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	03 24 32	59	01 04 15
	Capt. Treanor.	100	Targets Pikes Shot	06 23 41	70	01 15 14
	The men of Dublin.	50	Targets Pikes Shot	03 15 26	44	40 00 01

		In Lyft.	By Muster.		Irish. Swords Sick & wanting. hurt.				
Sir S. Bagnol. 346	Sir S. Bagnol with brokē cōpanies and his owne.	200	Targets	18	200	20	30	00	
			Pikes	24					
			Shot	158					
	Capt. Esmond.	150	Targets	02	82	15	10	14	
			Pikes	28					
			Shot	52					
	Capt. Freckleton	100	Targets	03	64	03	06	02	
			Pikes	15					
			Shot	46					
	Totall		4150	Totall		2640	702	388	315

The greatest part of the Army haue neither Armour nor Murrions, neither are here mentioned the sicke and hurt in other places besides *Dundalke*, nor yet the warders allowed out of some of these Companies.

The fourteenth of September his Lordship began another iourney into the North, and the fifteenth incamped at the hill of *Faghard*, three miles beyond *Dundalke*, and there his Lordship lay till the ninth of October, in such extremitie of weather, as would haue hindred his passage, if the enemy had not withstood him, his Lordships tent being continually wet, and often blowne downe. Before his Lordship came, *Tyrone* with his vttermost strength had possessed the *Moyry*, being a strong fastnesse, as any the Rebels had, but his Lordship resolved to march ouer him, if hee stopped his way, and make him know, that his Kerne could not keepe the fortification against the Queenes forces. Many skirmishes fell out happily to vs, and two seuerall dayes the Rebels were beaten out of their trenches with great losse, till at last, vpon the eight of October, they left the passage cleere. Then after the army was a few daies refreshed at *Dundalke*, his Lordship marched the twenty one of October to the *Newry*, passing through the *Moyry*, where he caused all the rebels trenches to be laid flat to the ground, and the woods to be cut downe on both sides of the Pace. At the *Newry* for want of victuals, his Lordship staid till the second of Nouember, when he set forward eight miles towards *Armagh*, and there incamped. The Rebels horse-men shewed themselves vpon a hill; wherupon Sir *Samuel Bagnols* Regiment hauing the Reare, and being not yet come into the Campe, was directed to march towards them, there being a bog between vs and them, but the Rogues quickly drew to their fastnes. The next morning his Lordship rode some quarter of a mile from the Campe, and viewed a place where Sir *John Norreys* formerly intended to build a Fort, and liking his choice, set downe there with the Army to build the same. The place is a hill like a Promontory, all inuironed with bogges, a Riuer, and great store of wood. By it on the right hand ouer the Riuer and a great bogge, was a little firme ground, and then another bogge, & ouer that a faire Countrey, with houses and much corne. His Lordship could by no meanes send ouer any horse, but foure miles about; wherefore he commanded a regiment of foote to aduance to the first peece of firme ground, and from thence to send ouer the next bogge some few men, to bring in the Corne and Tymber of the houses, with directions to make their retreat to the grosse, if the enemies horses should fall downe that way. On the left hand and before was a bogge, ouer the bogge before a great wood, that continueth through all this fastnes, and ouer the bogge on the left hand a hill, where *Tyrone* all that day and most of the time that the Army lay there, did muster himselfe and his men. This day most of his horse and foote fell ouer, but farre about on the right hand, vpon which, our straglers that went out retired to the firme ground, ouer the first bogge, and there beganne betweene our foote and theirs, a very good skirmish, till our men did beate them off, and brought with them great store of Corne and wood, and killed diuers of them. In

the meane time, their scouts on the other side being somewhat busie with ours, *Neal Oquin* was taken prisoner, being the chiefe fauourite vnto *Tyrone*. The next day we beganne to worke, in the building of the Fort, and to impeach our worke, the rogues beganne to skirmish with vs on both sides, which was excellently maintained by some few of our men, that we sent out: We saw many of them killed, and after vnderstood they lost a great number, whereof many were horsemen, of the best sort, that had lighted to encourage their men to fight. They were then so well beaten, as they would neuer after offer to meddle with vs, till our returne by *Carlingford*. The ninth of Nouember the Fort being finished, his Lordship called it *Mount Norreys*, in honour of his Master, (so he tearmed him; vnder whom hee had serued his apprentiship in the warres), and he left therein foure hundred foot, vnder the command of Captaine *Edward Blaney*, with six weekes prouision of victuals.

The weather grew so extreame, as it blew downe all our Tents, and tore them in pieces, and killed many of our horses, so that the tenth day his Lordship putting all the Army in armes, with all the Drummes and Trumpets, and a great volly of shot, proclaimed *Tyrone's* head, (with promise of 2000. pound to him that brought him aliue, and 1000. pound to him that brought him dead), which was done in the face of his own army, and so his Lordship marched to the Newry. He had purposed to plant a garrison at *Armagh* 8. miles beyond *Mount Norreys*, but the rebels Cowes had eaten vp all the grasse thereabouts, which should haue fed our horses, and the time of the yeere with the weather, was now vnseasonable for that purpose.

*Carlingford
fight.*

And whereas his Lordship was resolved to returne into the Pale by *Carlingford*, to discerne whether that way or the way of the Moyry were more safe, that the army might not runne so continuall hazards, this resolution was now confirmed by necessity, there being victuals at *Carlingford*, and none at the *Newry* or *Dundalke*. The twelfth of Nouember his Lordship came with the army to the narrow water, whence he sent Sir *Iosias Bodley* with three hundred choyce foot to possesse a peece of ground, and keepe the enemy from hindering our passage ouer the water, the streame whereof he found so exceeding swift, that it was like to be dangerous to venture our horses ouer. The first that tried was Doctour *Latware*, his Lordships Chaplaine, who only with his horse led by the boat side, and with some thirty foot, went ouer; but his Lordship perceiued so great difficulty by his passage, that he passed the foot ouer as fast as might be, sent Sir *Henry Folliot* to possesse the pace of the Faddome, and made all the Horse and our Garrons to goe about that way. In the meane time wee might see the rebels forces draw ouer the mountaines towards the pace of *Carlingford*, and come close by our men that were first landed, yet they neuer offered any skermish. That night we encamped directly ouer the narrow water, betweene the pace of the faddome, and the pace of *Carlingford*, & hauing at midnight gotten ouer for our men some vittels, that came by water from *Carlingford*, his Lordship caused the same to be deliuered before day, for the Army had fasted two daies, and after they had eaten but a little bisket, and cheese or butter, neuer men went on in a greater iollity. The thirteenth of Nouember we were to rise very early, for otherwise we could not passe our carriages by the sea side, as we had determined, and by breake of day the Scoutmaster brought word that *Tyrone* with all his army was lodged in the pace, which is an exceeding thicke wood, at the foote of a great mountaine, reaching downe to the sea side, betweene which and the sea, there is in most places as much space as seuen may march in ranke, but in some places lesse, and in some none at full water, but onely there is a narrow deepe high way through the wood.

Captaine *Thomas Roper* with the broken Companies sent out of the Pale, went on as a forlone hope, and that day by course it fell out, that Captaine *Beniamin Berry*, with the Lord Deputies Regiment vnder his command, had the vanguard, Sir *Christopher St Laurence*, had the reare of the vanguard, Sir *Richard Morison* had the vanguard of the Rere, and Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* the reare of the reare, so that we had but two bodies, a vanguard and a rere, thus subdiuided. Captaine *Trenor* with as many as Captaine *Roper* had in the point, led a forlorne rere. Out of all the regiments his Lordship appointed

pointed three strong wings to goe on the right hand (for on the left hand was the Sea), commanded all by Captaines; the first by Captaine *Billings*, the second by Captaine *Esmond*, and the last by Captaine *Constable*.

The ground the rebels chiefly chose to make good, was a little Plaine like a semi-circle, whereof the Sea made the Diameter, and a thicke Wood the Circumference. At the next corner to vs, there ran into the Sea a Riuer out of the wood, being a Foard of good aduantage to the enemy. All along the circumference they had made diuers trenches, euen close vp to both the corners, and at the furthest corner they had made a Barricado, reaching a good way into the Wood, and downe to the Sea. At the first they shewed themselues horse and foote vpon this Plaine: but when his Lordship commanded ours to giue on (which they performed presently and roundly), their horse drew off into the Woods, and their foote into their trenches, and neuer shot, till the Vanguard was drawne ouer the Riuer, when from all partes they powred vpon vs great vollyes of shot; but presently Captaine *Roper* gaue on the farthest trench on the right hand of the corner, Captaine *Billings* on the next with the wing hee led, and Captaine *Berry* with the rest of the Vanguard gaue vpon the farthest corner, where the Barricado reached from the Wood into the Sea. In some of them they made good resistance, and many of them lost their liues with the Pike and the Sword. But the last trench where they made greatest shew of opposition, they did soonest quit, though it were strongest for them, and to greatest purpose to arrest vs: the reason his Lordship conceiued to be, that in that place they were furthest from their retreat, and feared the forlorne Hope and Wing led by Captaine *Billings* might cut betweene them. When we had gained the trenches, the Vanguard made a stand, in the Rere of which, to countenance them (if there had been occasion), his Lordship stood with a troope of horse of voluntarie Gentlemen, and next to his Lordship (betweene the Van and next bodies of foote) Sir *Henrie Dauers* and his Lordships troopes of horse. At this time they entertained skermish with all parts of our Army, but still falling towards the Rere, and at this time his Lordships Secretarie Master *George Cranmer* was killed, betweene Sir *William Godolphin* and Mast. *Henrie Barkely*, Master *Ram* his Lordships Chaplaines horse was killed, and a Gentleman of his Lordships chamber, called Master *Done* (that carried his cloake) shot through the leg. And I will not forget one accident, that might haue proued of great consequence: During this stand, his Lordship roade vp to a little hill in the edge of the Wood, vnderneath which our men were in skirmish with the rebels, beyond whom somewhat more then a musket shot off, on the side of a hil, by a few little houses, there stood in a troope some seuen or eight horsemen on foote, with their horses by them, at whom his Lordship caused his footeman to shoot (who alwaies carried a long piece with him), who (as within two howers after it was told his Lordship by one that was at that time one of the number) killed the next man to *Tyrone*, on whose shoulder at that time he leaned. Sir *Henrie Dauers* came vnto his Lordship, and desired he might take twentie of his owne horse to fall into the Rere, because he saw all the enemies horse fall thitherward, and that the Irish horse onely that day had the Rere. His Lordship gaue him leaue, and withall sent young *James Blount* with 100 shot out of the Vanguard, Captaine *Causeild*, and Captaine *Constable* with as many more out of Sir *Richard Morrysons* Regiment, to reinforce the Rere, with whom the rogues continued a good skermish, almost for halfe an hower, vntill their horse and foote comming on a little plaine, somewhat farre from the skirt of the Wood, Sir *Hen. Dauers* charged home, & brake them, but in the beginning of the charge he was shot in the thigh. After this charge they presently drew off their foote by the Mountaines, and their horse by the strand ouer against the narrow water. In our Rere Captaine *Richard Hansard* and Captaine *Treuer* were sore hurt, and Sir *Garret Mores* Ensigne and *Hugh banlon* killed, and in all wee lost not twenty, but aboue threescore were hurt. Of the enemy (as we heard then of certaine) there were fourescore killed outright, but within two daies after his Lordship vnderstood by *Maguire*, that they lost two hundred The Marshall and the Serieant Maior were alwaies in the Van or Rere, as in either place the fight grew hottest, and generally all the

Commanders and souldiers serued with extraordinary forwardnes and alacrity. To conclude, by credible reports the Rebels lost in this iourney aboue 800. and *Tyrones* reputation (who did all things by his reputation) was cleane ouerthrowne, so that from all places they began to seeke pardons or protections. On our part in the whole iourney some two hundred were killed and dead of hurts, and some 400. were hurt, which shortly after recouered.

Giue me leaue to digresse a little to continue the iournall of my trauels, the writing whereof hath occasioned the relation of Irish affaires. When the Earle of *Essex* went Lord Lieftenant into *Ireland*, the Lord *Mountjoy* was first named to that place, whereupon by my brother *Sir Richard Moryson* inwardnes with him; I then obtained his Lordships promise to follow him into *Ireland*, in the place of his chiefe Secretary. But this imployment failing vs both, I retired my selfe into *Lincolneshire*, where I liued till his Lordship was the last spring sent ouer Lord Deputy, and such was then my diffidence of vulgar reports, (for I had no other knowledge of his Lordships imployment), that I did not certainly beleue the change of the Deputy, till his Lordship was ready to take his iourney, which was besides extraordinarily hastened by the *Queenes* command, for the necessity of her affaires in that Kingdome: yet my letter swifter then my selfe came to his Lordships hands, before his going; and from him I receiued this honourable answere, that not knowing what was become of me, he had already receiued three Secretaries, yet wished me to follow him, for he would find out some fit and good imployment for me. The indisposition of my body by reason of an ague staid me some few moneths in that Countrey; but in Iuly taking my iourney for *Ireland*, I came to *Cambridge*, whereas yet I was one of the fellowes of *Peter-house*. The Master and Fellowes by speciall indulgence had continued vnto mee my place, with leaue to trauell from the yeere 1589. to this present Iuly, in the yeere 1600. At which time being modest further to importune so louing friends, and hauing the foresaid assurance of preferment in *Ireland*, I yeelded vp my Fellowship, which in my former absence had yeelded me some twenty pound yeerely. And the society (to knit vp their louing course towards me) gaue mee aforehand the profit of my place for two yeeres to come: For which curtesie and for my education there, I must euer acknowledge a strict bond of loue and seruice to each of them in particular, and to the whole body iointly. From thence I went to *London*, and so to *Westchester*; and whilest I staid there for a passage, I receiued another letter, by which I did gather that his Lordship purposed to imploy me in the writing of the History or Iournall of Irish affaires. But it pleased God in his gracious prouidence, (which I may neuer leaue vnmentioned) to dispose better of me. For staying for a wind till the end of *September*, one of his Lordships three Secretaries, (either to auoide the trouble and danger of the warres, or for other reasons best knowne to him) came ouer, and told me that he had left his Lordships seruice. Thus with better hope of preferment, I crossed the seas in very tempestuous weather, (at our putting to sea the carkasse of a broken ship swimming by vs, and at our entring the Port of *Dublyn*, another ship being cast away in crossing from one shoare to another, wherein a Bishop and his whole family were drowned), After few daies spent in *Dublyn*, I tooke my iourney to *Dundalke*, on the Northerne borders, where my brother *Sir Richard Moryson* was then Gouvernour, and there I lodged till the Lord Deputies returne with the Army. And the thirteenth of Nouember, being the day of *Carlingford* fight aboue mentioned, whilest I walked in my brothers garden, I sensibly heard by reuerberation of the wall, the sound of the vollies of shot in that skirmish, though the place were at least six miles distant. In this fight the Lord Deputy his chiefe Secretary *George Cranmer* (as is aboue mentioned) was killed, and his Lordship hauing now but onely one Secretary, did receiue me the next day at *Dundalke* into *Cranmers* place.

I return to the Irish affaires. At *Dundalk* his Lordship receiued a letter from the Lord Admirall, signifying that hee had earnestly moued her Maiesty to giue him leaue to come ouer for a short time, whose answere was, that there liued not any man that shee would be more glad to see then his Lordship: but that now he had begunne so worthily,

thily, and all things prospered vnder his worke, he would not giue incouragement to the Rebels by his absence, whom his presence had so daunted.

The List of the Army, and the distribution of the same into Garrisons in the end of November.

Twelue Colonels of the Arme.

The Earle of Thomond: Lord Dunkellin: Sir Henrie Dockwra: Sir Arthur Chichester: Sir Henrie Power: Sir Charles Percy: Sir Matthew Morgan: Sir Christopher Saint Laurence: Sir Charles Wilmot: Sir Arthur Savage: Sir Richard Moryson: Sir Iohn Bolles.

Foote at Carickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Gouvernour, 150. Sir Foulke Conway, 150. Capitaine Richard Croftes, 100. Capitaine Charles Egerton, 100. Capitaine Gregorie Norton, 100.

Horse.

Sir Arthur Chichester, 25. Capitaine Iohn Iephson 100.

Foote at Mount Norreys.

Capitaine Edward Blaney Gouvernour, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Capitaine Henrie Atherton, 150.

Horse at the Newry.

Sir Samuel Bagnol Gouvernour, 50.

Foote.

Sir Oliuer Saint Iohns, 150. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Capitaine Iosias Bodley, 150. Capitaine Edward Treuer, 100. Capitaine Edward Fisher, 100. Capitaine Rauenscroft, 100.

Foote at Carlingford.

Capitaine Richard Hansard, 100.

Foote at Dundalke.

Sir Richard Moryson Gouvernour, 150. Sir Henrie Dauers, 150. Capitaine Tobie Cafield, 150. Capitaine Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Capitaine Ralph Constable, 100.

Horse.

Sir Henrie Dauers, 50.

Foote at Arde.

Sir Charles Percy, 150. Sir Garret More, 100. Capitaine Thomas Mynne, 100. Capitaine Thomas Williams, 150. Capitaine Francis Roe, 100.

Horse.

Sir Henrie Dauers, 50. Sir Garret More, 25.

Foote at Ballymore.

Sir Francis Shane, 100. Capitaine Thomas Roper, 150. Capitaine Rotheram, 100.

At Mullingar.

The Lord of Deluin, 150. Foot. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 25. Horse.

At the Naas.

Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild, 150. Foot. The Lord Deputie, 100. Horse.

Foote at Drogheda.

Capitaine Billings, 100. Capitaine Linley, 100. Capitaine Iefferey Dutton, 100. Capitaine Morice, 100. Capitaine Bentley, 100.

Foote at Trymme.

Sir Christopher Saint Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Capitaine Yelnerton, 100.

Foote at Kelles.

The Lord of Dunsany, 150. Capitaine Hugh Orelly, 100.

Horse.

Lord of Dunsany, 50.

Foote at Aboy, Glancary and the Castles of Ophalia.

Sir Henrie Folliot, 150. Capitaine Lionel Guest, 150. Sir Henrie Warren, 100.

Foote in the Fort of the Dingon, and at the Nasse.

Sir George Bourcher, 100. The Lord Dunkellin, 150. Sir Henrie Harrington, 100. Capitaine Thomas Boyse, 100.

Horse

Horse at New-castle.

Captaine Daughtrey, 50. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25.

At Athey, Reban, and the borders of Leax.

Sir Henrie Poore, 150. Sir James Fitzpiers, 150. Master Marshall, 150. Captaine Phillips, 100. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100 Foote.

The Marshall, 50 Horse.

Foote in the Forts, Sir Francis Rusb, 150.

Foote in Occarrals Countrie, Captaine Mollrony Ocarrol, 100.

Foote and Horse in Kilkenny.

The Earle of Ormond Lieutenant of the Armie, 150. Captaine Marbery, 100 Foote. The Earle of Ormond, 50 Horse.

Foote and Horse in Kildare.

The Earle of Kildare, 150 Foote. The Earle of Kildare, 50 Horse.

Foote and Horse in the Countie of Waxford.

Sir Oliuer Lambert, 150. Captaine John Masterjon, 100. Captaine Esmond, 150 Foote. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25 Horse.

Foote at Dublin:

The Lord Deputies Guard, commanded by Captaine Berry 150.

Foote and Horse in Connaght.

Sir Arthur Sanage Gouvernour, 150. The Earle of Clanrickard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourk, 150. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Captaine Clare, 150. Captaine Tibot Nelong, 100. Captaine Thomas Bourgh, 100 Foote. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. The Lord Dunkellin, 25. The Marshall of the Prouince, 12 Horse.

Horse in the Pale at the Captaines disposall neere themselves, or attending their persons.

Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir William Warren, 25. Sir John Barkley, 12. Captaine Rich. Greame, 50. Captaine Garret Fleming, 25. Captaine Pigot, 12. Captaine Darcy, 25.

At Loughfoyle a remote Garrison, vnder Sir Henrie

Dockwra his command.

Sir Henrie Dockwra, 50. Sir John Bolles, 50 Horse. Foote vnder 25 Captaines, 2900.

In the Prouince of Mounster at the Lord

Presidents disposall.

The Lord President, 50. Sir Anthony Cooke, 50. Captaine William Taaf, 25 Horse. Foote der 23 Captaines 2800.

Totall of Horse, 1198. Totall of Foote, 14150.

From Dundalke, the Lord Deputy, with his seruants and voluntary horsemen, rode to Dublin the seuenteenth of Nouember. Within few dayes, vpon Sir Arthur Sanage his intreatie to goe for England, about his priuate affaires; his Lordship gaue him license, and appointed Sir John Barkely to supplie his place of Prouisionarie Gouvernour of the Prouince of Connaght. At the same time his Lordship wrote into England for authoritie to passe vnto certaine submitties their Countries, with reseruatiō of her Maiesties rights, and some other conditions for her profit and seruice, more particularly on the behalfe of Connor Roe Mac Guyre, who being put from the Chiefery of his Country by Tyrone, had quitted al his possessions and goods, to come to the Queenes seruice; when Tyrone had two of his sonnes for pledges, of which the elder lately escaping from the rebels, had likewise submitted himselfe, and they both had serued valiantly in the late Northerne iourney; so as the father had his horse killed vnder him, and the sonne killed three rebels with his owne hand. And from thence both going into Fermanagh, had drawne many of that Country to follow them in the Queenes seruice, diuerting all the Countrie from assisting Tyrone. Besides that in a late skirmish, they had taken Cormock, Tyrones brothers eldest sonne, a young man of the greatest hope in the North; whom the Rebels purposed to create Oneale after Tyrones death, for which respect he was a better pledge then any of Tyrones sons. This youth they had brought to the Lord Deputy, with great hazard to conuoy him, and that when

when 3000. pound, and other ample conditions were offered them for his ranfome. In the same moneth of Nouember, many of the Northerne Rebels with great troops, (among them a Mounster man *Piers Lacy* of English race, a famous rebell), drew into the Brenny, meaning to passe to the Shannon side, and so into *Mounster*, after they had strengthened the broken rebels of the Pale with some assistance. But this their passage was so stopped, as it tooke no effect. The sixth of December his Lordship was advertised from an honourable friend in Court, that his late proceedings were mentioned by all men with much honour, and most of all by the Queen, who vttered to himselfe the most gracious and kind speeches of his Lordship, and the most extolling his valour and worthy parts, that euer he had heard her vse of any.

Till this time, the rebels of the Mountaines neere *Dublyn*, called the *Glinnes*, gaue allarums almost enery night in the Suburbes of *Dublyn*. But the time when the insolency of some of them should bee chastened, was now come. The *O-birnes* hauing *Phelim mac Feogh*, the chiefe of their Sept, after the death of *Feogh mac Hugh*, (formerly mentioned) inhabited the *Glinnes* bordering on the plaines of *Dublyn*, extending some foure or fise miles that way; and these being neerer then the *O Tooles* and other their confederates, were most insolent vpon that City, and the Counsell there residing, when the Lord Deputy was farre off in any seruice with the horsemen. Now his Lordship was purposed to scourge them, and according to his singular secrecie, did so keepe his Counsell from divulging, and so cunningly masked his intent, as he came vpon them, when they were most secure. It was confidently giuen out, that his Lordship meant presently to vndertake some seruice against the *O-Mores* of *Leax*, and *Oconnors* of *Ophalia*, and to that purpose meant to lie with his household at *Monastreu*, a great house kept by a Constable for the Queen: yea to make this proiect more beleued, his Lordship sent Arras hangings, and many prouisions to that house. And now the forces hauing beene refreshed, his Lordship the twenty two of December, being Monday, rode to the Nasse twelve miles distant from *Dublyn*, where the rendezous was appointed that day for the *Lemster* Garrisons, (for it was fit those bordering on the North, should be left strong.) On Wednesday his Lordship sent most of his household right forward to *Monastreu* thirteene miles distant; but himselfe with the rest of his seruants and the forces, suddenly turned on the left hand into the *Glinnes*, and after a day and nights tedious march, ouer steepe mountaines couered with snow, he arriued on Thursday being Christmas day, at *Phelim mac Feogh* his house, so suddenly as his wife and eldest sonne were taken, and himselfe hardly escaped at a backe window, and naked, into the woods, where he kept a cold Christmas, while my Lord liued plentifully in his house, with such prouisions as were made, for him and his *Bonnaghs* and kerne to keepe a merry Christmas. To vent his anger, p. 92. he daily offered slight skirmishes vpon aduantage, but his heart was nothing eased therewith, being continually beaten. His Lordship with the Queenes Forces, lay in this Countrey till about the twentieth of Ianuary: In which time his troopes spoiled and ransacked the Countries of *Rannelagh* and *Cashay*, swept away the most part of their cattle and goods, burnt all their Corne, and almost all their Houses, leauing little or nothing to releue them; and to finish the worke, his Lordship planted two strong Garrisons vpon them, the one at *Wicklo* on the East side, (not able to come neerer, because a ship with our tooles and instruments was beaten backe by ill weather, and could not arriue in time); the other at *Tullogh* vpon the west, so as they could not long hold from submitting or flying, being thus hedged in.

This done, his Lordship came to *Monastreu*, with purpose to vndertake the *Mores* and *Connors*. But hauing in few daies setled a correspondency for proceeding in that seruice, betweene our Forces in those parts, and the neighbouring septs of *O-dempies*, and some suspected subiects, of whose faith till then his Lordship stood not assured, and discerning the *Mores* to be weake in *Leax*, after the killing of their Chieftaine *Owmy mac Rory*, and the burning and spoiling in the *Leax* iourney, so as they had not meanes to keepe their *Bonnaghs*, and hearing that the *Oconnors* were fled far from that part of *Ophaly*, so as neither of them could be found to make resistance to any reasonable

sonable strong Forces. His Lordship leauing in these parts some few Companies to assist the subiects, rode from *Monastreuen* the twentieth of Ianuary to *Abiconal*, nine miles, passing by the ruined City of *Kildare*, now altogether disinhabited. The thirtieth we passed the *Liffye*, and came to *Milhussy*, one Master *Huffys* Castle, eleuen miles, passing by some pleasant Villages, and by *Menouth*, a faire house, belonging to the Earles of *Kildare*, now in the hands of the Countesse *Mabell* an old widdow. The thirty one we came to *Trym*, eight miles, champion ground. This is a pleasant towne for seate, if the inhabitants were sutable, through which the *Boyne* runnes, and it hath the ruines of a sumptuous Castle. This place his L^y. thought fittest for his present residence: for if Captaine *Tirrel* (now the chiefe rebel in *Ophalia*) should draw his force to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship might easily fall back on him. If the rebels in the West desired to passe into *Mounster* (as they intended), then our forces were so disposed, as they could not escape without fighting with vs vpon disadvantage to them. And if neither fell out, then his Lordship purposed to plant a Garrison at the *Cavan* in the *Brenny*, and to settle our aboue mentioned *Mac Guire* in *Fermanagh*.

p. 101. At this time his L^y. desired to haue authoritie out of *England*, to passe *Tirconnel* (the Countie of *Odonel*) to *Neale Garue*, reseruing eight hundred Acres about *Eallishannon*, and the fishing of the *Erne* to her Maiestie. And such was the opinion of the seruice his turbulent spirit could doe the State, as he had the grant of three hundred foot, and one hundred horse in her Maiesties pay, on condition he should bring the men seruicible, and maintaine them so, without further charge to her Maiestie.

From *Trym*, lying in *East-Meath*, his Lordship the eleuenth of Februarie, passing by the Barron of *Trimblestones* house, rode to the Lord of *Deluins* house in *West-Meath*, eleuen miles distant. The twelfth we passed ten miles further to *Molingar*, the Shire towne of *West-Meath*, compassed with bogges. Thence the fourteenth, we went to *Ballymore*, Sir *Frances Shanes* house, ten long miles. The sixteenth to Sir *Tibbot Dillons* house, seuen miles. Thence the seuenteenth to *Athlone*, five miles, where the Gouvernour of the Prouince of *Connaght* useth to lye in a strong Castle belonging to her Maiestie, which being situate in *Connaght*, is diuided from the Towne by a River and a faire bridge of stone with eight arches, lying in *West-Meath*. And all this Countie is Champion, whereof the greatest part lay waste. His Lord^y. returned back the eighteenth of Februarie to Sir *Tibbot Dillons* house, and the nineteenth to *Danoar*, twelue miles, being *Brian Mac Gohagans* Castle in *West-Meath*.

While his Lordship lay in this Castle, he rode forth the twentieth of Februarie, to view a strong hold, seated in a plaine, and in a little Iland, compassed with bogges and deepe ditches of running water, and thicke woods, in which fastnesse Captaine *Tirrel*, with some of the boldest Rebels then lay. At the first approach to the bogge, two shot of the Rebels came out, our horsemen standing on a hill, moued continually, but my selfe being a raw souldier, stood stil, and because I had a white horse, I gaue the Rebels a faire marke, so as the first shot flew close by my head, and when I apprehending my danger, turned my horse, the second flew through my cloake, and light in my padde saddle, (which saued my life), and brused my thigh. Presently his Lordship sent Sir *Christopher Saint Lawrence*, Captaine *Winsor*, Captaine *Roper*, and Captaine *Rotheram*, with wings of Foote into the Wood, to discouer the fortified Iland. And on the other side sent Captaine *Leg* to the same purpose. While these skirmished with the rebels lying intrenched, Master *Darcy* riding by the skirt of the Wood, was shot in the neck. The two and twenty day his Lordship drew forth againe, and we carried hurdles and fagots to passe into the Iland, but the water carrying them away, and his Lordships Guard being not well seconded by the Irish, we came off with losse, and Captaine *Rotheram* was shot.

Before I proceede, I must digresse a little to other matters. In this Iourney (begun the twentieth of December) his Lordship receiued commandement to pardon all such in *Mounster* as should require it, and should be commended by the Lord President, with assurance that *Spaine* was so intangled with the warre of *Sauoy*, as the Irish rebels

Rebels could at this time haue small succour thence. His Lordship writ to Master Secretary to procure him leaue to start ouer into *England*, to kisse the Queenes hands, and to conferre with him about the Irish seruice, professing that hee reputed him his honourable friend, and did much disdain that humour in any subiect (if any such were) which would thinke him tyed by any respect, from hauing his affection free to loue him. In the beginning of Februarie, the Lord President of *Mounster*, excused himselfe to the Lord Deputy, that hee had made stay of some forces his Lordship had directed to come from thence, because hee had intelligence that some Northern Rebels were sent to inuade *Mounster*. But his Lordship knowing that he had stopped their passage, and that they could not goe with any great numbers, if perchance they escaped, did againe require that these forces might be sent vnto him. At this time, there was a plot for *Tyrones* head, the managing whereof was commended to Sir *Richard Moryson* Gouvernour of *Dundalke*, whether Sir *William Godolphin* was sent with his troope of horse, to second this plot, which tooke not the wished effect; the vndertaker *Henry Oge Oneale* failing in his courage, or in his faith.

Now I will returne to his Lordships actions while hee lay at *Maghogans* Castle. The same two & twentieth of *February*, his Lord receiued a packet out of *England*, by which he vnderstood that the Earle of *Essex* was committed to the Tower for treason, which much dismaied him and his neere friends, and wrought strange alteration in him: For whereas before he stood vpon termes of honour with the Secretary, now he fell flat to the ground, and insinuated himselfe into inward loue, and to an absolute dependancy with the Secretary, so as for a time he estranged himselfe from two of his neere friends, for the open declaration they had made of dependancy on the Earle of *Essex*; yet rather couering, then extinguishing his good affection to them. It is not credible that the influence of the Earles malignant star, should worke vpon so poore a snake as my selfe, being almost a stranger to him yet my neerenesse in blood to one of his Lordships aboue named friends; made it perhaps seeme to his Lordship improper, to vse my seruice in such neerenesse, as his Lordship had promised and begun to doe. So as the next day he tooke his most secret papers out of my hand, yet giuing them to no other, but keeping them in his owne cabinet: and this blow I neuer fully recovered while I staid in *Ireland*. In truth his Lordship had good cause to be wary in his words and actions, since by some confessions in *England*, himselfe was tainted with priuity to the Earles practises, so that howsoeuer he continued still to importune leaue to come ouer; yet no doubt he meant nothing lesse, but rather (if he had been sent for) was purposed with his said friends to saile into *France*, they hauing priuately fitted themselues with money and necessaries thereunto. For howsoeuer his Lordship were not dangerously ingaged therein, yet hee was (as hee priuately professed) fully resolved not to put his necke vnder the tyle of the Queenes Attornies tongue. But his Lordships former seruice, and the necessity of his future employment, together with his good successe, so strengthened him, as without great vntankefulness, and popular obloquy, he could not haue bene questioned vpon this weake ground.

The same twenty two of *February*, his Lordship in counsell resolved to proclaime, that all such as had any rebels goods, should discover them, or be guiltie of Treason: That none vpon paine of death should parley with the rebels: that the Countrey should bring in victuals to the Campe, which no man (vpon paine of death) should take from them without paying the price of the market. And thus purposing to force the rebels out of the fortified Island, and then to plant a garrison at the Abbey neere adioyning; and to charge the new submitted subiects to ioyne with this garrison in the seruice, as also to take order for the safe victualing of the same when he should be gone, his Lordship resolved the next day to make another attempt against the Island wherein *Terril* lay, preparing all things to second the same, and taking order to bring victuals to the Campe from all parts, and especially from *Athlone* by boates.

The twenty three of *February*, his Lordship drew forth to the Abbey, where hee had lodged foure hundred souldiers; there hee dined and proclaimed *Terrils* head at

two thousand crownes, and after dinner drawing to the Iland, he diuided the forces, sending part to put boates into the water, and so to assaile the Iland, and causing the rest to be led into the Woods to fetch out the rebels corne, and to burne the houses, and such things for their reliefe, as they could not bring away. The twenty foure of *February*, being Shroue-tuesday, there fell a great snow, so that we were forced to lie still, and the next night the Rebels did steale away, leauing the Iland to his Lordship, where the next day wee found much corne, some Murrians and Peeces, eight Cowes, and some garrons.

The twenty six, his Lordship drew the forces beyond the Iland, into a pleasant valley, wherein was a ruined house of Sir *Edward Herberts*, and the ground was well plowed by the Rebels. Our men burnt houses and corne, and his Lordship gaue an Angell to a Souldier to swim ouer the water, and burne the houses in another Iland. Then we came to a riuer, which diuideth West *Meath*, and *Orphaly*; into which countrey his Lordship sent diuers companies vnder Sir *Christopher*, *Saint Laurence*, to spoyle the same. The twenty seuen, his Lordship rode six miles to Sir *John Tirrels*, a strong Castle, wee passed by the way *Tirrels* pace, compassed with bogges and hilly woods. This Knight was a subiect, and here his Lordship rested the next day. The first of March his Lordship rode to *Klongaue*, the house of Sir *Terrence O dempsey* in *Ophalia*, being twelue miles; in the first part whereof wee passed a dangerous part of *Tirrels* fastnesse.

Here his Lordship receiued a gracious Letter from her Maiesty, whereby she made known vnto him the Earle of *Essex* his death, & (to vse her own words) professed, that in regard of his approued fidelity and loue, it was some alleuation of her griefe, to eiaculate the same to him. First, her Maiesty required him to look wel in general, vpon the dispositions of all his Captaines, whereof, some preferred by the Earle, might perhaps haue hollow hearts towards her seruice, for as shee was pleased to pardon those, who by his popular fashion and outward profession of his sincerity had beene seduced, and blindly led by him; so shee was carefull to seuer the chaffe from the corne, and to deprive the malicious of meanes to preiudice her seruice. Secondly, whereas the Secretary in his Lordships name had moued her Maiesty, that he might haue warrant to come ouer; yet in regrad the Spanish ships had not yet passed the narrow seas into *Flaunders* (whether surely they were sent, and nothing lesse then for *Ireland*, howsoeuer the Traytor made vse of like rumors) her Maiesty wished that hee would conceale this his desire for a time, with promise to call him home the next winter, and vse his seruice neere her person.

The same time his Lordship receiued Letters from the Lords in *England*, giuing allowance in her Maiesties name, for the passing of *Tirconnell* to *Neale Garue*, vpon the aboue mentioned conditions; yet aduising that hereafter no Countrey should so absolutely bee passed, as all the inhabitants should depend vpon one man, which would still kindle new flames of rebellion. By the same Letters his Lordship vnderstood, that the supplies of money, victuals, and munitions, were ready according to his demands. And their Lordships aduised the plantation of a garrison about *Strangford*, to preuent the assistance which the Scots gaue to the Rebels. The third of March his Lordship rode ten miles to *Bally Britton*, Sir *Henry Warrens* house in *Leax*, which was kept for the Queene by a Constable and Warders. In the mid way we passed by *Phillipstowne* (otherwise called *Dyngen*) a strong Fort in *Ophalia* (otherwise called the Kings County) and that day his Lordship sent out many parties of souldiers into the woods, against *Tirrell* and the *Oconnors*, scatteredly lurking in those parts.

Here his Lordship receiued from the Lords, directions to descric the siluer mony, and to proclaime a new coine, three ounces fine; which base money was sent ouer, ostely to impouerish the Rebels (as was pretended) who made warre against the Queene with her owne treasure; but in conclusion it was the vndoing of all the Queenes seruants there, for no man cared to lay it vp, and all things were bought at excessiue rates, after the exchange in *England* once failed. This exchange was proclaimed to be held at three Cities in *England*, and foure in *Ireland*; but by reason that great

great summes were coyned by Rebels and strangers, and for other abuses of the same, as namely of the Merchants, who notwithstanding that the money was duly changed, did excessively raise all prices, this exchange soone failed, and our hearts therewith: for we served there in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that onely the Treasurers and Paymasters, (who were thereby infinitely enriched) had cause to blesse the Authors of this inuention.

The fourth of March his Lordship rode five miles to Sir *Edward Fitzgeralds* house, situate in *Meath*, in a pleasant and fruitfull Countrey. The fifth of March we rode ten miles to *Moymeere*, a very pleasant house, belonging to Sir *James Dillon*, and thence the next day two miles further to *Trim*. Sir *Richard Moryson* Gouverneur of *Dundalke*, had lately advertised his Lordship, that *Turlough mac Henry*, *Tyrone's* brother, Captaine of the Fewes, had taken his oath to him, before a Priest and vpon a Masse booke, that he would submit himselfe to her Maiesties mercy, without any conditions at or before *S^t Patricks* day next following. And further had advertised that the Lord of *Clancaruin* humbly desired to be receiued to mercy with him. For better ratifying hereof, the said *S^r Richard Moryson* now brought the said *Turlough* in person to his Lordship lying at *Trim*. The fifteenth of March his Lordship drew to *Arbrachin*, the Bishop of *Meaths* house, sixe miles distant, where his Lordship had appointed the adioining garrisons to meete him the next day; and presently after their arriual, his Lordship tooke horse towards euening, and thence we marched all night, being very darke, and in the morning suddenly fell into the Ferney, the possession whereof *Euer mac Cooly*, one of the *Mac Mahons* then vsurped; and there we burnt the houses and spoiled the goods of the Inhabitants, Sir *Richard Moryson* Gouverneur of *Dundalke*, with that Garrison, and Sir *Oliuer Lambert* with other troopes, and Captaine *Thomas Williams* with the forces of *Ardee* comming in diuers wayes, & meeting his Lordship in that Countrey, with small or no resistance made by the rebels, to either party. The nineteenth we marched five miles to *Ardee*, the twentieth seven miles to *Mellifant*, Sir *Edward Mores* house, the twenty one two miles to *Drogedagh*, where his Lordship staid till the sixteenth of Aprill, and so returned to *Dublyn*. At *Drogedagh* his Lordship altered the list of the foot, the horse standing still as before.

The disposall of the foot into garrisons the 23, of March, 1600.

At the Newry vnder Sir *Oliuer S^t Johns* 750. At *Carlingford* Captaine *Hansard* 100. At Mount *Norreys* vnder Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* 450. At *Dundalke* vnder *S^r Richard Moryson* 400. At *Ardee* a refreshing but no standing garrison 350. At *Luscanon* 400. At *Tullagh* 350. At *Wicklo* 250. At the *Nauan* 300. At the *Nasse* 100. In *Westmeath* 450. In *Ophaly* 200. In *Leax* 300. At *Athy* 100. At *Monastreuen* 300.

In *Connaght*.

Sir *John Barkely* Deputy Gouverneur 200. The Lord of *Dunkellin* now vpon his fathers death Earle of *Clanrickard* 150. More vnder foure Captaines 500.

Foot in *Galloway* and *Odoynes* Countrey.

Three Captaines 400. Capt. *Tho: Roper* 150. At *Riban* 150. In *Ocarrols* Country 100. In *Kildare* 150. At *Dublyn* the Lord Deputies guard 200. At *Carickfergus* vnder Sir *Arthur Chichester* 550. Of new Companies 1150. being cast, and 50. made ouer to *Loughfoyle* Garrison, remained 800. Of *S^r Charles Percies* Company, 100 were made ouer to other Captaines, and 50 were added to *Loughfoyle* garrison. These Companies together with the foot in *Monaster* & at *Loughfoyle*, do make the new list of foot 13250.

Her Maiesties charge in Ireland from the first of Aprill in the beginning of the yeere 1600. to the last of March in the beginning of the yeere 1601.

Her Maiesties allowances by establishment, and by her letters for increase amount to two hundred seenty sixe thousand nine hundred & foureteen li. nine s. foure d. ob. qu. demy.

Hereof saved by the Lord Deputy his providence fiftene thousand two hundred sixty two l. fixe s. five d.

Saved also by Checks imposed on the Army, seventeene thousand twenty nine pound sixteene s. nine d. ob.

So her Maiesties charge for the Army this yeere, besides munition and like extraordinaries, amounteth to two hundred thirty foure thousand six hundred twenty two li. five s. two d. qu. demy.

Mounster.

It remaines briefly to collect (out of the Lord Presidents letters to the Lord Deputy), the seruices done in *Mounster* the yeere 1600, now ended. About the sixteenth of Aprill, in the beginning of the yeere 1600. Sir *George Carew* Lord President of *Mounster* departing from *Kilkenny*, where hee had beene some daies detained by the Earle of *Ormonds* surprisall at a parley with the rebels, came to *Waterford*. And *Thomas Fitz-James* bastard sonne to *James Fitzgerald* late Lord of the Decies, chiefe rebell in the County of *Waterford* fearing present prosecution, made sute to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, which the Lord President granted, aswell to draw from the titulary Earle of *Desmond* some part of his strength, as to open the passage betweene *Waterford* and *Yoghall* by land, formerly shut vp, so as nothing could passe any way but by sea. The twenty three of Aprill at *Dungaruen* his Lordship receiued aduertisement that *Florence mac Carty* after many fauours from the State, being wholly hispaniolised had great power in *Carbry* and *Desmond*, and according to his plot with *Tyrone* at his being there, was entered into open action, (so they terme rebellion). That Captaine *Flower* Sergeant Maior of *Mounster*, had hereupon entered *Carbry* with 1200 foot, and 100 horse, burning and spoiling the same, and killing many rebels. That *Florence* had leuiued of the Prouincials and *Bonnaghs* (so they call waged souldiers) 2000 foot, yet neuer attempted the English, till in their returne they came within five miles of *Corke*, where in a fastnesse the midway betweene *Corke* and *Kinsale*, they assailed the English, and were beaten by them, some 100. of the Rebels being slaine, in which conflict Captaine *Flower* had two horses slaine vnder him. The twenty foure the Lord President came to *Corke*, where he receiued the State of the Prouince by the relation of Sir *Henry Pore* sole Commissioner for *Mounster*, (since the killing of his partner *Sir Warham St Leger* by *Mac Gnire*, likewise killed in the fight) and vnderstood the rebels to be strong and masters of the field, supplied with all necessaries from the Townes through the perswasion of Priests, and the couetousnesse of the Townesmen. About this time *Fitzgibbon* called the *white Knight*, either ill vsed by *Tyrone* at his being in *Mounster*, or fearing prosecution, submitted himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. Likewise *Florence mac Carty* by perswasion of friends, and vpon safe conduct, came to the Lord President, and protested loialty to her Maiesty, but refused to giue his sonne for pledge, lest his waged souldiers should cast him out of his Countrey, till his Lordship threatned to lay aside all other seruice sharply to prosecute him, whereupon he consented for his pledge, but required to haue the County of *Desmond* giuen to him and his heires, with title of *Mac Carty More*, or Earle of *Clancar*, with like high demands, which being reiected, he desired leaue to sue for these graces in *England*, with promise not to serue against her Maiesties forces in the meane time, wherewith the Lord President was satisfied, hauing no other end for the present, then to make him stand neutrall, while the whole forces were imploied against the titulary Earle of *Desmond*, *James Eitzthomas*, called the Suggon Earle by nickname. Now one *Dermot Oconnor*, hauing no lands, yet by marriage with the daughter of the old Earle of *Desmond* and his great valour, had the leading of 1400. *Bonnaghs*. And because the Lord President hoped to ruine the rebels one by another; at this time by the wife of the said *Dermot* and other Agents his Lordship plotted with him, vpon promise of great rewards to kill *James* the titulary Earle of *Desmond*: And in like sort, one *John Nugent* a rebell, vpon promise of pardon and reward, did within few daies vndertake to kill *John* the said Earles brother. About the beginning of May *Redman Burke* leading 500 Rebels, lost 120. of them while he aduentured to take a prey in *Oduiers* Countrey, and being nourished by the Lord President, with hope to be Baron of *Letrim*, drew his men out of *Mounster* into *Ormond*

Ormond, with purpose to leade them into *Connaght*: And *Tyrrell* leader of the Northerne men; staid not long behind him, pretending discontent against *Dermod Oconnor*, but indeed fearing some plot against his head. It had beene long rumored that the Lord President would take the field the sixth of May, which made the rebels draw to a head and spend their victuals, so as after ten dayes they were forced to disperse themselves. The twentieth of May the Lord President tooke the field, and marching towards *Lymbricke*, settled Warders in some Castles to secure the passage thither from *Kilmalloch*. At *Lymricke* his Lordship vnderstood that *John Nugent* aboue named, being ready (as he had vndertaken) to kill *John* brother to the titular Earle of *Desmond*, was by accident hindered from discharging his Pistoll, and being apprehended, was put to death; but as well *John* as the titular Earle his brother, were so terrified herewith, as they durst neuer keep together, & thought themselves least secure in the head of their owne men from like practises. The Lord President marched into *John Burkes* Countrey, and spoyling the same, forced him to seeke her Maiesties mercy on his knees, which at last he obtained, though with difficulty. His Lordship hauing gained here plenty of graine for the Army, sent five hundred foot into *Omulrians* Countrey, who spoiled the same, and killed many rebels. Then his Lordship returned to *Limricke* without any losse, and in the beginning of Iune diuided the Army into garrisons not far distant, which his Lordship did though the time were fit for seruice, that he might attend the plot with *Dermod Oconnor* for killing the titular Earle of *Desmond*, which could not well be done, except the rebels were dispersed, who would keepe together as long as the English Army was in the field. Besides, his Lordship vpon their breaking, tooke aduantage to settle a garrison at *Asketon* without any resistance. *Dermod Oconnor* tooke the titular Earle prisoner in the name of *Oncle*, pretending by a forged letter that he had plotted his death with the Lord President, & presently sent his wife for the money promised in reward, wishing the Lord President to draw his forces to *Kilmalloch*, where he would deliuer him the prisoner, which his Lordship did accordingly the sixteenth of Iune, but the rebels hauing notice hereof, drew together foure thousand in number, stopped the passages, set the titular Earle at liberty, and besieged *Dermod O Connor* in a Castle, till the Lord President marching thither the 29 of Iune, forced them to leaue the siege. His Lordship kept the field, tooke the chiefe Castle of the Knight of the vally, wherein were slaine threescore warders, tooke other Castles, and did many good seruices, the rebels in great number lying neere him, but neuer offering to fight, by reason of the ielousies between them, whereupon 2500. *Connaght* men were sutors to his Lordship to returne home without impediment from his forces. At this time *Oconnor Kerry* yeelded his Castle to the Queene, and was receiued to mercy; and the Lord President at last granted a passe to the Rebels of *Connaght*, but the Lord *Burke* not knowing thereof, for a priuat reuenge, set vpon them as they marched home, and slew threescore of them, besides many drowned. The sixteenth of Iuly the Lord President bestowed the Army in garrisons: The 23. of Iuly his Lordship tooke the field againe, to releue the men he had formerly sent into *Kerry*, and marching thither, took *Lixnaw* the chiefe house of the Lord *Fitz Morrice*, and many other Castles, for grieve whereof the said Lord died, yet leauing a sonne then as dangerous as himselfe. The Lord President returned to *Cork* about the eighteenth of August, leauing Sir *Charles Wilmo*: Gouvernour of *Kerry*, a valiant Gentleman, a chiefe Commander vnder him, and in the first ranke of those instruments he vsed in all seruices, who in short time brought most of the freeholders of *Kerry* to due subiection, and droue the titular *Desmond* out of those parts. All the garrisons in time of haruest, gathered as much corne as they could, and destroied the rest, which made the rebels not able to subsist the yeere following. Sir *George Thornton* hearing that the titular Earle of *Desmond* passed neere *Kilmalloch* sent the garrison out, and Captain *Greame* charging them with his troope of horse, killed 120. of them, in which conflict the English got 300. garons laden with baggage, 150 pikes and peeces with other weapons, and 40. horse, but the English had 16. horses killed in the fight. The titular Earle of *Desmond*, could neuer after draw 100. men together, & was forced to flie into *Tipperary* with his brother *John, Pierce Lacy* an Archrebel, & the Knight of the Glin, whence his brother *John*

hasted into *Ulster* for reliefe from *Tirone*. And in the end of this Summer vpon the departure of the *Bonnaghs* of *Connaght* and *Ulster*, & the good successe of the English, many of the Prouincials submitted themselves, yet sent to *Rome* for dispensation of their so doing. About the middest of October *James Fitzgerald* (who had long been imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, being the next & true heire to the last Earle of *Desmond*, and released by the Queene with title of Earle by letters Pattents sent to the Lord President, and promise of a good proportion of land to support his dignity at the end of the warre, according to his deserts in her Maiesties service, and in the meane time to liue vpon pay in the Army) landed at *Yoghal*, and the eighteenth day came to the Lord President at *Mallogh*, and was industrious in the Queenes seruice. *Dermot O Connor* being in *Connaght*, and hearing of the young Earle of *Desmonds* arriuall, vpon promise of great seruices had the Lord Presidents protection to come vnto him, but was set vpon by *Tybot ne long*, his men defeated, he taken and hanged, whereupon *Tibot* hauing then a Company in her Maiesties pay was cashiered. *Florence mac Carty* hauing all this while practised vnderhand many things against the State, and putting still off his appearance by delatory excuses, at last in October by the desperatenesse of his estate was forced to submit, and obtained pardon vpon pledges of his loyaltie. The titularie Earle of *Desmond* stealing backe into *Mounster* liued as a Wood-kerne, neuer hauing more then two or three in his Company.

In Nouember, Sir *Charles wilmot* took the last and only Castle the Lord *Mac Morice* had in *Kerry*, & his eldest son therin (betraied by a Priest for safetie of his life) and great prouisions laid vp in that Castle. In these two last moneths Sir *Richard Percy* lying in Garrison at *Kinsale*, twice passed into the Country, and tooke preyes of five hundred Cowes, killing many rebels. In December the Lord President had notice where the titularie Earle lurked, and sent men to surprise him: but he escaped in such haste, as hee left his shooes behind him. And now there was not a Castle in *Mounster* held for the rebels, nor any company of ten rebels together; though there wanted not loose vagabonds disperfed in all corners, so as his Lordship had leisure to looke into the Corporate Townes, being aiders, abettors, and procurers vnder hand of this rebellion, all the Queenes treasure being spent in them by the souldiers, and they vnderhand supplying the rebels with all necessaries, though at excessiue rates. The rebels fled out of *Mounster* into *Tiperarie* and *Ormond*, had hitherto liued there among the *Bullers* being subiects, without any disturbance, the rather for the Earle of *Ormonds* mourning for the death of his most worthy and vertuous Lady: but in Ianuary his Lordship sent some forces against them, who killed many, and forced the rest to flie, whereof some were drowned passing the waters then very high, and some chiefe rebels were taken and hanged at *Kilkenny*. About the end of Ianuary, the Lord President sent 1000 foote of the *Mounster* List, to be disposed by the Lord Deputie, as he had direction to doe. His Lordship to settle the Country the better, refused to renew any protections, so as all were forced to sue their pardons, and in two moneths space before the end of Februarie, vpon his Lordships recommendation, more then foure thousand *Mounster* men had their pardons, granted by the Lord Deputie, and passed vnder the great Scale.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Lord Deputies particular proceedings in the prosecution of the Rebels, and of the Spaniards invading Ireland, in the yeere 1601.



While the Lord Deputy lay at *Drogheda* (namely, from the one and twentie of March, till the sixteene of Aprill, vpon which day he returned to *Dublin*), his Lordship assembled the Counsellors of State to attend him there. And vpon the eight and twentie of March 1601, the Lord Deputy and Counsell wrote from *Drogheda* (vulgarly called *Tredagh*) their ioynt letters to the Lords in *England*, whereby they aduertised, that the Lord Deputy hauing spent the greatest part of Winter in the Irish Countries of *Lemster*, had by burning their Corne, consuming their cattel, and killing many of them, so scattered their maine strength, as certaine of the chiefe had since submitted to the Queenes mercy, and the rest were seuered into small companies, and vnlike to draw to any dangerous head; yea, *Tirrel*, in opinion the greatest among them (taken for *Tyrone*s Lieutenant in *Lemster*), being forced out of his greatest fastnesse, now with a few base Kerne following him, was driuen to wander in Woods and Boggs, seeking to escape into the North (as shortly after he did, notwithstanding that certaine English Companies were left to hunt him in his walkes, and to stop his passage.) That his Lordship desirous to be at hand, to watch all opportunities of seruice vpon the Northerne borders, had pierced into the *Fearny*, and that Sir *Richard Moryson* Gouverneur of *Dundalk* with his Garrison had formerly wasted, and now passed through the *Fewes*, and met his Lordship there, so as both these Countries being spoiled, *Euer Mac Cooly* chiefe of the *Fearny*, and *Turlogh Mac Henry*, Captaine of the *Fewes*, had both been humble suiters for her Maiesties mercie, and were commanded to appeare shortly, and make their humble submissions: which course likewise the septs of the *Brenny* were like to take, for many of them chastised by the Army, and viterly discouraged, had already diuers times offered most humble submissions. That his Lordship hereupon had called the Counsellors to *Tredagh*, there to consider of the circumstances and conditions, to be obserued in taking these submissions, as also to deliberate how the Army might be employed most to vex *Tyrone*, til the Summer came on, at which time his Lordship purposed to dwell vpon him, and put him to triall of his vttermost fortune. That it was resolved in Counsell to accept the submissions of the Chiefe of *Fearny*, and the Captaine of the *Fewes*, aboue named, as likewise of the septs of the *Brenny*. (these three Countries being an hedge betweene the English Pale, and the North, and yeelding many commodities to passe into *Tirone* with her Maiesties forces, That it was resolved to send *Mac Guyer* into *Fermanagh* with 200 men to helpe him for a time, against the rebel *Mac Guyer* (whom he and his sonne had already much impouerished), for hee was thought a fit instrument (in case he preuailed), as well to intangle *Tyrone* and infest *Oroke*, as to helpe the Plantation at *Ballishannon*, intended to be put in execution about Iune following, when forage could be had for horses.

They further solicited by these letters for supplies of victuals, munition and mony, and that the victuals and munition should be addressed some part to *Dublin* and *Tredagh*,

dagh, but the greatest part to Galloway, being intended for the forces to be planted at Ballisbannon, and those to invade Tyrone that way; and the rest to Carlingford, intended for the forces to invade Tyrone by the way of the Newry, which invasion was purposed about the middest of Iune, when forrage might be had for the horse, and this they prayed, because the vnshipping and reshipping of the victuals at Dublin, caused great expence of mony, and waste of the victuals.

Tirlagh Mac Henry Captaine of the Fewes, and Euer Mac Cooly, of the Family of the mat Mahownes, chiefe of the Fearny, did about this time declare themselves to be subjects, and humbly made their submissions on their knees, signing certaine articles of subiection vnder their hands, and putting in pledges for performance thereof. And the said Euer in particular confessed in the Articles vnder his hand, that hee was not Lord, but Farmer of the Fearnye, binding himselfe to pay her Maiestie his old rent.

An. 1601. The one and thirty of March 1601, her Maiestie signed the following Establishment.

Officers Generall.

The Lord Deputy for his diet one hundred li. *per mensem*: a Band of Horse three li. foure s. *per diem*: fifty foot each at eight d. *per diem*: for allowance in lieu of cesse, ten li. *per annum*, besides his Companies of horse and foote in the Army. In all *per diem* twelue li. six s. sixe d. ob. qu. *per annum*, foure thousand foure hundred fortie foure li. seuentene s. one d. ob. qu.

The Lieutenant of the Army, three li. *per diem*; one thousand fourescore fiftene pound *per annum*.

The Treasurer at warres, thirtie five s. *per diem*; sixe hundred thirtie eight li. fiftene shillings *per annum*.

The Marshall besides his thirty horse at twelue d. *per diem* without checque in the Army, five s. nine d. *per diem*; one hundred foure li. eightene s. nine d. *per annum*.

The Serieant Maior of the Army, twenty s. *per diem*; three hundred sixtie five li. *per annum*.

The Master of the Ordinance, twenty sixe s. eleuen d. *per diem*; foure hundred nintie one li. foure s. seuen d. *per annum*.

Ministers of the Ordinance, twenty five s. two d. *per diem*; foure hundred fiftie nine li. five s. ten d. *per annum*.

Muste-master Generall, eleuen s. sixe d. *per diem*; two hundred nine li. seuentene s. sixe d. *per annum*.

Comptroler of the victuals, ten s. *per diem*; one hundred eighty two li. ten s. *per annum*.

Five Commissaries of victuals, one at eight s., and foure, each at sixe s. *per diem*, thirtie twos. *per diem*; five hundred eightie foure li. *per annum*.

Fourtene Colonels, each at tenne s. *per diem*, seuen li. *per diem*; two thousand five hundred fifty five li. *per annum*.

Scout-master, besides sixe horse, each at twelue d. *per diem*, part of the Army, sixe s. eight d. *per diem*; one hundred twenty one li. thirteene s. foure d. *per annum*.

Prouost Marshall of the Army for himselfe and foure horsemen, foure s. three d. *per diem*; seuentie seuen li. eleuen s. three d. *per annum*.

Officers Prouinciall.

President of Mounster at one hundred thirty three li. sixe s. eight d. *per annum*; his diet and the Counsels at ten li. the weeke; his retinue of thirtie horse and twentie foote at thirty s. seuen d. ob. *per diem*; three li. sixe s. sixe d. *per diem*; one thousand two hundred thirteene li. thirteene s. foure d. qu. *per annum*.

Prouost Marshall in Mounster, fourtene s. *per diem*; two hundred fiftie five li. ten s. *per annum*.

The Commander of the forces in Connaght at ten s. *per diem*, with an increase of one hundred li. *per annum*; fiftene s. five d. ob. qu. *per diem*; two hundred eightie two li. ten s. *per annum*.

Prouost

Prouost Marshall in *Connaght*, besides twelue horsemen of the Army, five s. seven d. ob. *per diem*; one hundred two li. foureteene s. one d. ob. *per annum*.

Commander of the forces at *Loughfoyle*, besides his pay of ten s. *per diem* as Colonel, hath three s. foure d. *per diem*; sixty li. sixteene s. eight d. *per annum*.

Prouost Marshall there, foure s. *per diem*; seuentie three li. *per annum*.

Prouost Marshall of *Ballishannon*, foure s. *per diem*; seuentie three li. *per annum*.

Lieutenant of the *Queenes County*, sixe s. eight d. *per diem*; one hundred twentie one li. thirteene s. foure d. *per annum*.

Prouost Marshall in *Lemster* for himselfe and sixe horsemen, five s. seven d. ob. *per diem*; one hundred two li. foureteene s. one d. ob. *per annum*.

Warders in *Lemster per annum*; one thousand three hundred ten li. nineteene s. two pence.

Warders in *Ulster per annum*, eight hundred twentie one li. five s.

Warders in *Mounster per annum*, five hundred forty two li. eightene s. nine d.

Warders in *Connaght per annum*, two hundred li.

Twelue hundred horsemen distributed into foure and twenty Bands, the Captaine foure s., the Lieutenant two s. sixe pence, the Cornet two s. *per diem*, and three hundred horsemen, each at eightene d. *per diem*, on condition they be English both horse and men, or else to haue but twelue d. *per diem*. And 200 horsemen at fifteene d. *per diem*, and seuen hundred horsemen at twelue d. *per diem*. *Per annum* twenty nine thousand two hundred seuentie three li.

Fourteene thousand footmen, distributed into one hundred forty Bands, the Captaine foure s. Lieutenant two s. Ensigne eightene d. the day, two Sericants, a Drum, and a Surgion, each at twelue d. a piece *per diem*, & each souldier at eight d. *per diem*. *Per annum* one hundred ninety nine thousand seuen hundred fifteene li. sixteene s. eight d.

Pensioners in the Muster-booke, *per annum* one thousand eight hundred nine li. fifteene s. ten d.

Pensioners by letters Patents *per annum* eight hundred seuentie foure li. five s. nine pence, ob.

Thirteene Almesmen *per annum* eightie eight li. nineteene s. foure d. ob.

Officers of the Musters which are payable out of the checkes, namely one Muster-Master at sixe s. eight d. a Comptroller at ten s. and twenty Commissaries, each at three s. foure d. *per diem*. *Per annum* one thousand five hundred twenty li. sixteene s. eight d.

Extraordinarie allowance for Messengers, Espials, Post-barkes, rewards of seruices &c. *per annum*, sixe thousand li.

Totall of this Establishment *per annum* two hundred fifty five thousand seuen hundred seuentie three li. foureteene d. qu. denny.

Memorandum, that the dead payes allowed to the Captaines in each Company of horse or foote, are herein contained, but the charge of munition, of leuying horse and foote for reinforcing the Army, with many like charges, are not herein contained.

The sixth of Aprill 1601, his Lordship received aduertisement from Captaine *Iosias Bodley*, at the *Nehry*, that he, and Captaine *Edward Blany*, Gouvernour of the Forte of *Mount-Norreys*, purposing to surprise *Loughrocan*, could not carrie a boat, which they had prouided to that purpose, but he carrying certaine fireworkes prouided in case the boat should faile, went to the Fort, and ioyning with Captaine *Blany*, marched towards that Iland, where they arriued by eight of the clocke in the morning, and leauing their forces behind a Wood, they both went together to discouer the Iland; which done Captaine *Bodley* made readie thirtie arrowes with wildfiet, and so they both fell downe with one hundred shot close to the water, where the shot playing incessantly vpon the Iland, while the other deliuered their arrowes, suddenly the houses fired, and burnt so vehemently, as the rebels lodging there, forsooke the Iland, and swumme to the further shoare. That after they saw all burnt to the ground, they fired a great house vpon their side of the shoare, and killed there sixe *Kerne*, (gaining their Armes) besides Churles and Calliachs, and after the burning of other houses also, they

they brought away some Cowes and Sheepe, with other pillage; and they vnderstood by a prisoner, that there were about thirty persons in the Iland, whereof onely eight swumme away, (of which foure were shot in the water), so as the rest either were killed or lay hurt in the Iland. Likewise they vnderstood by the said prisoner, that great store of butter, corne, meale, and powder, was burnt and spoiled in the Iland, which all the rebels of that Countrey made their magazine. Further, that some forty kerne skirmished with them at places of aduantage, in their retreat for two miles march: but howsoeuer the common opinion was, that the Rebels sustained great losse by this seruice, yet of the English onely two were slaine and seuen hurt.

The seuenth of Aprill Sir *Henry Dockwra* Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle* wrote to his Lordship, that he had taken the submission of *Hugh Boy*, of whose seruice to her Maiesty, he was confident to make manifold good vses, as well for the present settling Sir *Iohn Odogherties* Countrey after his late death, as for reuealing the Rebels secret counsels wel knowne to him. Among which, he confidently auowed that the King of *Spaine* had promised to inuade *Ireland* this yeere, with six thousand men, & to land at some Towne in *Munster*, (swearing that three of the chief Cities had promised to receiue them:) Adding that *Florence Mac Carty* had written to *Odonnell*, that he had submitted to the Queene onely vpon necessity, and that vpon the Spaniards comming hee would ioine with them. This Gouvernour further aduertised that *Phelim Oge*, chiefe of a contrary faction in *Odogherties* country, desired to make his humble submission to the Queenes mercy vpon these conditions: to leaue of the name of *Odogherty*, and obey any man, to whom her Maiesty should giue that Countrey. To pay all debts his men did owe to any subiects. To discharge his souldiers. To returne to the owners twelue hundred Beeues hee had cut for *Odonnell*. To make satisfaction for a Barke comming to the *Liffer*, which his people had taken and spoiled: And to yeeld vp to him the Governour all the cattle should be found in his Countrey belonging to *Odonnell*. Adding, that Sir *Iohn Bolles* in a iourney made vpon *Ocane*, had killed fifty of his people, had burned many houses and much corne. And that the garrison of the *Liffer* had spoiled *Tirconnel*, had slaine many, & had brought away two hundred Cowes, and great booties.

The tenth of April Sir *Oghy Ohanlon*, a northerne Lord submitted himselfe on his knees to her Maiesties mercy at *Tredagh*, and signed certaine Articles, for the performance whereof hee tooke his oath. And because these Articles (except there fell out some speciall reason to leaue out some of them, and to adde others) were the same to which all submitties at this time were tied, I will once for all adde the brieft of them.

After his acknowledgement that Queene *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God, Queene of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. Is the true absolute and Soueraigne Lady of this realme of *Ireland*, and of euery part, & of all the people therof, with humble confession of his former disloyaltie, and of his penitency, and like profession that he had felt the waight of her Maiesties power. This done, further to the example of all other offenders, he testified, that hee made this his humble submission and protestation of his penitency, his future loyalty and indeuour to redeeme his faults by his good seruices. Then he acknowledged vnder his hand, that now before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, he taketh a corporall and religious oath for all and seuerall Articles following; Namely, That he will euer continue a loyall subiect. That for performance thereof, and of all the following Articles, he will put in sufficient pledges. That hee doth renounce all manner of obedience to any forraine power or Potentate, depending only on the Queene his Soueraigne. That hee renounceth all Rebels, and will not aide them, but serue against them when he is commanded. That hee will to the vttermost of his power withstand and confound any disloyal subiect, or forraine enemy attempting against the sacred person, or estate of her Maiesty, or the quietnes of her faithfull subiects, more especially, against the Arch-traytor *Tyrone*, and the King of *Spaine* supporting him. That hee will come to the State whensoeuer hee is commanded, neither will vpon wrongs seeke to right himselfe, but will seeke redresse by course

of

of Law. That he will reueale all conspiracies of treason which hee shall heare. That he will sue out her Maiesties pardon within certaine dayes, for him and his followers, and answer for their good behauiour. That hee will booke these followers within certaine dayes. That he will suffer all subiects safely to trade in his Countrey. That hee will extort no blacke Rents, or make other exactions on his people, but by due course of a subiect. For sincere performance hereof, he testified that he had taken his corporall oath, vpon his knees, before the Lord Deputy and Councell, (the same oath being solemnly ministred to him, and taken by him in the said assembly) and did againe vow the same vpon his saluation, religiously professing, that if he should break those Articles or any of them, he would acknowledge himselfe not onely to be worthy of all infamy and extreame punishment; but euer after to bee most vnworthy to beare the name of a Christian, or to inioy the society of men, to which, as hee had vnfaignedly sworne, so now in witnesse thereof, he did in this written forme of submission set to his hand, with addition of the day of the moneth, and of the yeere when this act was done by him.

The sixteenth of Aprill, the Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle* by his letters intreated, that a pardon might be passed to *Hugh Boy* (which businesse the bearer had vndertaken to sollicite) and that *Neale Garue*, to whom the Queene had granted *Odonnells Countrey*, *p. 101.* might be sent backe from *Dublin*, because the Irish were confident, that vpon his arriuall all the people of *Tirconnell* would flocke vnto him. Further aduertising, that the garrison of the *Liffer* had burnt the New-towne, and killed twelue kerne and thirtie eight of other people, and had brought backe some three hundred Cowes. And that the garrison of *Donnegall*, had burnt in *Ocanes* Countrey a great village, and many women, children, and Cowes, with the houses, and had killed some forty kerne and churles.

The three & twenty of Aprill, his Lordship kept *S. Georges* feast, at *Dublin*, with solemne pompe, the Captains bringing vp his meat, & some of the Colonels attending on his person at Table. To which feast the Rebels were inuited, whom his Lordship lately receiued to mercy, vnder her Maiesties protection, till their pardons might be signed, namely *Turlough Mac Henry*, Captain of the *Fewes*, *Euer Mac Cooly*, chiefe of the *Fearney*, *Ohanlon* a Lord of *Ulster*, *Phelim Mac Feagh*, chief of the *Obyrnes*, & *Donnell Spaniagh*, chiefe of the *Cauanaghs* in *Lemster*. These were entertained with plenty of wine, and all kindnesse, his Lordship assuring them, that as he had bin a scourge to them in rebellion, so he would now be a mediator for them to her Maiesty, in their state of subiects, they standing firme and constant to their obedience. And no doubt, as there is a secret mystery of State in these solemne pomps; and as his Lordship therein, for his person and carriage, was most comely, and (if I may vse the word) Maiefticall; so the magnificence of this feast wrought in the hearts of those Rebels, and by their relation in the hearts of others after submitting, (both hauing first experienced the sharpenesse of the *Queenes* sword,) such an awfull respect to her Maiesty; and such feare tempred with loue to his Lordship, as much auailed to containe them in due obedience.

From the end of March to the beginning of May, vpon the Lord Presidents intercession by letters to the Lord Deputy, many pardons were granted for life, land, and goods, to Chiefetaines of Countries, and Gentlemen in *Mounster*; namely, to *Mac Carty Rcough*, Chieftain of *Carbery*, and two hundred & ten followers, as well men, as women and children: to *Oswyllian Beare*, and some fise hundred twenty eight followers, as also to *Oswyllian Brantry*: to *Iohn Odoyre* of *Tiperary*, and some one hundred fifty followers: to *Fitz James Gerrald*, with some three hundred seuentie followers: and to *Teig Mac Moreretagh Obrian*, in the County of *Lymrick*, with some two hundred twenty one followers; and some others, which for breuity I omit. And it was concluded at the Councell Table, on the last of Aprill, that the two following prouisoes, should bee inserted in all pardons, (and charge was accordingly giuen to the *Queenes* learned Counsell, and to the Officers, and to his Lordships Secretaries, whose hands al pardons passed, that the said Prouisoes should be continually inserted) namely:



namely: First, in regard some notorious Rebels of the Pale might passe as followers to remote Lords, that the pardon be not available to any, but to the naturall inhabitants, tenants, and knowne followers of the Lord so pardoned. Secondly, in regard many Rebels taken, and to be iudged according to the Law, might by oversight bee pardoned, prouiso was to be entred, that no pardon should auaille any, who were already in prilon; or vpon bayle.

The second of May, his Lordship wrote to the Lords in *England*, that *Mounster* was not only wel reduced; but began to taste the sweetnes of peace: that the like might be said of *Lemster*, except the *Mores* and *Connors*, who were scattered, & had sought, but could not obtain of him the Queens mercy. That the Northern borders of *Ulster* were assured, namely, *Ohanlons* Country, the *Fewes*, *Clancarvill*, the *Ferney*, most of the *Gallglassés*, and many of the *Mac Mahownes*, and that a garrison was planted in the *Brenny*, and the *Queenes Mac Gwyer* settled in *Fermanagh*. That Sir *Henry Dockwra* at *Loughfoyle*, and Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Carickefergus* (commonly called *Knoskefergus*) had made their neighbours sure to the State, and both had done her Maiesty excellent seruice. That onely *Connaght*, most easily to be reduced, was most out of order. That for this reason hee thought fit to plant *Ballishannon* garrison through *Connaght*, which might be reduced with the very passing of the Army; and therefore had perswaded the *Magazin* of victuals at *Galloway*, specially since from those parts his Lordship might easily ioine with the Lord-President, in case *Spaine* should inuade *Mounster*. That in the meane time his Lordship would draw one thousand foot out of *Mounster*, to serue in *Ulster*; and for a time borrow thence five hundred Foot and fifty Horse for *Connaght* iourney, the forces remaining being sufficient to guard *Mounster*, and greater then he had left in *Lemster*, in the peace whereof he might seeme to haue more proper interest. But if *Spaine* should inuade *Mounster*, then all the Army was to be drawne thither, and great supplies sent out of *England*, since the defection of the Irish was like to be great, euen of those who yet had neuer declared any malice against the State: yet that his Lordship desired presently no supplies, in regard of her Maiesties excessive charge, in leuying and transporting them, trusting that by the Rebels forces diminished, occasion would be giuen to cast some of the Army, with which cast Companies the defects of the standing might be supplied, wherein his Lordship promised to proceed without preferring such, as euen with their blood shed in his fight deserved advancement, or satisfying some worthy Commanders, (whose entertainment he had rather lessened) or pleasuring those, who might iustly challenge preferment from him. Therefore praying, that her Maiesty would not command him to bestow new Companies (as of late hee had done) vpon such as of late had beene absent, and had onely serued at the loosing of the Kingdome, so as they were least fit to be preferred before those who had hazarded their liues in regaining it: Adding, that he writ not this, to vphold any priuate dependency on himselfe, esteeming it a great vanity so to doe, but onely to strengthen himselfe, so long and no longer then he should be imploied in her Maiesties seruice. That in stead of new supplies, he desired leave to entertaine some of the Irish Submitties in pay, by them to consume the Rebels, and by the Rebels to diminish their number, since two things remained to settle the Kingdome. First the riding *Ireland* of the Swordmen, (to which end the Irish affected some iourney into the Low Countries or the Indies, which could not make them any whit more able Soldiers then now they were, nor adde to their knowledge of warre fit for *Ireland*, which they now had; but three parts of foure were like neuer to returne, if they were ingaged in such a voyage). Secondly, the making of the English owners fit to inhabit their lands, which was most difficult, in regard of their pouerty, and of the great quantities of lands they possessed, since in particular of some gentlemen of *Leax* and *Ophalia*, each possessed as much land, as being well inhabited, would maintaine more men then all the Rebels of those Counties were in number.



About the tenth of May his Lordship gaue warrant to passe the pardon of *Phelim mac Feogh Obyrn*, of the *Glinnes*, with his followers, and likewise of *Phelim mac Feogh OToole* of the *Fartrey*, with fifty six followers. And vpon the humble submission of
Rosse

Rosse mac Mahowne, his Lordship granted him her Maesties protection, till he might sue out his pardon.

About this time his Lordship had aduertisement from Sir *Henry Dockwra* Gouvernour at *Loughfoyle*: That he had taken in *Odogherties* Countrey, and secured the passages into it, as well against *Odonnell*, as the false inhabitants. That he hauing gathered the forces to spoile *Hughmac Hugh Duffes* Countrey, the proiect was frustrated by an Irishman stealing from the Army, and giuen them intelligence hereof, so as they droue the prey farre off into remote parts. That *Neale Garue* with *Cormoeke O Neale*, dispatched lately from *Dublin*, were arriued at *Loughfoyle*. That he the said Gouvernour deferring the prosecution of *Ocane*, because he had no Hauen in his Countrey for the landing of Spaniards, nor could escape from the English forces, though Spaniards should land, the same time resolved to enter *Hughmac Hugh Duffes* Countrey, as more fit to receiue forraigne forces, and to supply them with victuals or other necessities. And to this end that he had assembled the forces to the Liffer. That *Shane mac Manus Oge Odonnell*, commanding certaine Ilands in the Sea, did there offer to submit, but vpon such conditions as were vnfit, yet the Irish extolling his valour, and intreating for him, and *Neale Garue* for the time being content to spare him of the men allowed him, fifty foot and twenty five horse, that he the Gouvernour had further promised him, vpon acceptable seruice, to procure him as many more men in her Maesties pay, whereupon he had taken his oath of obedience, and had secretly sent word to his people to spoyle *Rory Odonnells* Countrey; (who then had him in no suspicion). This done, that he the Gouvernour suddenly entered *Hugh Duffes* Countrey aforesaid, and spoiled the same, taking a prey of more then one thousand Cowes, with great numbers of Garrons, Sheepe, and Goates. That thence he marched into *Fannaght*, where *Owen Oge mac Swinedoe*, Lord of the *Doe*, met him on the borders, and deliuering the chiefe pledges of his Countrey for his and their loyalty, tooke his oath of obedience to her Maestie. That hearing of *Odonnells* drawing into those parts, he thence retired with great part of the forces, leauing *Neale Garue* with his Irish and some English Companies for his assistance, to spoyle and absolutely waste *Fannaght*, to whom *Mac Swine Fannaght* Lord of the Countrey, presently deliuered pledges of his loyalty, taking his oath of obedience to her Maestie, at which time likewise *Mac Swine Bane*, and *O Boyle*, earnestly solicited the Gouvernour to be receiued to mercy. That *Neale Garue* by the keeping of *Tirconnell* granted him at *Dublyn* for the time, till her Maesty might please to passe the same to him by Letters Patents, and by great gifts he had there receiued, was puffed vp with pride, desiring present possession of the Countrey, and calling the people his subiects, and saying to the Gouvernours face, that he would punish, exact, cut, & hang them, as he list. But that he had calmed him with seuerer speeches, & with charge not to meddle with any man, or any part of the Countrey vpon his alleagiance, since he had no right but from her Maesties bounty, not yet fully expressed, and that not soueraigne, but limitted, so as might best stand with the peoples good, who were not his but her Maesties subiects. That he found him to be in his nature proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, vnmeasurably couetous, without any knowledge of God, or almost any ciuility, good to be vsed while he was satisfied; (which he could hardly bee, being like a Quince, requiring great cost ere it be good to eat), or whilst he was kept vnder (which was the fitter course to be held with him), yet that he thought him sure to the State, in regard of the pledges he had giuen, but much more, because he could no way better his estate by leauing the *Queenes* seruice, nor be secure of any word from *Odonnell*, whose brother he had killed. That *Cormacke O Neale*, being of late come from *Dublyn*, could hitherto haue done no seruice, but that he was of reasonable esteeme among the people of his Countrey, and was of a mild honest disposition, willing to serue without grating beggery, or vnreasonable demands, yet was Irish and little lesse barbarous then the better sort of wood kern. That coming out of the woods without friend or kinsman, he could then giue no pledges, but his wife and children were since come to him, and within the Gouvernours power, besides that he seemed not to be inclined to trechery, neither could mend his estate by leauing the *Queenes* seruice

nice, to which he came in voluntarily, without calling, forcing, or composition, and therein remained with his desires limited, and to be contented with reason. That *Hugh Boy*, was subtile, wise, ciuil, a Papist, and aliened (but not deeply malicious) against *Odonnell's* person, yet firme in his allegiance, hauing come in with his Countrey, and deliuered his chiefe pledges, offering any other to be deliuered vpon command; and hauing shewed the passages into his Countrey, and himselfe sollicitated and furthered the fortifying thereof, daily giuing sure and important intelligences, to the great furtherance of the seruice; besides that, all his wealth lay within the power of the Queenes forces. Lastly, that betweene these submitties were factions and heart-burnings, which discreetly measured, could not but aduantage the seruice.

The fifteenth of May the Lord Deputy receiued (by the hands of *Sir George Cary*, Treasurer at warres) a Proclamation (signed by the Queene) to be published, for making the new standard of mixed monies to be onely currant in this Kingdome, all other coyns being to be brought in to the Treasurer. And likewise a letter from the Queene, requiring the Lord Deputy and Counsell to further the due execution of the contents of this Proclamation, and by some plausible graces, done in generall to the subiect, (in the establishing an exchange of this coyne into sterling money of *England*, & taking away the impositions on sea coles transported into *Ireland*, and in particular to the Captaines of the Army, in allowing their dead payes in mony, after the rate of eight pence *per diem*, and some like fauours), inuiting all to swallow this bitter pill, which impouerished not only the Rebels, but her Maiesties best seruants in this Kingdome, onely enriching her Paymasters, sitting quietly at home, while others aduenured daily their bloods in the seruice.

The twentieth of May the Lord Deputy and Counsell aduertised the Lords in *England*; that they had giuen order to print 300. of the Proclamations for the new coyne, to be published through all parts of *Ireland* at one time. That they had in Counsell agreed vpon a generall hoasting for this yeere, to beginne the last of Iune following. And in the meane time, while that was preparing, that the Lord Deputy would draw the forces to *Dundalke* vpon the Northerne borders, there to watch opportunities of seruice, and specially by his presence to animate the new submitties, to attempt something against the Arch-traytor *Tyrone*, and to put them in blood against him and his confederates. And that his Lordship towards the time of the said hoasting, purposed to returne to *Dublyn*, and to the end he might find there all things in readines for his intended prosecution of *Tyrone* in his owne Countrey, they besought their Lordships that victuals and munition might with all possible speed be sent thither out of *England*. The foresaid generall hoasting is a rising out of certaine foot and horse, found by the subiect of the five English shires and the Irish Submitties, to assist the Queenes forces, and these, together with some of the English Companies, his Lordship vsed to lay in the Pale, for the defence thereof, at such time as the forces were to be drawne in to *Ulster*.

*The rising out of the five English Shires and the Irish Submitties. Vizt.
Of the County of Dublyn. Besides sixteene Kerne.*

	Archers	Archers
	Horse.	Horse.
In the Barrony of <i>Balrothery</i> .	nil.	26
In that of <i>Cowlocke</i> ,	nil.	30
In that of <i>Newcastle</i> ,	nil.	18
In that of <i>Castleknocke</i> .	nil.	11
In that of <i>Rathdowne</i> .	12	10

2. Of the County of Meath. Besides one hundred Kerne of the Pooles.

In the Barony of <i>Dulicke</i> .	nil.	32	In that of <i>Dunboyne</i> .	nil.	3
In the Barony of <i>Skrine</i> ,	24	30	In that of <i>Decy</i> .	nil.	17
In that of <i>Ratothe</i> .	nil.	13	In that of <i>Moysewra gh</i> .	nil.	4

	horse	Archers		horse	Archers
		Horse.			Horse.
In that of <i>Lane.</i>	nil.	8	In that of <i>Slane.</i>	6	11
In that of <i>Nauan.</i>	nil.	48	In that of <i>Fowere.</i>	28	nil.
In that of <i>Kenles, alias Kells.</i>	16	6	In that of <i>Margallen.</i>	7	1

Thirdly, Of the County
of *Westmeath* — 60. — 2

Fourthly, Of the County
of *Kildare.*

In the Barony of <i>Sualt.</i>	8	14	In that of <i>Kilkey.</i>	1	2
In that of the vpper <i>Naafe.</i>	nil.	13	In that of <i>Ophaly.</i>	1	2
In that of the nether <i>Naafe.</i>	nil.	5	In that of <i>Connall.</i>	nil.	3
In that of <i>Kelkullen.</i>	8	2	In that of <i>Clane.</i>	nil.	2
In that of <i>Narragh.</i>	nil.	2	In that of <i>Okethy.</i>	nil.	5
In that of <i>Rehan & Athy.</i>	nil.	3	In that of <i>Carbery.</i>	nil.	4

Fifthly, Of the County
of *Louth.*

In the Barony of <i>Ferrard.</i>	4	26	In the Townes of <i>Louth</i> and		
In that of <i>Atherdy.</i>	16	13	of <i>Dundalke.</i>	16	6

Summa 207 — 374. Totall both 581.

The rising out of the Irish Lords, and their Captaines.

The *Obyrnes*, ouer whom after the death of Sir *Henry Harrington*, his son Sir *William Harrington*, is Captaine by the late Queenes Letters Pattents, granted to his father and him, Horsemen 12. Kerne 24.

The *Cauanaghs* hauing then no Captaine ouer them. Horse 12. Kerne 30.

Other particular septs, besides those which were in rebellion. Horse 104. Kerne 307.

Totall, Horse 128. Kerne 361.

The proiect of disposing the Queenes forces for the following Summers seruice.

Out of *Mounster* we thought fit to be spared, and to be drawne into *Connaght* 1000 foot and 50 horse, (since there should still remaine in *Mounster* 1600 foot and 200 horse, for any occasion of seruice.) Foot 1000. Horse 50.

In *Connaght* were already (besides *Tybot ne longes* Company. Foot 1150 Horse 74.

These to be placed as followeth.

To keepe at *Galloway* and *Athlone* in *Connaght*, foot 350.

To leaue at the Abbey of *Boyle* in *Connaght* vnder the command of the late Lord of *Dunkellen*, now Earle of *Clanrickard*. Foot 1000 Horse 62.

These to further the plantation of *Balishannon*.

To leaue at the Annaly in *Lemster* side of the *Shannon*, vnder the command of Sir *John Barkeley*. Foot 800. Horse 12.

These fit to ioine with the vndermentioned forces of *Westmeath*, *Kels*, and the rest vpon the Northerne borders, to stop the *Ulster* Rebels from comming into *Lemster*; or if they should passe them, then to ioine with the forces of *Ophaly*, and the rest southward. *Tybot ne long*, (the payment of whose Company had long beene stopped) was to be kept in good tearmes. *Oconnor Sligo* to be threatned, that if he did not submit and declare himselfe against *Odonnell* before the planting of *Balishannon*, he should haue no hope of mercy. The forces at the Abby of *Boyle* were to infest *Oconnor Sligo*, and to keepe *Ororke* from ioining with *Odonnell*. Those at the Annaly, to infest *Ororke*, besides the aboue mentioned, lying betweene any forces that might come out of the North into *Lemster*, and to follow them if they should escape, it being likely that about harvest time *Tyrrell* and the *Oconnors* will gather strength (if they possibly can) to returne and gather the Corne they sowed last yeere in *Leax* and *Ophaly*. And thus are disposed the aboue said Foot 2150. Horse 124.

The Forces towards the South of Lemster to lie thus ;

In Ophaly. The Earle of Kildare 150. Sir George Bourcher 100. Sir Edward Harbert 100. Capt. Carroll 100. Sir Henry Warren 100. Foot. In all 550. Earle of Kildare 25. Sir Edward Harbert 12. Horse. In all 37. In Leax. Sir Henry Power 150. Sir Francis Rushe 150. Sir Thomas Loftus 100. Foot. In all 400. Master Marshall 20. Captaine Pigot 12 Horse. In all 32. At Kilkenny. Earle of Ormond 150 Foot. Earle of Ormond 50 Horse.

The Forces towards the North of Lemster to lie thus :

In Westmeath. Lord of Deluin 150. Sir Francis Shane 100 Foot. In Kells. Captaine Roper 150 Foot. Earle of Kildare 25. Sir Henry Harrington 25 Horse. At Liscaannon in the Brenny. Lord of Dunsany 150. Captaine Esmond 150. Sir William Warren 100. Sir Henry Harrington 100. Foot 500. Lord of Dunsany 50 Horse. At Dundalke. Captaine Frickleton 100. Foot. In the Moyry. Captaine Hansard 100 Foote.

These of the North and the Garrisons at the Abby of Boyle, lie fit for correspondencie.

These of the South, together with the submitted Irish in Opprossery, and the O-demfies, Omolyes, and *Mac Coghlin's*, lie fit for correspondency among themselves, as also with the garrison at the Annaly. Also all these of the South and North, lie aptly placed to answer one another vpon occasion of seruice, and are in number, those of the South, Foot 1100. Horse 119. Those of the North. Foot 1100. Horse 100.

Both of the South and North. Foot 2200. Horse 219.

Totall, adding the forces abovesaid drawne out of *Mounster*, and those being in *Connaght*, (namely foot 2150. Horse 124.) Makes Foot 4350. Horse 343.

The Lord Deputies forces follow, wherewith he purposed to build a Fort at the Moyry, and put men into it to keepe that Pace: To plant a Garrison in *Lecale* of 500. foot and fifty horse. To giue Sir *Arthur Chichester* the Gouvernour of *Knockesfergus*, two Companies for his better strength. To plant a garrison at *Armagh*, and another at the old fort of *Blackewater*, and a little loope sponce betweene them both. To see great store of hay made in time of the yeere at *Armagh*, and at Mount *Norreis*, for feeding of horses there in the winter following. To lie all the summer close vpon *Tyrone*, destroying the new Corne, and spoyling the Countrey, and so to facilitate the planting of *Basilhannon*, and perhaps to passe into *Tyrone's* Countrey, the Garrisons of *Knockesfergus*, *Lecale*, and *Loughfoyle*, entering at the same time on all hands, and there ordered to meet him. And to draw towards winter to *Athlone* in *Connaght*.

The Lord Deputies said forces.

The Lord Deputy 200. The Marshall 150. Sir *Oliuer Lambert* 150. Sir *Christopher S. Laurence* 150. Sir *Fr. Stafford* 200. Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* 200. Sir *Henry Foleyot* 150. Capt. *Williams* 150. Sir *James Fitzpierre* 150. Sir *William Fortescue* 100. Sir *Garret Moore* 100. Captaine *Oreyly* 100. Captaine *Edward Blaney* 150. Captaine *Iosias Bodley* 150. Sir *Henry Dauers* 150. Captaine *Ghest* 150. Captaine *Roe* 100. Capt. *Master son* 100. Capt. *Rotheram* 150. Foot 2750. Lord Deputy 100. Sir *Henry Dauers* 100. Sir *Oliuer Lambert* 25. Sir *Garret More* 25. Sir *Christ. S. Laurence* 25. Captaine *Darcy* 25. Horse 300.

The Companies intended to be left in the garrison to be planted this summer at *Lecale*.

Sir *Richard Moryson* the Gouvernour 150. Captaine *Cawfield* 150. Captaine *Treuer* 100. Captaine *Constable* 100. Foot 500. Sir *Samuel Bagnol* 50 horse.

The Carrison then being at *Knockesfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* the Gouvernour 200. Sir *Foulke Conway* 150. Captaine *Egerton* 100. Captaine *Norton* 100. Captaine *Billings* 100. Captaine *Phillips* 100. Foot 750.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* 25. Captaine *John Iephson* 100. Horse 125.

These two Garrisons of *Lecale* and *Knockesfergus*, might meet vpon all occasions, and

and so by the intended plantation of *Leccale*, the garrison of *Knockfergus* was thought as much strengthened, as if those companies lay there.

Lying presently in garrison at the *Newry*, vpon *Ulster* borders, Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* 150 foot. Sir *Francis Stafford* 50 horse.

Lying at the fort of *Mount Norreys*, Captaine *Aderton* 150 foot.

These two garrisons, and the two intended at *Blackewater* and *Armagh*, to be vnder one Gouvernour, and to haue correspondency as one garrison.

The garrisons at *Loughfoyle* to be drawne forth into the field.

At the *Derry*, in *Lyft*.

Sir *Henry Dockwra* the Gouvernour 200. Captaine *Digges* 100. Captaine *Willis* 150. Captaine *Lee* 100. Captaine *Oram* 100. Captaine *Brooks* 100. Capt. *Orrel* 100. Foot 850. whereof to be drawne into the field 650.

At the *Lyffer*.

Captaine *Coach* 100. Captaine *Morgan* 150. Captaine *Winsore* 100. Captaine *Dutton* 100. Captaine *Goare* 150. Captaine *Pinner* 100. Capt. *Rand* 100. Foot 800. For the field 550.

At *Dunalong*.

Sir *John Bolles* 150. Captaine *Floyd* 150. Capt. *Badby* 150. Capt. *Sidley* 100. Capt. *Basset* 100. Foot 650. For the field 400.

At *Kilmore*, Captaine *Alford* 100. For the field 35. At *Newtowne*. Capt. *Atkinson* 100. For the field 40. At *Romolyon*, Capt. *Bingley* 150. At *Culmerat*, Captaine *Vaughan* 100. At the *Cargan*, Capt. *Stafford* 100. At *Anny*, Captaine *Sidney* 100. Foot 650. For the field 75.

Total in *List* 3000. For the field 1675.

Thus at *Loughfoyle* with these English foote, and one hundred English horse, together with five hundred Irish foote, and one hundred Irish horse, and the helpe of the Submitties, especially of *Neale Garue*, and of *Cormocke Oneale*. It was thought that Sir *Henry Dockwra* might plant an intended garrison at *Ballishannon*, as by his owne offer he had projected in *England*, and besides keeping his owne, might also draw out sufficient forces to meete the Lord Deputy in the heart of *Tyrone*, if the proiect of planting *Ballishannon* could take such effect as was hoped. To the furtherance whereof, I did at this time, vpon his Lordships command, deuise a Cipher, to passe betweene his Lordship and the Gouvernours of *Loughfoyle*, *Knockfergus*, and *Leccale*, to the end, that if the rebels should light vpon any their letters, contriuing this meeting or other seruice, yet they might not be able to discouer any their secret purpose, especially since they were so ignorant, as they could not attaine the deciphering of those Characters, or any like, though farre more easie: and this Cipher was presently sent to the aboue named Gouvernours.

His Lordship further resolved in Councel to write to the Lords in *England*, to haue six thousand of the trained bands in readines, to be sent ouer presently vpon the suspected inuasion of forraigne powers, and to haue a Magazin of victuals and munition at *Limericke*, as well to answere the seruice in *Mounster*, if they should make discent in those parts (being most likely) as to be drawne thence to *Galloway*, in case no such inuasion were made, there to answere the prosecution of the Connaght rebels; intended the Winter following.

All things thus projected for the following prosecution of this warre, his Lordship on the two and twentieth of May, beganne his intended iourney aboue mentioned, from *Dublin*, and the twenty three came to *Tredagh*, and the twenty five to *Dundalke*; where his Lordship lay; till the disperfed Companies could be drawne thither, and victuals brought. Here he composed all controuersies betweene the late Submitties, and settled a correspondency betweene them, as well to make them concur in the defence one of another, as also in the defence of the Pale. Here his Lordship receiued the twenty eight of May, letters from the Lords in *England*, requiring that no Captain should supply his Company with *Passe-volants* at pleasure; but onely with such men as should bee sent out of *England* for supplies. That the Captaines refusing to shew their companies when they were required by the Commissaries of the Musters, should be checked two moneths pay. That such Pensioners should be cheked as without spe-

ciall licence, should be absent from any seruice. And that speciall care should be had to punish and preuent such souldiers, as dismissed by their Captaines Passes, or running away from their colours, did duly returne into *England*.

The nine and twentieth of May, vpon the intercession of the Lord President by his Letters, (according to the course held by directions out of *England*), the Lord Deputy granted his warrant for drawing of her Maiesties pardon to *Cnocher Omulrian*, a Munster rebell, chiefe of his Sept (or name), and eighty three followers, as well men as weomen and children of that sept. The second of Iune it was resolved in Councell, that letters should be written to the Lord President of *Mounster*, requiring him to draw the forces vnder him towards *Lymricke*, and in those parts to imploy them most part of the following summer, as well ready to attend the discent of any forraigne enemy; as fitly laid to giue countenance to the prosecution of the rebels in *Connaght*, whether the said Lord President was to be further directed, to send a thousand foot and fifty horse, (according to the aboue mentioned proiect), to the end that the rebels being prosecuted in that Prouince, might haue no leasure to ioine with those of the North, for disturbing the planting of a garrison at *Ballishannon*, which Sir *Henry Dockwra* was to plant from the way of *Loughfoyle*. The fifth of Iune the Lord President aduertised that warning had beene giuen to those of *Mounster*, for the sending of their men to the generall hosting aboue mentioned, which the Lord Deputy had appointed to meet (according to the old custome) at the hill of *Tarrogh*, but that he feared the scarcity of victuals and want of furniture, would either hinder their full appearance; or make them of small vse to the seruice. The sixth day vpon the Lord Presidents letters, warrant was giuen for a charter of pardon without fine, to be granted to one hundred fifty one Inhabitants about *Moghely* in the County of *Corke*, as well men as weomen and children, for life, lands, and goods. And the like was granted to *Oswilluan More* of that Prouince with 481 followers.

The eighth of Iune being Monday, the Lord Deputy drew the forces out of *Dundaik*, and marched two miles to the hill of *Fagher*, neere the pace of the *Moyry*, where he encamped. And while he lay there, his Lordship caused a fort to be built in the said Pace, at the three mile water, not rising from thence till he had made this Fort defensible, so as leauing some warders in it, the workemen might in his absence finish the building. The thirteenth of Iune, in the Campe at the *Fagher*, his Lordship published the Proclamation of the new Coyne, all other monies hauing beene decried three daies before. And by his Lordships direction like Proclamations printed at *Dublyn*, & thence formerly sent to *Loughfoyle* & *Knockfergus*, & into the Prouinces of *Connaght* & *Mounster*, were at the same time published together in all places. The foureteenth, in the same Campe, his Lordship and the Counsellors there, wrote the following letter to the Lords in *England*.

IT may please your most Honourable Lordships, perceiuing by your Lordships Letters of the eighteenth of May, that the victuals expected to answere our purpose of planting *Ballishannon* by *Connaght*, could not arriue in such quantity nor time, as might inable vs to proceed in that iourney; and receiuing some arguments of your Lordships inclination to Sir *H. Dockwra* his offer to plant that garrison from *Loughfoyle*, we grew into a new consultation, in what sort to make the warre this Summer. First, it was propounded with the Army to march by *Lecaile* and those parts into *Colrane*, the end whereof should haue beene to haue brought in subiection all the woodmen, and vtterly taken from *Tyrone* all that part of *Ulster* between *Colrane* and *Loughsidney* to the *Blackewater*, from whence heretofore the Traitor hath gathered his greatest strength. The passages being not very dangerous, and we hauing the commodity of the Sea to supply vs, we should haue made the warre that way to great purpose, and with good conueniency, and perhaps might haue fallen ouer the Banne into *Tyrone*, all other wayes being of extreame danger, to enter into that Countrey, except that one by *Loughfoyle*. The chiefe difficulty that did arise against this proiect, was the danger wherein we should leaue all things behind vs, if the Spaniard should land, when we had

had carried the chiefe force of the Kingdome into the vttermoſt corner thereof: and the next was, that we being not able to leaue any great guard for the Pale, ſhould haue left it naked to any attempt of *Tyrone*, and the new reclaimed rebels to the mercy of him, as the Pale to the mercy of both: But in the end we grew to this reſolution. Firſt, in the *Interym*; betweene this and the appointment of the generall hoſting, (by the which we ſhould be ſupplied with carriages, and about which time we expect victuals and munition out of *England*, of the firſt wherof we are more ſparingly provided then may warrant the ingaging our ſelues into any great buſineſſe, and of the ſecond ſo vtterly vnſupplied, as wee ſcarce haue powder to maintaine a good daies fight, nor tooles, nor other prouiſions to fortiſie, which muſt be our chiefe worke, as we carry the rebels before vs to dwell by them), we determine to aſſure the paſſage of the *Moyry*, then to plant a gariſon at *Lecaille*, and to conuay ſome more men to Sir *Arthur Chicheſter* Gouvernour of *Carickefergus*, (who with that Gariſon and thoſe ſupplies, together with the aduantage that our ſtirring in all other places will giue him, may goe neere to work little leſſe effect, then we with the whole Army ſhould haue done): and laſtly, we purpoſe to lie with the forces as neere *Tyrone* as we can. After when victuals and munition ſhould be arriued; (which we hope to receiue by the laſt of Iune, being the time appointed for the generall hoſting), we purpoſe (God willing) as neere as wee can to imploy her Maieſties forces according to the incloſed proiect: (This proiect I haue formerly ſet downe). With the particularities of Sir *H. Dockwra* his purpoſe to plant *Balliſhannon*, (ſent by Captaine *Vaughan* to your Lordſhips) we are not acquainted, onely Maſter Treasuſer hath told vs of ſuch a propoſition in generall. But wee doubt not, that withall he hath propounded to your Lordſhips for ſuch meanes to accompliſh his worke, as muſt be ſupplied from thence. For from vs he can receiue little other aſſiſtance, then our imploying the whole forces according to the incloſed proiect, which in euery part is done as much as may be for his aduantage; neither (which is worſe) can we eaſily haue any intelligence from him, or often heare one from another. But if we perceiue that he ſhall find any impoſſibility to plant *Balliſhannon*, wee thinke to aduiſe him, with the whole groſſe of his ſtrength to fall into *Tyrone*, about ſuch time as we ſhall be at *Blackewater*, whereby it may fall out, that we ſhall (with the helpe of God) meet at *Dungannon*, and vtterly waſte all the country of *Tyrone*, vnto the which courſe if we be driuen, we muſt reſolue to make the warre this following winter in *Connaght*, (firſt leauing the Northern border in good ſtrength), which we hope will reduce that Prouince, & ruine *O Donnell*; for if we keepe him out of *Connaght*, he cannot long ſubiſt, and ſo we hope, for the continuall aſſurance of that Prouince, to plant the next yeere at *Balliſhannon* with facilitie. But if the planting of ſo many Gariſons doe ſeeme, by continuing the greatneſſe of the Armie, to draw on too long her Maieſties charge, wee doe firſt thinke, that to recouer this Kingdome, and to preſerue it from being hereafter chargeable, it will bee neceſſary, that *Balliſhannon*, *Loughfoyle*, ſome Gariſons on the *Ban*, *Lecaille*, *Mount Norreys*, *Armagh*, *Blackwater*; and ſome other places, be continually kept, all which places may be euer victualed by Sea, or they being neare together, without any dangerous paſſage betweene them by land, may be victualed by Sea and land, without any further force then their owne. And if there be in euery Fort ſome little Keepe (or Tower) of ſtone built, then as the warres decreaſe, or occaſion ſhall ſerue, the places may bee guarded with a few men, and ſo continue bridles in peace, and fit places to put in more men to great purpoſe, when the rebellion ſhall at any time breake out. Neither neede theſe little Caſtles bee workes of any great charge, for they may be eaſily made ſuch, as this people will hardly force them. To proceede in our proiect of this Summer ſeruiſe. The victuals already contracted for, muſt arriue in due time, and your Lordſhips ſupply vs with good quantities hereafter. For our onely way to ruine the rebels, muſt be to make all poſſible waſt of the meanes for life, which done, if we be not ſupplied out of *England*, we ſhall aſwell ſtarue our ſelues as them; but eſpecially where wee muſt make the warre, which is farre from the reliefe of any friend, and where nothing is to be gotten from the enemy, except it be by great chance, ſince what is in their Countries, they will

lightly either hide, or spoile, or conuey to inaccessible Fastnesses. And because the greatest seruice here is to be done by long and sudden iournies, which cannot be done without victuall, and no victuall but cheele well carried by the souldier, without garons (or carriage lades) we must humbly desire your Lordships to send vs some great quantities of cheele. In the prouision whereof whatsoeuer inconueniences your Lordships shal find, we assure you they wil be ten times counteruailed in the seruice. Lastly, because the Army is already weak of English, and this iourney (without the extraordinary fauor of God) must needs diminish them much, alwel by the sword as sicknes, we most humbly and earnestly desire your L^{ps} as soone as conueniently may bee, to send vs 1000 shot to *Carlingsford* for supplies, that at our returne, we may both strengthen those English Companies, which we meane to leape behind vs in the North, and such as wee carry with vs for the Winter seruice. The time wil be exceeding fit for their arriual; for besides the succour we may receiue from them, if we grow very weake at our returne, they will come ouer well cloathed against the Winter, and may haue time to rest, and to be seasoned, till Christmas, (till when in these warres it is the most vnactive part of the yeere), and then may bee employed till the end, of May (which is the onely season to plague these rebels), and when the Summer is past (wherein those rogues reuiue and liue like flies) then our Garrisons being well planted, and the Army strengthened with English, wee may begin to cast the Irish Companies, and to cleare the English Companies of them. For they must continue good subjects, or starue if they goe out, and haue the Queenes sword hang ouer them, wheresoeuer they goe. In the meane time we thinke them necessarily entertained, for wee take so many men from the Rebels, and by them giue vnto our selues facilitie to plant the foundation of their owne ruine, and both with vs and against vs to wast them by themselves. For if wee should not entertaine them, they would lie vpon some Countrie of the subject, and except it were defended by as many as themselves, they would waste and liue vpon it, so that in effect the very numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particullar instance of the benefit that ensucth the entertaining these Irish, we thinke we can giue your Lordships an account of aboue one hundred that haue this yeere been killed with the bullet, fighting on our side, who were formerly rebels (for of such wee speake) and questionlesse would haue been so againe, if they had liued, and should haue been put out of the Queenes pay. Wee humbly desire your Lordships to make a fauourable construction both of our counsels, and the successes, since those grounds whereupon we doe now iustly build our resolution, may by their alteration giue vs iust cause to alter our course, and the want of such meanes, either in matter or time as we expect, may vtterly hinder it. And that more especially, in case any forraigne succours doe arriue. For then the whole frame of this our proiect is broken, and we must be presently relieved out of *England*, or else we with this Kingdome shall suffer much hazard. And because your Lordships in your last letters, gaue vs some light, that it might be, and leaue to informe you, what likelihood wee could here receiue, that it would be; wee haue first the intelligence which we send your Lordships, with many other reports. Next we haue a constant and of late an extraordinary conceiued confidence in this people. And lastly we iudge what a wise and a powerfull enemy will doe, by that which is best and easie for him to doe. So as wee haue many reasons to thinke, that *Spaine* will send them helpe this yeere, and few to thinke otherwise, saue that he hath so often deceiued their expectations. For if the malice of *Spaine* continue to *England*, they haue an easie and dangerous step thereto by *Ireland*; and if they doe not imbrace the occasion of this yeere, there is no doubt but the next will for euer loose it vnto them. Now because it must please your Lordships to proportion our succours to the force we are likely to be offended with, and that from vs you will expect our owne estates; it may please your Lordships to consider, that the power of this Kingdome consisteth of her Maiesties English Army; of such Irish as are here in Companies by themselves, or in English Companies to serue as mercenaries, of the Nobilitie, Townes, and inbred people of this Nation, which liue as subjects, and lastly of such meere Irish Lords and their people, as were lately reclaimed, or still remaine

remain in rebellion. The English are few and farre dispersed, the Irish that serue with vs exceeding mercenary, and therefore likely to follow their golden hopes of *Spaine*; the Nobilitie, Townes, and People, are of so obstinate a contrariety in Religion, that without question they are growne malicious to the Gouvernement, and affect vnder the protection of the power of *Spaine*, to declare themselves: the Irish Lords with vs, haue the same motiues as they against vs, in their last necessitie to ioyne with *Spaine*. And all these, especially the Townes, are more stirred on by this new coine (which though, if the aide of *Spaine* doe not arriue, may securely be established, yet if it doe, it will breede many dangerous inconueniences.) It may therefore please her Maiestie, to haue in a readinesse sixe thousand of the trained Bands of such Countries, seruing best for transporting into *Ireland*, to be sent ouer into *Mounster* vpon the first notice of any forraine power to be arriued there, and some part of her Nauy in a readinesse, with a greater portion of munition and artillerie for vs, then otherwise this warre would require. We doe hope to giue her Maiestie a very good account of her Kingdome, and of our selues, vntill wee shall haue cause to sue for more reliefe. And if it must needs fall out, that *Spaine* will haue warre with *England*, we shall be glad that the warre of *England* may be made in *Ireland*, and that wee her poore seruants shall haue the happinesse to strike the first blowes for both her Royall Kingdoms, the which the eternall God preserue long vnto her, and her vnto them and vs, &c.

The same fourteenth day, from the said Campe at the *Fagher*, his Lordship wrote to Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle*, first touching his Lordships purposes; That the generall hoasting being the last of *June*, his Lordship presumed within sixteene dayes after, to be prouided of all meanes to put al the forces in action, according to their distribution (the proiect whereof he sent to him inclosed), and to bee himselfe as high as *Armagh*, with such a power, as *Tyrone* should haue good reason to thinke, that he would doe somewhat more, and in the meane time he would (God willing) keepe the field as neere *Tyrone*, as his meanes would giue him leaue. So as his Lordship hauing planted at *Armagh* and *Blackwater*, hoped either by lying thereto facilitate his planting of *Ballishannon* from *Loughfoyle*, or to breake into *Tyrone*, and meete him there. And if *Tyrone*s Army should breake, as his Lordship expected, he thought to find no great difficulty herein, but otherwise held the passage to *Dungannon* not to be ventured that way. But touching the planting at *Ballishannon*; that Sir *Henrie Dockwra* should not build vpon any supplies from his Lordship, of victuals, munition, or tooles: for artillery that he might vse that he had at *Loughfoyle*, and either bring it back by water, or be after supplied thereof from *Dublin*. For munition, tooles, and like necessities, that his Lordship could spare none, & if he could, yet had no speedy meanes to send them. For intelligence, that he had sent him a Cipher, which he might vse safely in writing to his Lordship, not caring how the messengers sped, so the letters were not vnderstood. That he had sent the like Cipher to Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Konckfergus*, with whom he should haue often intelligence, and might that way write most safely to his Lordship. That when he knew his owne meanes, and by his Lordships proiect, should find him in readinesse to answere his attempts, he should chuse his owne time for planting *Ballishannon*, and as neere as he could, send his Lordship certaine notice of the time, and vse all possible expedition. But if he could not plant there for any want or difficulty, that then hee should agree with Sir *Arthur Chichester*, that they might both at one time breake into *Tyrone*, where his Lordship, vpon notice giuen him, would meete them, in which iourney, besides all other effects of warre, they should burne all the dwellings, and destroy the corne on the ground, with might bee done by incamping vpon it, and cutting it downe with swords, and other waies, holding it best they should spoile all the corne, except that which he could gather, wherein he should not regard the dissuasion of the Irish Submitties in his Campe.

The same fourteenth day wee dislodged from the *Fagher*, and leauing the *Moyry* Fort defensible, with Warders to guard it, and the workemen, being to build a Tower or Keepe of stone, we marched eight miles, and incamped at *Carickbane*, a little beyond the *Newrie*. The fifteenth his Lordship rose, and marching some fiftene miles, incam-

ped

ped in *Enagh* the Countrie of *Mac Gennis*. The late Rebels neere *Dundalke* being all submitted, his Lordship had drawne Sir *Richard Moryson* with his Regiment from that Gouvernement, purposing to place him in *Lecayle*, neerer to the enimie. And intending to march thither with the Army the next day, lest the rebels should haue leasure to burne the Countrie, and carry away the prey, his Lordship sent Sir *Richard Moryson* this euening with sixe Companies of Foote, and one of Horse, to march all night into *Lecayle*, who comming suddenly on the rebels, tooke all the prey, and in taking of *Downe Patrick*, the Bishops seate, one of the *Bradys* was taken, and his head cut off, the rest yeelding to mercy there, and in all adioyning places. Here his Lordship was aduertised from the Secretarie of *Ireland*, that the newes of the Spanish inuasion this Summer was seconded from diuers, comming from *Cales*. The sixteenth day his Lordship marched with the Army (through high Mountaines and Woods, and some dangerous paces) seuen miles to the *Blackstaffe* riuer, neare a strong Castle, called *Dundrom*, lying on the North side of the Paces, where the plaine Countrie opens into *Lecayle*, being an Island compassed on the West side with this River, and on the three other sides with the sea, and two small armes thereof. This night his Lordship with some horse passed the *Blackstaffe* bridge, and rode three miles into *Lecayle*, to view the Countrie. In the way *Phelim Mac Euer* submitted himself, and yeelded to the Queene his Caille of *Dundrom*. Also *Mac Carty* submitted himselfe, and drew his creaghts (or cattle, seruants and goods) into *Lecayle*. His Lordship returned to the Camp, and the next day rode to *Downe Patrick*, and thence by *Saint Patricks Well* to *Arglasse*, being sixe miles, in which Towne two Castles yeelded to the Queene, and the Warders vpon their liues saued, gaue vp their Armes. A third Castle there had been held for the Queene all the time of the rebellion, by one *Iordane*, neuer comming out of the same for three yeeres past, till now by his Lordships comming he was freed, and to him was giuen a reward from the Queene by Concordatum, besides his Lordships bounty of his private purse. After dinner his Lordship rode two miles to *Russels Towne*, and foure miles to the Campe at *Blackstaffe*. The eighteenth day *Mac Rory*, Captaine of *Kilwarden* adioyning, was receiued to the Queenes mercy vpon his submission. And Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Gouvernor of *Knockfergus*, all this day expected, came in the euening, to whom his Lordship that night imparted his designes in the present seruice, and to the same effect sent a packet by him to Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle*; and to them both, as also to Sir *Richard Moryson* being to bee left Gouvernour of *Lecayle*, his Lordship gaue Proclamations to be published for establishing the aboue mentioned new coine. All this time *Arthur Mac Gennis* the chiefe of his name, & *Edmond Boy Mac Gennis* his Vncle, made meanes to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy, but could not obtaine the fauour, without first doing some seruice. This day his Lordship and the Counsell (following the Army) gaue thirty pound by concordatum to *Phelimy Euer Mac Gennis* for some special seruices; and *Balinthor* a strong Castle was taken by our men, with diuers cowes and other goods, sixe of the Ward being killed, and the rest swimming away.

His Lordship hauing placed Sir *Richard Moryson* (with five hundred foote, and fifty horse vnder his command) to gouerne *Lecayle* (which had their residency at *Downe*), did march backe on the nineteenth day eleuen mile, to five mile Church, neere the *Newry*, passing one pace exceeding strong by nature, and plashed with trees, which lay at the end of the Plaines of *Lecaille*, and entrance into the woody Mountaines. And before the entry of this pace, Sir *Arthur Chichester* hauing receiued two hundred Foote to strengthen his Garrison, returned backe to *Knockfergus*. The twentieth day his Lordship marched with his forces three miles to *Carickbane*, lying North ward of the *Newrie*.

This day Sir *Henrie Dalters* lying at *Mount Norryes*, aduertised his Lordship, that *Tyrone* lying in a fastnes, and his men neuer venturing vpon the Plaine, the souldiers left vnder his command there, could not in all this time get any occasion to fight with him, whereof they shewed great desire, onely the horse often shewing themselves vpon the hilles, had kept him beyond *Armagh*, where he with his Creaghts lay, feeding.

some

some thousands of Cows. Whereupon because his Lordship desired to preserve the grasse neere *Armagh* for his horse troopes, as also to make store of hay there for the Winter following. He sent Sir *William Godolphin* with his Lord^{sh}. troope of horse vnder his command, to second the forces at *Mount Norreys*, in attempting some service vpon *Tyrone*, meaning to draw presently his whole forces thither. But in the meantime Sir *Francis Staffords* Lieutenant of his horse, sent by Sir *Henrie Dauers* to spy the rebels proceedings, had passed to the view of *Armagh*, and found that *Tyrone* had sent backe all his cows, vpon the hearing of his Lordships retorne out of *Lecayle*. For which cause, and vpon notice that *Tyrone* had taken a dayes victuals for his men, as if he meant to attempt something, his Lordship recalled Sir *William Godolphin* with his troope. The one and twentieth day his Lordship lay still, in regard that, for difficultie of getting Garrons (that is, carriage lades), or by some negligence, victuals were not (according to his former directions) put into *Mount Norreys*, to which place hee purposed to draw with his forces. This day three daies bread came to his Lordships forces, which in stead of other victuals liued vpon beecues. And his Lordship writ to Sir *Henrie Dauers*, that according to his daily vse of late daies, hee should the next morning earely draw the forces of *Mount Norreys* towards *Armagh*, and should on the sudden possesse the Abbey there, and the Towne, whether his Lordship would also draw the Army presently for his second.

The two and twentieth day, his Lordship hauing, by extraordinary pay above the Queenes price, gotten garrons, and carrying victuals with him for *Mount Norreys*, and for the Garrison he intended to plant at *Armagh*, marched sixe miles neere to *Mount Norreys*, where Sir *Henrie Dauers* with that Garrison met him, hauing not been able, for some difficulties, to execute his Lordships former directions. From thence his Lordship (taking with him the said Garrison) marched forward seuen miles, and that night incamped a little beyond *Armagh*, where some few rebels shewed themselves braggingly, but attempted nothing. His Lordship before his retorne from *Lecayle*, was purposed to leaue such forces at *Mount Norreys*, as might plant the Garrison at *Armagh* when they found opportunity: but lest they should haue been hindred by a greater force, his Lordship rather then to retorne towards the Pale (for the attending there of the generall Hoasting, where his Army should haue spent the same victuals it now did) was resolu'd himselfe in person to plant it, imagining that *Tyrone*, not looking for him till the generall hoasting, would not haue his whole forces with him, nor by that reason, and an opinion and feare that his Lordship intended to march further into *Tyrone*, would haue any minde to follow his Lordship, or hinder his retreat when hee should haue weakened his forces by that Plantation. Therefore the three and twentieth day his Lordship making a shew to draw from his campe beyond *Armagh* towards *Blackewater*, caused his forces to make a stand for his retreat, and so himselfe with his followers and seruants rode more then a mile forward, to view the way to *Blackewater* Fort, and the place of the famous *Blackewater* defeat, vnder the Marshall *Bagnols* conduct, and hauing passed a pace without one shot made at his troope, he returned to his forces, and marching backe, he left a garrison of seuen hundred fifty foote, and one hundred horse, at the Abbey of *Armagh*, vnder the command of Sir *Henry Dauers*, and that night marched with the rest neere to *Mount Norreys*, where he encamped, hauing in this march from *Armagh*, viewed the Foard, where Generall *Norries* formerly was hurt, making a stand with his horse, to secure his foot distressed by *Tyrones* charge.

The foure and twenty, his Lordship leauing at *Mount Norries* the foot and horse of that garrison, marched himselfe with 1250 foot, and 150 horse, sixe miles to *Donanury*, being two miles short of the *Newry*. This was a hill naturally and artificially of old fortified, where in regard of the weakenes of his forces he encamped, purposing there to attend and sollicite the hastning, to send to him from the Pale, all the meanes hee expected to furnish him for his intended iourney, to build the demolished Fort of *Blackwater*.

Here his Lordships Army was mustered, and was by Pole,

Captaines and Officers 87. Targets 112. Pykes 291. Muskets 125. Calliwers 635. In all 1250.

Whereof besides Captaines and Officers, English 593. Irish the rest. Wanting Swords 191.

The six and twenty day, his Lordship sent victuals to the garrisons at Mount *Norreis* and at *Armagh*. The twenty nine day his Lordship received aduertisement, that Sir *H. Dauers* drawing out the garrison of *Armagh* into the fastnes, where *Brian mac Art* lay with his Cattle, had killed diuers of his men, taken many horses from him, and spoiled much of his baggage, besides three hundred Cowes which he had taken from *Mac Gennis*. And the same day his Lordship received the examinations of certain *Waterford* Marriners, who testified, that being at the *Groyn*, they were pressed thereto serue the King of *Spaine*, in a flye-boat of two hundred tun carrying bread to *Lisbene*; where there was an army of three thousand men to be shipped with victuals and munition for *Ireland*, and there heard that *Tyrone's* Agent lay at Court, importuning aid to be sent him presently, being not able to subsist any longer without speedy aid. And that the examimates demanded if they were Pylots for the Irish Coast; and finding they should be imploied that way, had secretly got shipping to transport themselves into *France*, and so returned home.

The thirtieth day *Arthur Mac Gennis* chiefe of the name, terrified by the plantation of the garrison in *Lecaille*, made humble sute for mercy, and obtained her Maiesties protection for nine daies, conditionally that he should come the Satturday following, to submit himselfe in person to her Maiesties mercy, and craue her gracious pardon at *Dundalk*, where his Lordship then purposed to be. And *Rory Oge Mac Gennis*, obtained the like protection for one moneth. The same day his Lordship vpon the Lord President of *Mounster* his intercessory letters, granted warrant for her Maiesties pardon, to be passed for two hundred seuenthy Artificers and Husbandmen of the County of *Kerry*. The first of Iuly his Lordship had purposed to rise from *Dunapurey*, and to returne himselfe to *Dundakle*: but he staied that day, in respect the weather was very foule, and the rather to countenance the Conuoy going with basket vp to Mount *Norreis* and *Armagh*.

Hitherto his Lordship had kept the field, rather to make *Tyrone* keepe his forces together, and so to weaken him, then for purpose of any other seruice of moment: but now hearing from *Dublin*, that the rising out for the generall hoasting, came slowly, and not onely victuals were not yet arriued there, but euen the carriages and beeuies for the Army, were like in great part to faile; the second day of Iuly his Lordship disperfed his forces into the said garrisons fronting neereft vpon the rebels, and so with his followers and seruants rode to *Dundalke*, leading with him of his army onely three Companies of foot, and one troope of horse. The third day, Sir *Francis Stafford* Gouvernour of the *Newry*, brought *Arthur Mac Gennis* to *Dundalke*, who made his submission to her Maiesty, kneeling before the Lord Deputy & Counsell. Then he made certaine humble requests: First for his pardon which was granted: Secondly, for lands granted to his father by letters Pattents, which his Lordship promised to confirme, excepting onely the Lands of *Glasny Mac Gennis*, on whom he should make no imposition. That he might take in such tenants as would come from the Rebels, acquainting the Gouvernour of the *Newry* therewith before he received them, which was granted. Fourthly, that he might retaine and absolutely command all his old tenants, till *Al-hollandtide* next, which was granted, excepting *Glasny Mac Gennis*. Fifthly, that he might enioy the Corne he had sowed in *Lecaille*, which being sowed on other mens Lands, could not be granted, onely fauourable respect to him was promised. Sixthly, that his people might be freed from all actions of priuat wrongs in the warre, which was granted vpon a fine of three hundred Cowes, presently to be deliuered for the Army. The same time *Patricke mac Mahowne*, Nephew to the chiefe of that name, was vpon like humble

humble submission receiued to her Maiesties mercy, with promise of his pardon,

The fifth day the Lord President and Counsell of *Mounster*, by letters desired his Lordship, to recall his warrant of marshall Law, giuen to the Lord *Bourke*, aswell because the Lords abused the same, to draw followers to them, and to reuenge their priuate quarrels, as because the whole Prouince was peaceable, and willing to be gouerned by iudiciall courses, and this warrant his Lordship presently recalled.

This day Sir *Oliuer St Johns* brought letters from the Lords in *England*, whereby her Maiesty gaue direction, that the Lord Deputy should publikely to all the Army, and priuately to the chiefe Commanders, giue thanks from her Maiesty to them, for the zeale and duty they had shewed in her seruice, and signifie her gracious acceptance of their endeauours. The sixth day his Lordship staid at *Dundalke*, to hasten the supplies of the generall hoasting, which came in slowly, and to order the Irish forces of the same fitly for defence of the Pale. This day Captaine *Thomas Roper*, with his company of foot, according to his Lordships former directions, came from *Kells*, to serue in the army vnder his Lordship. And while his Lordship lay here, newes came from *Armagh*, that Sir *Henry Daners* had taken some chiefe horses from *Tyrones* campe, and had entered *Mac Carty* his Country, being one of the greatest fastnesses in *Ireland*, and brought from thence a great prey.

His Lordship finding that the rising out of the generall hoasting, would doe little good in the Army, and they being willing to vndertake their owne defence, which at their owne perill his Lordship thought hee might best commit to their trust. The sequenth of Iuly his Lordship gaue order, that the forces of the generall hoasting, for the Counties of *Dublyn* and *Lowth*, should lie at *Lowth*, vnder the command of the Lord of *Lowth*, and Mr *Garland* of *Killencoule*. That those of *Meath* should lie at *Kells*, vnder the command of the Lord of *Tremelstone*, and Mr *Dillon* his Deputy. That those of *West-Meath* should be commanded by the Lord of *Deluin*, and any Deputy his Lordship should chuse; so that his Lordship or his Deputy should alwaies in person be resident with them, and keepe them together ready to answere any seruice, vpon paine of a fine and imprisonment, to such as should disobey. That those of *Kildare*, should vnder the Earle of *Kildares* command, lie at *Athy*, or else where, at his Lordships discretion: and that the Sheriffe of the shire command them vnder his Lordship.

The ninth day his Lordship marched from *Dundalke* towards the North, and gathering the forces to him out of the adioining garrisons, encamped at *Latenbur*, beyond the Newry, where he lay still the tenth day, till the victuals was in readines to be carried to *Armagh*. The eleuenth day his Lordship marched some foure miles, to an hill little beyond Mount *Norreis*, and that day his Lordship was aduertised, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had taken the sole Castle held in those parts of *Knockfergus* by *Brian mac Art*, namely, the *Reagh*, and that Sir *Richard Moryson* in *Lecale*, had taken in two Loughes (or Islands in Lakes), being all the fastnesses (or places of strength) which the said *Brian mac Art* held there. The twelfth day the Army marched early in the morning to *Armagh*, and there resting some houres, marched againe after dinner a mile and a halfe beyond *Armagh*, and there vpon an hill encamped.

The thirteenth day of Iuly, the Lord Deputy with the Army rose from the former Campe, and marched one mile and a halfe, to an hill on this side (namely the South-side) of *Blackewater*, where he made a stand, *Tyrone* and his horse and foot, shewing themselves out of a wood, beyond a Meadow on the other side of the Riuer, and that with Trumpets and diuers colours, (some wonne at the old defeat of the English in those parts), and with some Drummes, rather for a bragging ostentation then otherwise, since they fighting like theeties vpon dangerous passages, vsed not to appeare in such warlike manner. And from the trenches kept by the Rebels on the other side of the water, some vollies of shot were powred vpon vs, which fell downe on euery side dead on the ground, by reason of the distance betweene vs, and did small or no hurt. We hauing a Rabinet & a Falcon, made from this hill, some shot at the rebels troope farre distant, whereupon their Puppits brauery suddenly vanished; and according to their wonted manner, they hidde themselves in the woods. Presently the Lord Deputy sent three hundred foote to another hill on this side of the Riuer, adioi-

ning to the old Fort lying beyond the water, and his Lordship rode to that hil, whom many voluntary Gentlemen with his seruants followed. And in the way my selfe and some others lighted in a Valley to refresh our selues by walking, but found an enemies soile no place for recreation, for out of the Ditches & Furrowes many shot were made at vs; whereupon we tooke our horses, one shot dangerously, yet (God be praised) without hurt passing betweene my legges, while one of my feete was in my stirrop, and so we retyred to the grosse, standing in more safetie. Towards euening, wee incamped vpon the aboue mentioned hil, at which time wee saw farre off by a Wood side, *Tyrone* draw some horse ouer to our side of the water, either (as we imagined) to assaile *Tirlagh Mac Henrie* of the Fewes, lately submitted, and comming after vs to attend the Lord Deputie in this seruice, or else to conferre with him and his companie: but as soone as Sir *William Godolphin* Commander of the Lord Deputies troope of horse, by his Lordships direction made towards *Tyrone*, he with his horse presently retired backe. That night we made Gabions to enter the Rebels trenches, and sent the Rabinet and Falcon to be planted on the other hill, where our aboue mentioned three hundred foote lay. All the night the rebels out of the trenches shot at our men, while they were busie in working. But the fourteenth day very early at the dawning of the day, vpon our first discharging of the said great picces, charged with musket bullets, and after some three vollies of our smal shot, the rebels quitted their trenches, basely running into the Woods, and our three hundred men passing the Riuer, vnder Captaine *Thomas Williams* his command, possessed the trenches, and the old ruined Fort, with the Plaine in which it lay, the Wood being almost musket shot distance, whether the rebels were fled, and had by night carried their hurt and slaine men. Presently the Lord Deputie sent one Regiment to lye beyond the *Blackwater*, vpon a hill where his Lordship had made choice to build a new Fort. Vpon view of the trenches made vpon euery Foard, his Lordship found they were strongly and artificially fortified, wondring much that either they should so laboriously fortifie them, if they meant not to defend them, or should so cowardly quit such strong places, and so suddenly, if they had former resolution to make them good. In gaining them wee had some twentie men hurt, and two slaine, and they had greater losse, especially in the going off, though we could not truly know it.

The fifteenth day his Lordship with a troope of horse, and foure hundred foote, drew towards *Tyrone*s Wood, and viewed the paces in the sight of the rebels, who ran away with their coves, onely at his Lordships retrait making some few shot at our men, but hurting not one man. In the euening, Captaine *Treuer*, and Captaine *Constable* with their Companies came to the Campe, sent thither from *Lecayle* to strengthen the Army, according to his Lordships direction to Sir *Richard Morryson*, after the Countrie was all taken in, and *Mac Gennis* the greatest neighbor Rebel had submitted himselfe.

The 16 day the L. Deputy drew out a Regiment of Irish, commanded by Sir *Christo. St. Laurence*, and passing the *Blackwater*, marched to *Benburb*, the old house of *Shane O Neale*, lying on the left hand of our Campe, at the entrance of great woods. There our men made a stand, in a faire Greene meadow, hauing our camp and the plaines behind them, & the wood on both sides, & before them. The rebels drew in great multitudes to these woods. Here we in the Campe, being our selues in safety, had the pleasure to haue the full view of an hot and long skirmish, our loose wings sometimes beating the rebels on all sides into the Woods, and sometimes being driuen by them back to our Colours in the midst of the meadow, (where as soone as our horse charged, the rebels presently ran backe) and this skirmish continuing with like varietie some three howers: for the Lord Deputie, as he saw the numbers of the rebels increase, so drew other Regiments out of the Campe, to second the fight. So that at last the Rebelle had drawne all his men together, and we had none but the by-Guards left to saue-guard the Campe, all the rest being drawne out. Doctor *Latwar* the Lord Deputies Chaplaine, not content to see the fight with vs in safetie, but (as he had formerly done) affecting some singularitie of forwardnesse, more then his place required, had passed into the meadow where our Colours stood, and there was mortally wounded with a bullet

bullet in the head, vpon which hee died the next day. Of the English not one more was slaine, onely Captaine *Thomas Williams* his legge was broken, and two other hurt, but of the Irish on our side twenty sixe were slaine, and seuentie five were hurt. And those Irish being such as had been rebels, and were like vpon the least discontent to turne rebels, and such as were kept in pay rather to keepe them from taking part with the rebels, then any seruice they could doe vs, the death of those vnpeaceable sword-men, though falling on our side, yet was rather gaine, then losse to the Commonwealth. Among the rebels, *Tyrone's* Secretary, and one chiefe man of the *Obagans*, and (as we credibly heard) farre more then two hundred Kerne were slaine. And lest the disparitie of losses often mentioned by me, should sauour of a partiall pen, the Reader must know, that besides the fortune of the warre turned on our side, together with the courage of the rebels abated, and our men heartned by successes, we had plentie of powder, and sparing not to shoote at randome, might well kill many more of them, then they ill furnished of powder, and commanded to spare it, could kill of ours.

These two last dayes our Pioners had been busied in fortifying and building a new Fort at *Blackwater*, not farre distant from the old Fort, demolished by the rebels, and for some daies following, his Lordship specially intended the furtherance and finishing of this worke, so as many souldiers were extraordinarily hired to worke therein as Pyoners.

The nineteenth day his Lordship wrote to the Lords in *England*, that had not the Irish submitties for the new coyne (now currant ouer all) furnished the Army with beeuies, it had been in great distresse, since the victuals of the new contract were not arrived, and that of the old store consisted principally of saltfish, whereof the souldier could not feede, especially in Summer, besides that by long keeping it was of ill condition, so as infection was feared in the Army, praying that in the next contracts, the souldier might be fed therewith onely one day in the weeke. That he had in his directions to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, giuen him choice, either with the countenance of his Lordships Army on this side *Tyrone*, to goe forward with planting *Ballishannon*, or concurring with the Gouvernour of *Knockfergus*, to enter into *Tyrone*, where his Lordship vpon notice would meete them; and in respect he since vnderstood, that he wanted tooles for the Plantation, he thought the second proiect would rather be followed by him. That *Tyrone* lay with all his forces to hinder his Lordship from passing to *Dungannon*, which he most feared, and had no fastnesse but onely this to stop it, so as hee doubted not to breake in to meete Sir *Henric Dockwra*, if he could once be assured of his resolution. Further, he besought their Lordships to giue warrant for allowance to the Captaines for broken Armes, vpon bringing the old, because vpon the breaking of pieces, the souldiers were turned to serue with Pikes, and our shot diminished daily, and the Pikes were increased more then our vserequired, the Captaine excusing himselfe, that vpon breaking of pieces, he was not able to prouide other Armes then Pikes for his men. Likewise he aduertised to their Lordships, that since the last dispatch, Sir *Henric Dockwra* had taken in *Newtowne*, being some sixteene miles from *Dungannon* (*Tyrone's* chiefe seate), on the North side, (as he the Lord Deputy had planted at *Blackwater*, being some fiftene miles from *Dungannon*, on the South side); and that Sir *Henric Dockwra* had spoiled and burned the Countrey there about, and had taken some one thousand cowes, from the parts neere the *Lough of Earne*. That Sir *Iohn Barkley*, Gouvernour of the forces at the *Anneley*, had met with *Tyrrels* men, as they passed towards *Ophaly*, (for which purpose that Garrison was specially laied there), and had taken from them three hundred cowes, and killed some of them, and had stopped them from troubling that Countrey. And that he the Lord Deputy with the Army had destroyed the rebels Corne about *Armagh* (whereof he found great abundance); and would destroy the rest, this course causing famine, being the onely sure way to reduce or root out the Rebels. Finally, praying their Lordships (as formerly) to send one thousand shot for supplies, the strengthening of the English being the next way to diminish her Maiesties charge, since the Irish were kept in pay rather to preuent their fighting against vs, then for confidence in their fighting for vs.

The same nineteenth day of Iuly, the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Robert Cecill*, her Maiesties Secretary, that he found vpon good consideration, that the Gouvernement of *Connaght* was not in his disposall, and therefore being loth to excede his Commission, he would onely assure him, that as it was requisite, a man of experience, and fit for the present seruice, should haue that Gouvernement, so he conceiued none to be fitter then Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, who had already deserued well in this seruice, and would (in his opinion) be able to doe her Maiestie as good seruice, as any in that place, whom (if it might stand with her Maiesties pleasure, to giue him warrant), he was desirous to imploy in those parts, fearing it would be a great hinderance to his intended worke, if any should be put into that Gouvernement, who might proue vnfit, or vnable to make that warre; In which respect, he hauing no other end but the aduancement of her Maiesties seruice, was bold to make it his humble suite, that Sir *Oliuer Lambert* might bee placed in that Gouvernement.

While the Army lay at *Blackwater* to build the new Fort, his Lordship on the twentieth of Iuly, drew out two Regiments into the woods, aswell to view the paces, and prouoke the rebels, as to fetch some houses thence, for the building of our Fort, and to cut a field of Corne lying on the skirt of the Woods; which was all performed; the rebels on the further side of the *Blackwater*, onely making a slight skirmish with our men, vpon their retreat on this side the Riuer. The two and twentieth day, we cut all the Corne by the Bogge and Wood side, neere our Fort, except that which our men had power to reape. The three and twentieth day Captaine *Thomas Williams* with his Company, being left to gouerne the new Fort (who before the *Blackwater* defeat did valiantly defend the old Fort there, being after demolished by the rebels) his L^d with the army dislodged, and at our rising, a Proclamation was made, that how soeuer *Tyrone* vaunted, that his Pardon was offered him, and he might haue it at pleasure, her Maiestie was not onely resolu'd neuer to receiue him to mercy, but was pleased againe to renew her gracious offer, that whosoever brought him aliue, should haue 2000 li. and whosoever brought his head, should haue 1000 li. for reward. Thence we marched two little miles to an hill South West-ward in *Henrie Oges* Countrie, where we incamped, and cut downe the Corne on euerie side. The seuen and twentieth day his Lordship leauing Sir *Henrie Follyots* Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments, expecting that the Rebels would fight, who shewed themselves on an hill neere vs, with all their horse and foote, and sounding of Trumpets, yet our men not onely cutting downe the corne close by them, but entring the Woods to cut Corne there, and burning many houses in the skirts of the woods, they were so patient, as after one volley of shot, they retired into the thickest Woods. The same day the Army dislodging, marched a mile or two more Southward, where we cut down great abundance of Corne with our swords (according to our fashion), and here *Shane Mac Donnel Groome*, *Tyrones* Marshall (whose Corne this was) vpon humble submission was receiued to her Maiesties mercie, and came to his Lordship in person the same night at our setting downe in our last Campe, whether we returned. The eight and twentieth his Lordship leauing Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence* his Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments both in the morning & euening, to countenance two conuoyes of victuals. This day his Lordship sent a dispatch to Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, about their concurring in the present seruices, and the like to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, to the same purpose. His Lordship staid the longer in these parts, to see the Forts wel victualled, and to cut downe the Corne, whereof he found great store.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship was aduertised, that Sir *Henrie Poore* had scattered and broken three hundred rebels in *Leax*, and had beggered them by diuers preyes of cattell taken from them, and among them, being of the Sept of *O Mores*, had killed, burnt and hanged forty at least, and after had slaine in fights *O Connor Mac Lyre*, and most of his men, and hurt many of those which escaped.

And this day great store of victuals for the Forts came from the *Newry* with a conuoy safely to the Campe. The thirtieth day his Lordship rose with the Armie, and marched Northward backe to the new Fort of *Blackwater*, and beyond it;

in all some three miles, along the South side of the Riuer, and there his Lordship incamped close vpon the Bogges and the Fastnesses (or fortified passages) in the Wood. The same euening his Lordship drew some choise men out of euery Regiment, and some troopes of horse, and with them rode to view the Countrey, and woody paces, more specially that pace which lay right before vs Northward; where the neereft and best passage was to enter *Tyrone*, the Arch-traytors chiefe house *Dungannon*, being some tenne miles distant, to which, after the passage of this pace and *Blackwater*, the plaine Countrey lay open, yet being in some parts boggy. Here *Tyrone's* men lay intrenched on the other side of the Riuer, in such trenches as he had made to impeach the building of our new Fort at *Blackwater*, and cowardly quitted them (as is aboue mentioned.) The Rebels bestowed some vollies of shot on his Lordships troopes, but they returned safely, hauing onely one man hurt. And here one of the three Trumpets in *Tyrone's* pay, ran from him to our Campe.

The one and thirtieth day his Lordship drew out (as before) and that day and the first of August next following, cut downe the Wood, to cleare the said pace, lying betweene vs and the said passage ouer *Blackwater*. And this day the rebels attempted to cut off a guard, which we had placed on a remote hill, to second the workemen cutting the Wood, but were by them and the workemen stoutly receiued, and by our seconds beaten backe.

At the same time, by accident we had almost lost all our best horses: for at the Alarum giuen, the horses being frighted with the skirmish, and with diuers horsemen hurrying out to answere the Alarum, broke their headstals, and ran backe to *Armagh*, and some of the best as farre as the *Newry*, whether our men following, did recouer them all: but had the rebels horsemen followed them, no doubt they might haue caught them, and defeated our men loosely following them, and so by this aduantage haue done vs more mischief, then they could otherwise haue done with their forces doubled.

*Jacob's Reueries. p. 128.
London 4^{to}. 1757.
a similar
circumstance
happend to
M. Villars's
Cavalry, after
his Victory, in
1712. at
Denain
near Bouchain in
Flanders.*

The second of August his Lordship with the Army rose, and marched backe to *Armagh*, to the end he might shun all paces, and from thence haue an open passage into *Art Mac Barons* Countrey. We marched sixe miles to *Armagh*, and three to *Rawlagh-tany*, where while we incamped, Sir *Henry Dauers* with three hundred foote, and fortie horse, was sent into a Fastnesse to burne some twentie faire timber houses, which he performed; and about the time to set the watch, hee returned towards the Campe, and at his retreat all *Tyrone's* Forces guarded with three hundred horse, skirmished with our men, but they seconded out of the Campe, came off orderly, the rebels following them to our very Campe, into which they powred a volley of shot, and by reason of the Fastnesses adioyning, and night approaching, retired in safety.

Here his Lordship was aduertised, that the Earle of *Ormond* had executed in the borders of *Kilkenny* and *Tiperary* nine and twenty rebels; of which *Tybot Leyragh Butler*, and *Dauid Bourke*, and *Vlicke Bourke*, were the chiefe, and that the Company vnder his Lordships command, had slaine eight and twentie, of which two principall men of the *Omores*, one *Okelly*, one Captaine *Edmund Roe Bourke*, and one *Richard Bourke*, sonne to *Vlicke*, were the chiefe.

The third of August we rose, and hauing marched threemiles backe, we incamped betweene the paces and *Armagh*, a little beyond *Armagh* towards the North, to the end our messengers and our conuoyes for victuals might more safely passe (which was the chiefe end of our returning), and that we might haue better grasse for our horses, all the higher Countrey aboue, being eaten by the rebels *Creaghs* (or cattell), and al the way we marched, the rebels in their fastnesses drew downe close by, and followed vs all the way, being very strong. Here the Commissary tooke a view of the Army in field with his Lordship.

Regiments.

First, of Sir *Beniamin Berry* his Lordships Lieutenant of his foote, in List 825, by pole present in the Campe 490. 2. Regiment of Sir *Oliuer Saint Johns*, in List 875, by Pole 533. 3. Regiment of Sir *Hen. Folliot*, in List 500, by Pole 305. 4. Regiment of Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*, in List 750, by Pole 400. Totall in List 2950, by Pole 1728.

Mm 3

Herein

Herein are not contained either Officers present, or the sicke, or hurt, or vpon other occasions absent. The fourth day some Companies were drawne out to cut the pace of *Armagh*, and the rebels being in sight, offered not to skirmish with them. But towards night they drew downe strong out of the woods, to an hill vnder which we lay encamped in a faire meadow. They came with cries and sound of Drummes and bagpipes, as if they would attempt the campe, and powred into it some two or three thousand shot, hurting onely two of our men. But his Lordship commanding that none in the Campe should stirre, had lodged in a trench some foure hundred shot, charging them not to shoot till the rebels approached neere. And after these our men had giuen them a volly in their teeth, they drew away, and we heard no more of their Drummes or Bagpipes, but onely mournfull cries; for many of their best men were slaine, and among the rest one horseman of great accompt, and one *Pierce Lacy* an Archrebell of *Mounster*. The next morning we found some dead bodies at the skirt of the wood, and three scattered peeces. Hence his Lordship sent direction to Sir *John Barkeley*, to bring with him to the Campe a regiment from the *Annaly* & *Liscannon*, because *Tyrone* was growne strong by the comming to him of his *Mac Guire*, and his *Mac Mahownd*, and of *Cormocke mac Baron*, (comming to him from the frontires of *Loughfoyle*). The fifth day his Lordship sent againe some shot, with Pyoners, to cut the pace close by the Rebels.

The sixth day his Lordship purposed to rise and meet our Conuoy bringing victuals from the *Newry*: but being staied by ill weather, sent early some horse to stay the Conuoy, till his Lordship drew downe towards those parts. This day his Lordship gaue order to Master Treasurer, that proportions of new monies should be sent to all the Market Townes, to change the same for sterling, and that Proclamations should be made in them to decry the old sterling monies, and onely make the new to be currant. The seuenth his Lordship rose to draw towards the *Newry*, and marching to Mount *Norreis*, encamped neere the said Fort. The eight day his Lordship dispatched the Earle of *Clanrickard* into *Connaght*, to command the forces in those parts, hauing sent for Sir *John Barkeley* to come with a regiment to the Campe. Here his Lordship gaue warrant for the passing of her Maiesties pardon for land, life, and goods, to *Arthur Mac Gennis*, chiefe of his Sept, with some 170 followers.

Here his Lordship receiued letters out of *England* from M^r Secretary, signifying that the Lord President had sent to her Maiesty diuers aduertisements, that the Spaniards would presently land in some part of *Mounster*, from whence the Lord Deputy for necessity had lately drawne one thousand foot and fifty horse into *Connaght*. That her Maiesty did well allow of his Lordships care in drawing those men to that seruice, and not leeing the present certainty for apprehension of the future, not so assured. That it was probable that the King of *Spaine* would doe something now at the vpshot, and though it was not credible, that he would send ten or twelue thousand men into *Ireland*, yet since he had from *February* last begunne a foundation to provide forces for the *Low-Countries* or *Ireland*, as his affaires should require: and since the *Low-Country* Army was reinforced by land out of *Italy*, her Maiesty thought he might with ease transport foure or fivethousand men for *Ireland*, and was like to doe it, and so he might for the time turne the state of *Ireland*, would thinke them well bestowed, if he should leese them all at the yeeres end. That in this respect her Maiesty had resolved to leauy fivethousand men to be in readines, and to send two thousand of them presently for *Mounster*, to arriue there by the tenth of this moneth; so as if the Spaniards should land, the Lord President might be enabled to keepe the Prouincials from reuolt, till he the Lord Deputy might come thither, and more forces might be sent out of *England*; and if they should not inuade *Ireland*, then his Lordship might keepe the one thousand he had drawne from *Mounster*, to finish the worke whereot he had laide an happy foundation, heartily wishing that his Lordship might be the happy Instrument to saue *Ireland*, to whom he professed himselfe tied in most constant and honest friendship, and praying his Lordship to esteeme these ready seconds, besides the publicke duty to proceed much out of an extraordinary respect to his Lordship. That for
bestowing

bestowing of the Companies to be sent into *Mounster*, as he who was gone, (meaning as I thinke, the Earle of *Essex*), made too great a Monopoly in bestowing all such places himselfe, so now there was a great confusion, every Lord importuning to preferre his friend and follower; but that for his part, he sought no mans preferment herein, but onely advised that those might be first respected, which came over with the Lord Deputies recommendations. That the Lord President had earnestly moved him, and in good sort challenged to have hopes in him for the procurement of some meanes to gratifie his followers; and had by other friends obtained of her Maiesty, that some of those Companies might be sent over vndisposed, and left to his disposall, to which he the Secretary had given second; rather then that the places should be bestowed in *England*, without any thanks either to the Lord Deputy or Lord President. Protesting that howsoever he loved the Lord President, he would not scant his due respect to his Lordship, wherein he thought to give him the least discontent. That he conceived the Spaniards would not make discent at *Corcke*, which Towne was not guardable when they had it. Nor yet at *Lymricke*, though fit by the situation, because an enemy engaged so farre into the Kingdome, could not hope for supplies, when her Maiesty should take due resolution to oppose them. But rather iudged *Galloway* a fit place for their discent, giuing commodity to ioine with the Northerne rebels, and seated in a Countrey all out in rebellion. Or else *Waterford*, in respect of the goodly Riuer and the peoples affection to *Spaine*, advising that the Fort of *Dungannon* should carefully be furnished with a Commander, men, and necessaries. Lastly, that *Ossend* was obstinately besieged by the Arch-Duke, with thirteene thousand foote, and sixty peeces of battery; and howsoever the States had left two thousand Dutch there, yet their Army being at *Bercke*, whence it would not be raised, the Town had beene carried within ten daies, if Sir *Francis Vere* had not throwne himselfe into it with one thousand sixe hundred English, to whom her Maiesty sent one thousand men, and prepared to send 2000. more, to succour the place, because part of the Army in *Italy* was come downe to the Arch-Duke.

The ninth of August his Lordship & the Counsellors present in the Campe, writ to the Lords in *England*. That the Army had bin imployed in preparing her Maiesties Forts, & fitting them for the winter war, & in the present spoyling of the rebels corne, (the only way to ruine them), hoping to keep the army in field til haruest were past; so that it being impossible to cut all their corne, our garrisons might have opportunity to gather the rest, and the rebels might be hindred from gathering any, except it were *Tyrone*s corne neere *Dungannon*, wherunto the passage was so difficult, as his L^p for so little thought not good to hazard al, especially since Sir *Hen. Dockwra* for want of Match (as he had written) could not meete his Lordship in *Tyrone*, according to their former proiect, whereof his Lordship notwithstanding professed himselfe nothing sorrie, in regard that meeting would have given the Arch-rebell power to sling the Lice againe for recouerie of their fortune, & that vpon an vnequall hazard, by setting his rest vpon either of them apart, diuided into three bodies, vnder the Lord Deputy, the said Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, and Sir *Arthur Chichester*, euen with the whole force of his Northerne partakers, though his other friends further off were kept from aiding him, by the disposall of our other forces. That besides the spoyling of their corne, his Lordship by search had found an easie way to passe to *Dungannon*, which hitherto was neuer by any Guide made knowne to vs, & had cut down a broad pace, through a thick Wood in two dayes labour, and so came to the Riuer, where he purposed, as soone as might be, to build a Fort with a Bridge, there being from thence to *Dungannon* lesse then foure miles, all in a plaine; That this would cut the Arch-traytors throat: for howsoever the name of *Oneale* was so reuerenced in the North, as none could bee induced to betray him vpon the large reward set vpon his head, yet when the hope of assistance from *Spaine* should be taken away, they seeing their Corne spoyled, and vpon our expected supplies seeing vs enter *Tyrone*, could not, but see their apparant confusion. That howsoever this Summer few of their cowes had been taken (which worke is more proper to the Winter warre), yet they had been forced to feede them

within their fastnesses, which they vsed to keepe for feeding them in Winter, so as they must either starue them by keeping them there in winter, or hazard the taking of them by our Garrisons, if they feede them abroad. That for the future seruice, they besought againe to be inabled, by the sending of one thousand shot out of *England* for supplies, and that the rather, because *Tyrone* was very strong, as appeared by a note deliuered by *Shane Mac Donnel Groome*, who hauing been *Tyrones* Marshall, was receiued to mercy the seuen and twenty of Iuly, besides our experience of their strength, when few daies since they powred three thousand shot into our Campe, and could hardly be kept from forcing it. So as our army consisting only of one thousand seuen hundred nintie eight by Pole, and more then halfe of them being Irish, the speedy sending of the supply was most necessaric. As also the sending of munition and victuals, without which all this labour would be lost, and the souldier forced, not onely to leaue his Garrison, but to liue idly in the Pale vpon the subiect. Lastly, that the Army (by Gods grace) had not had any disaster, but burning their houses in the very Woods, had still beaten the Rebels, few or no English being lost. Together with these letters were sent diuers notes of victuals and munition remaining, and new stores to be sent ouer. And therewith was sent the aboue mentioned note of *Tyrones* forces, as followeth.

A perfect note of such Captaines and Companies, as are vnder the command of the Traitor Tyrone, within Tyrone, not mentioning the Chiefetaines, as O Donnel, O Cane, Mac Girc, and the rest of the Ulster Lords, but onely such as attend him in his Countrie.

Horse.

Tyrone for his Guard, 100. His sonne *Hugh Oneale*, 100. His brother *Cormock*, 100. *Art Mac Baron*, 20. *Phelim Ohanlons* sonne, 10. *Tirlagh Brasils* sonnes, 50. *Con, Tyrones* base sonne, 20. In all 400.

His Guard of Foote.

Led by *James Osheale* a *Lemster* man, 200. Led by *Ienkyn Fitz Simon* of *Lecayle*, 200. In all 400.

Other Foote.

Hugh Mac Cawel, and two other Captaines vnder *Cormock*, *Tyrones* brother, 600. *Con*, sonne to *Art Mac Baron*, 100. *Brian Mac Art*, 200. *Con*, *Tyrones* base sonne, 100. *Mac Can*, 100. *Owen O Can*, 100. *Donough Aferadogh Ohagan*, 100. *Owen Ohagan*, 100. *Donnel Oneale* for *Owen Euall* *O Neale*, 100. Three Brothers, *Gilla spick Mac Owen*, 100; *Rory Mac Owen*, 100; *Randal Mac Owen*, 100. *Kedagh Mac Donnel*, 100. *Owen O Quin*, 100. *James O Hagan*, 100. *Phelym Oge O Neale*, 60. *Tirlagh Brasills* sonnes, 200. *Henry Wragton*, 200. *Henry Oge Mac Henrie Mac Shane*, 100. *Tirlagh Con Mac Barons* sonne, 100. *Art Ohagan*, sonne to *Hugh*, 100. *Hugh Grome Ohagan* and his Cosin, 100. *Donnel Grome Mac Edmund*, 100. *Patrick Mac Phelim*, 100. *Gilleduff Mac Donnel*, one of *Connaght*, 100. In all 3260.

Total of Horse and Foote, 4060.

All these (three hundred excepted) had meanes for themselves and their companies within *Tyrone*, and diuers of them haue great forces besides these, which they keepe in their owne Countries for defence thereof.

This present ninth of August the Lord Deputie wrote to *Sir Robert Cecyll* the Secretarye this following letter.

*S*r, I receiued your letter of the five and twentie of Iuly, the fourth of this moneth, being in Campe neere the place where the Marshall *Bagnol*, was slaine. The newes you receiued from the President of *Mounster*, of Spanish succours, I doe find no waies more confirmed, then by the assured confidence this people hath thereof, out of the which they are growne from the most humble begging of their peace, to exceeding pride, and the traytor himselve so strong, as (beleene me *Sir*) he hath many more fighting

ring men in his Army, then we. And yet we doe not omit any thing of our purposes, but haue since our comming to this Camp, made that a faire way to *Blackwater*, which the Marshall shunned, when he was ouerthrowne, and euery day cut downe either his Woods or his Corne in his sight, onely with some slight skirmishes, in all which (God be thanked) we cannot say, we had any disaſter hitherto, but in all he loſeth ſome of his beſt men. I preſume there could nothing be added to our Councell of the diſtribution of her Maieſties forces: but whether the fault hath been in the Commanders of the ſeuerall parties, or in ſome impediments which they pretend, I know not; but wee receiue little aſſiſtance by any of them, and the whole brunt of the warre lieth vpon vs. But out of the preſent iudgement wee make of this Countrey, wee haue diſcouered, and directed Sir *Arthur Chicheſter* a courſe, which if we may inable him to go forward in, will, I hope, vtterly baniſh *Tyrone*; and haue found another way into his country, that if we can but build a Fort, and make a paſſage ouer the Riuer, we ſhall make *Dungannon* a center, whether we may from all parts draw together all her Maieſties forces, and (as I preſume) before this winters end, not leaue a man in the Countrey of *Tyrone*. Whatſoeuer others haue vndertaken, I beſeech you Sir to remembet, that in all my diſpatches, I haue declared, that the vttermoſt you could looke from vs in this Summers work, ſhould be to plant ſuch Garrisons as muſt take effect this next Winter, and that we ſhould proceed ſlowly, & come ſhort of our purpoſe, if we were not continually ſupplied with meanes, and in time, of victuals and al kind of munitions. If you haue not been informed in due time of our wants, I muſt excuſe my ſelfe, that being continually imploied in the actiue proſecution of as buſie a warre as any is in the World, and moſt commonly farre from *Dublin*, where our Magazines are, I am driuen in al the ſeuerall kindes of our meanes, to appoint of the Counſell Commiſſioners, whom I haue deſired in my abſence to informe you of the eſtate of theſe things, and to ſolicite our wants, hauing directed the particular Miniſters of euery nature, to informe them of the remaines, and to deliuer them (to bee ſent ouer) eſtimates, of what wee ſhould want. Onely in generall I haue in all my diſpatches proteſted, that without ſufficient ſupplies of theſe things, wee ſhould bee driuen to ſit ſtill, and make all the reſt of her Maieſties charge vnprofitable. Sir, I cannot from a quiet iudgement make you a large and perfect diſcourſe at this time of our affaires, for I am continually full of the preſent buſines, and haue ſo little reſt, as ſometimes theſe rogues will keepe vs waking all night: but in ſhort, I dare aſſure you, I ſee a faire way, to make *Ulſter* one of the moſt quiet, aſſured, and profitable Prouinces, if the Spaniard doe not come: If they doe, I cannot ſay what we ſhall firſt reſolue on, till by the euent we ſee their purpoſe; for to prouide for all places, that carrie equall probabilitie of their vndertaking, wee cannot, neither can I put my ſelfe into any part of *Ireland* with my chiefe ſtrength, but I may happen to be as farre from their diſcent, as I ſhall bee where now I am, which maketh me the more loth to forgoe my hold in thoſe parts, and yet for all occasions you muſt not imagine me to be now in the head of a great Army, but of ſome ſixteene hundred fighting men, of whom there are not halfe Engliſh, and vpon the newes of Spaniſh ſuccours, I know few Iriſh that I can reckon ours. With this Army I muſt make my retreat, which I reſolued to haue left moſt part in Garrisons all this winter in theſe quarters; and in truth Sir, I cannot at this preſent thinke of a better counſel, then that we might goe on with the warre by theſe Garrisons againſt *Tyrone*, as wee were determined, whether the Spaniards come or no, and to make head againſt them, chiefly with meanes out of *England*. By this courſe they ſhall giue each other little aſſiſtance, and if we doe but ruine and waſte the traytors this Winter, it will bee impoſſible for the Spaniards to make this people liue, by which courſe I preſume it is in her Maieſties power to giue the King of *Spaine* a great blow, and to quit this Countrey of them for euer. If in the checkes, the Queene doe not finde the weakenefſe of her Army, I diſclaime from the fault; for without a wiſe honeſt Muſter-maſter, of good reputation, to be ſtill preſent in the Army, the Queene in that kinde wil neuer be well ſerued, and vpon thoſe Officers that are, I doe continually call for their care in that matter. If according to our deſire you had ſent vs one thouſand ſupplies of ſhot to the *Nemrie*, it had
aduanced

aduanced the seruice more then I can expresse, but some you must needs send vs, to be able to leaue those garisons strong in winter. Most part of these troops I haue here, are they that haue stricken all the blowes for the recouerie of the Kingdome, and been in continuall action, and therefore you must not wonder if they be weake. If Sir *Henrie Dockwra* do not plant *Ballisbannon*, I thinke it fit, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had a thousand men of his List, whom I hope we would finde meanes to plant within foure or five miles of *Dungannon*, and by boats victuall them commodiously. I doe apprehend the consequence of that plantation to be great: but till I heare from you againe, I will take no men from *Loughfoyle*, because I am loth to meddle much with that Garrison without direction: but I beleech you Sir by the next let me know your opinion.

I pray you Sir giue me leaue to take it vnkindly of my L: President to informe you, that Sir *Hen. Dockwra* hath had greater fauor in the nomination of Captaines thē he; for he neuer placed but one, whom I displaced after. To haue some left to his nomination, is more then I could obtaine, when the last supply came to me. But since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must beare this (and as I doe continually a great deale more) with patience. And though I am willing you should know I haue a iust feeling of these things, yet I beleech you Sir to beleeue, that my meaning is not to contest, or to impute the fault vnto you, for (by God Sir) where I professe my loue in the same kind I haue done to you, they shall bee great matters that shall remoue me, although they may (and I desire that I may let you know when they do) moue me. I do only impute this to my misfortune, that I perceiue arguments too many of her Maesties displeasure: but while for her owne sake she doth vse my seruice, I will loue whatsoeuer I suffer for her, and loue the sentence, that I will force from the conscience of all, and the mouth of the iust, that I haue been, and will be, an honest, and no vnprofitable seruant vnto her. I dare vndertake, we haue rid my Lord President of the most dangerous rebell of *Mounster*, and the most likely man to haue renewed the rebellion; for that night I receiued your letters, the rogues did powre aboue three thousand shot into our Campe, at which time it was our good fortune to kill *Peirce Lacie*, and some other of their principall men. Wee are now praying for a good wind, for wee are at our last daies bread, if victuals come in time, we will not be idle. Sir, if I haue recommended any into *England*, I am sure it was for no charge; for I know none that haue gone from hence but there are many that continue here more worthy of preferment then they, therefore I pray Sir let them not be reckoned mine, that there challenge any thing for me, but whatsoeuer shall please their Lordships I must be contented withall, and it shall not much trouble mee, for I meane not to make the waïres my occupation, and doe affect asmuch to haue a great many followers, as to bee troubled with a kennel of hounds. But for the Queenes sake, I would gladly haue her serued by such, as I know to be honest men, and vnhappy is that Generall, that must fight with weapons of other mens choosing. And so Sir, being ashamed that I haue troubled you so long, I desire you to be assured, that no man shall loue you more honestly and faithfully, then my selfe.

From the Campe neere *Mount Norreys* this ninth of August, 1601.

Yours Sir most assured to
doe you seruice

Mountioy.

Touching the aboue mentioned distaste betweene the Lord Deputy and the Lord President of *Mounster*, his Lordship shortly after, wrote a letter to him, resenting himselfe in very high tearmes, of the wrong he conceiued to be offered him, as followeth in his Lordships letter.

My

MY Lord, as I haue hitherto borne you as much affection, and as truely as euer I did professe it vnto you, and I protest reioyced in all your good successes as mine owne; so must you giue me leaue, since I presume I haue so iust cause, to challenge you of vnkindnes & wrong, in writing into *England*, that in preferring your followers, *Sir Henry Dockwra* hath had more power from me then your selfe, and consequently to sollicite the Queene to haue the nomination of some Captaines in this Kingdome. For the first I could haue wished you would haue beene better aduised, because vpon my Honour he neuer, without my speciall warrant, did appoint but one, whom I after displaced; & I do not remember that euer since our comming ouer, I haue denied any thing, which you haue recommended vnto me, with the marke of your owne desire to obtaine it, and in your Prouince I haue not giuen any place (as I thinke) but at your instance. For the other, I thinke it is the first example, that euer any vnder another Generall desired or obtained the like sute. And although I will not speake iniuriously of your deserts, nor immodestly of mine owne, yet this disgrace cannot make me beleeeue that I haue deserued worse then any that haue beene Generals before me: but since it is the Queenes pleasure, I must endure it, and you chuse a fit time to obtaine that, or any thing else against me. Yet I will concurre with you in the seruice, as long as it shall please her Maiesty to imploy vs here: but hereafter I doubt not but to giue you satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong. The Counsel & my self, vpon occasion of extraordinary consequence, sent for some of the Companies of *Mounster* out of *Connacht*, when we heard you were to be supplied with two thousand out of *England*, but we receiued from them a flat deniall to come, and the cobby of your letter to warrant them therein. If you haue any authority from the Queene to countermand mine, you may very well iustifie it, but it is more then you haue vowed to me to haue, when I (before my comming ouer) protested vnto you, that if you had, I would rather serue the Queene in prison, then here. My Lord, these are great disgraces to me, and so conceiued, and I thinke iustly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all *Ireland*. My alleagiance and owne honour are now ingaged with all my burthens, to goe on in this worke, otherwise no feare should make me suffer thus much; and what I doe, it is onely loue doth moue me vnto it: for I know you are deere to one, whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary affection. And so my Lord I wish you well, and will omit nothing (while I am in this Kingdome) to giue you the best contentment I can, and continue as;


Your assured friend,

Montioy.

The Lord President within few daies, not onely with a calme, noble, and wise, answer; pacified his Lordships anger; but also by many good Offices betweene his Lordship and Master Secretary; (with whom as a most inward friend hee had great power) so combined their new begunne loue, as hee ingaged his Lordship in a great bond of thankfulness to him.

The eleuenth of August, his Lordship wrote to the Gouvernour of the *Newry*, that to auoid the continuall trouble of Conuoyes hereafter, he should presently send vp as great prouision of victuals to *Armagh* as possibly he could, while his Lordship lay in that part with the Army: For two daies after, by reason of much raine falling, and the expecting of these victuals, his Lordship lay still in the Campe neere *Mount Norris*. The thirteenth the victuals came, but not in such great proportion as was directed, because the victuler had failed to bake great part of his meale, and the Cowes expected from *Dundalke*, were not yet sent by the Submitties, according to their promise. The same day his Lordship rose, and incamped three miles short of *Armagh*. The foureteenth his Lordship rose with the Army, and put all the victuals he had receiued into the Abbey of *Armagh* and the Fort of *Blackewater*, and returned back to the same camping place. The fifteenth his Lordship drew backe to his former Campe, neere *Mount Norreis*, and sent out some Companies of Horse and Foote to the skirts of the wood neere the Fort, to guard those that cut wood for making of Carres, to transport
more

more victuals to the said garrisons. The sixteenth his Lordship drew backe to *Carickbane*, neere the *Newry*, to hasten the prouision of victuals, in as great quantity as might be, which was dispatched within few dayes. The twenty three his Lordship wrote the following letter to M^r Secretary.

 SIR I did euer foresee, and haue signified so much, that any forraine succours would cleane alter the State of this Kingdome, and the whole frame of our proceedings, and doe find that the assurance that these people doe now receiue thereof, doth make them stand vpon other termes then they were wont, and much diuert our purposes, which we had conceiued with good reason and great hope. Of any but the English we haue small assurance, and of them the Army is exceeding weake. The Irish newly submitted, & their wauering faith hitherto we haue vsed to great effect: for we haue wasted them, and the rebels by them, but when we come to lay our Forces in remote garrisons, they flie the hardnes of that life, and doe againe betake themselues vnto any head that is of power to spoile, and with the best paid and preuailing party they will euer be. I am certainly told by Sir *Iohn Barkely*, that some Spaniards that arriued at *Sligo* (as they say to discouer, and with assurance of the present comming of a great force,) doe there fortifie, and (as he hath been more particularly informed) not in a compasse only capeable of themselues, but in such sort as it will be able to lodge great numbers. This, (& my being preuented to follow my purposes in these parts as I would,) draweth me into the Pale, to aduise of the best assurance for the maine, and yet not to quit my purposes in such sort in these parts; but if the Spaniards doe not come, I may againe look this way with my former desire, which was to beat the chiefe Traitor cleane out of his Countrey: for vntill that be done, there will be euer left a fier, which vpon all occasions will breake out more and more violently. When I haue spoken with the rest of the Counsell, and considered more neerely the disposition of these in ward parts, I will more largely relate vnto you my opinion, neither will I now much trouble you with my owne estate, although not onely my selfe, but (I protest) the seruice doth feele the effect of a general conceiued rumour of her Maiesties displeasure to me. I am so neerely interessed therein; that I cannot speak much of that matter, without the preiudice of a priuate respect to my selfe: but onely this, I most humbly desire her Maiestie for her owne sake to vse me no longer here, then shee thinketh me fit to be trusted and graced; for without both, I shal but striue against the wind and tide, and be fit for nothing but my owne poore harbour, vnto the which I most humbly desire to be speedily called with her gracious fauour, since my owne conscience maketh me presume to desire so much, that best doth know with how vntollerable labour of minde and body, I haue and doe continually serue her. And so Sir I beseech God to send you as much contentment as I doe want. The 23 of August 1601.

Yours Sir to doe you
seruice, *Mountioy*.

The fortifying of the Spaniards at *Sligo*, vanished with the rumour, which was grounded vpon some arriuing, to bring the Rebels certaine newes of present succours, and presently returning. And the brute (or perhaps his Lordships iualousie) of her Maiesties displeasure, arose from the confessions of some examined, about the rash attempts of the vnfortunate Earle of *Essex*, who had accused the Lord Deputy to be priuy to that proiect. His Lordship purposing to draw into the Pale (or parts neere *Dublyn*), left his forces in the North, (for those of *Loughfoyle* had not yet correspondency with these), in this following manner disposed.

At *Carickefergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* Gouvernour 200. Sir *Foulke Conway* 150. Captaine *Billings* 150.
Captaine *Phillips* 150. Captaine *Norton* 100. Captaine *Egerton* 100. Foot 850.
Sir *Arthur Chichester* 25. Captaine *Iohn Iephson* 100. Horse 125.

At *Lecale*.

Sir *Richard Morison* Gouvernour 150. Captaine *Toby Camfield* 150. Foot 300. These

These following forces, when they should be drawne out, for conuoy of victuals or otherwise, were to be commanded in chiefe by Sir *Francis Stafford*, and were thus disposed in seuerall garrisons.

At the *Newry*.

Sir *Francis Stafford* Gouvernour 200. Capitaine *Iosias Bodley* 150. Sir *William Warren* 100. Foot 450. Sir *Francis Stafford* 50 Horse.

At Mount *Norreis*.

Capitaine *Edward Blaney* Gouvernour 150. Capitaine *Atherton* 150. Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* 150. Capitaine *Rotheram* 150. Foot 600. Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* 50 Horse.

At *Armagh*.

Sir *Henry Dauers* Couernour 150. Sir *H. Follyot* 150. Capt. *Guest* 150. Capt. *Thomas Roper* 150. Capitaine *Francis Roe* 100. Capt. *Treuer* 100. Foot 800.

Sir *Henry Dauers* 100. Capitaine *Darcy* 25. Horse 125.

At *Blackewater*.

Capitaine *Williams* Gouvernour 150. Capitaine *Constable* 100. Sir *Garret Moore* 100. Foot 350.

The twenty foure of *August*, his Lordship leauing the field, rode backe to the *Newry*, from whence he sent one *W.* an Englishman in bonds to the Lords in *England*, for the reasons following. Sir *Henry Dauers* after his elder brothers perishing in the late Earle of *Essex* his attempt, was desirous by actiue prosecution of the Rebels, to deserue her Maiesties good opinion. And for this cause, as for that hee was enabled to doe great seruices, aswell by his noble vertues, as by the command he formerly and now had both of horse and foot; his Lordship in speciall loue to him, being most willing to giue him all opportunity to attaine this his desire, appointed him Gouvernour of *Armagh*, aduising him to be often stirring with the forces vnder his command, and to practise what possibly he could deuise vpon the person of the Arch-traitor. To him this Englishman made offer to kill *Tyrone*, yet would not discouer his plot for greater secrecy (as he pretended), neither would he presse him further, since he required no assistance; and so in the night he was suffered to goe by the watches, and passed to *Tyrone's* Campe, whence he was imploied to the *Ilander* Scots, and comming to Sir *Arthur Chichesters* hands, was by him sent backe from *Knockesfergius* to his Lordship at the *Newry*, where being examined what he had done in *Tyrone's* Campe, he auowed that once he had drawne his sword to kill him, though vnder pretence of bragging what he would doe for his seruice, yet gaue he no good accompt of his actions or purposes, but behaued himselfe in such sort, as his Lordship iudged him franticke, though not the lesse fit for such a purpose. Now because hee had not performed that he vndertooke, and gaue an ill accompt of himselfe in this action; his Lordship, aswell for the discharge of Sir *H. Dauers*, who imploied him, as of himselfe who consented therevnto, and aduised Sir *H. Dauers* so to doe, thought good to send him prisoner to the Lords, that he might be there examined, where by reason of his friends dwelling in *London*, they might be sufficiently informed of the mans quality.

The five and twentieth, his Lordship and the Counsel there present, wrote from the *Newry* this following letter to the Lords in *England*:

IT may please your Lordships. Since our last letters we haue for the most part imploied our selues in putting vp as great quantity of victuals as we could to *Armagh* and the *Blackewater*, being loath to ingage our selues into any thing, which wee had further purposed, vntill we should see the issue of this assured expectation of the Spaniards inuasion, or till we might by some meanes better strengthen this Army. Of the first we haue reason to be iealous, both by many arguments of assured confidence in

this people of present succour, and by the arriual of a Spanish ship, in which the Arch-traytors agent is returned, with assurance that he left the Spanish forces ordained for his aide in a readinesse to set out. For the strengthening of our Armie wee had good reason to bee prouident, considering the weakenesse thereof, and especially of the English, and finding by experience the rebels strength now, when he had none but the forces nourished in *Tyrone* to assist him. Wherefore hearing that Sir *Henrie Dockwra* had planted a Garrison at *Dunnagall*, and had left *O Donnel* possessed in a manner of nothing in *Tirconnel*, and that vpon the late arriual of his munition, he intended to be actiue in those parts neere *Loughfoyle*, and vnderstanding by Master Secretary, that about the twelfth of August there were two thousand men to be supplied for *Mounster*, we resolved to send for some of the Companies in *Connaght* of the *Mounster* Lyft, and to put the rest into *Galloway* and thereabouts, for the assurance of those parts, and vpon the receiuing of that addition to our strength, to haue drawne to *Monaghan*, and spoiled the Corne of that Country, being of exceeding quantitie, or if we had seene reason, to haue left a Garrison there, and to haue inabled it to gather the most part of that Corne for their better prouision, or otherwise to haue continued the prosecution in these parts, vntil we should heare of the Spaniards landing, or by any assurance of their not comming, should be at liberty to proceede in our former purposes. But receiuing answere from the Captaines of *Mounster*, that they had direction not to stirre from *Connaght* vpon any other order whatsoeuer, then from the President of *Mounster*, in regard of the present expectation of Spaniards to land in those parts: and we thereby being not so well able to wade any further in our determinations for the North, & receiuing some probable intelligence, that the place designed for the Spaniards landing was *Sligo*, wee resolved to leaue the Northerne Garrisons very strong in foote and horse, and as well prouided with meanes as we can, and to draw our selues with the rest of our force towards *Connaght*, appointing the rest of the Counsel to meete vs in the way at *Trym*, to aduise with vs of the best course to establish the heart of the Pale, and to answere the present expectation of Spanish forces. And although by our suddaine leauing the North, we haue omitted some things which wee conceived to bee of great consequence to the seruice, yet if it shall please your Lordships to supply the foundations we haue laid in those parts with one thousand shot, according to our former sute, and with store of victuals for the Garrisons in Winter, we hope you shall finde no small effect of our Summers labour. But seeing we are perswaded, that if any Spanish forces arriue, they wil land at *Sligo*, where they haue a fit place to fortifie, to be relieued by sea, to vnite themselves with all the Rebels force, and where they haue a faire Countrie to possesse, with an easie way (by the rebels assistance) into *Mounster*, or the hart of the Pale, or especially to *Loughfoyle*, where we cannot, without great difficulty, affront them, hauing no magazins of victu-
 als or munition at *Athlone* or *Galloway*, and where it is vnpossible for vs to prouide our
 selues, or if we could, most difficult to carrie them by land, when we are so farre in the
 Countrie, and haue no meanes for carriage. Therefore we most humbly desire your
 Lordships to send good store of victuals and munition to *Galloway*, and to *Lymbrick*,
 which howsoeuer our expectation fall out, will be most necessarie for the prosecution
 of *Connaght*, and that prosecution as necessarie this Winter, since *O Donnel* hath forsaken his owne Countrie, and betaken himselfe to liue in that Prouince. But because we doe foresee it to be no ill Counsel for the Spaniards to land at *Sligo*, and think that *Tyrone* will presently vrge them to cut off our Garrison at *Loughfoyle*, whether from thence they haue a faire way, and secure from our opposition, and may imagine, that it will be no great difficulty for them with such royall prouisions as they wil bring, to force those slender fortifications. We beseech your Lordships to send a large prouision of victuals and munition to *Carlingford* and *Knockfergus*; for we cannot by any other way then that relieue *Loughfoyle* if it be distressed. Neither can her Maiestie hazard any losse in these great prouisions, though we neuer vse them; for all kinde of victuals may be issued in this Kingdome with great gaine, and especially Corne, which we chiefly desire; and for munition, it may be kept with prouidence as a store for all
 occasions

occasions. Thus howsoever it fall out, we shall be inabled to make such a prosecution this Winter in *Connaght* and the North; as in all reason will end these waïres, if the Spaniards come not, and will leaue this Prouince of *Ulster* in farre greater subiection; then euer any of her Maiesties Progenitors had it. And since wee apprehend, that *Spaine* may make in this Countrie a dangerous warre for *England*, we conceine that if not now, yet with his first abilitie, he will imbrace it; which makes vs to haue the greater desire (if it bee possible) to preuent his footing here for euer, and that (by Gods help) we hope to do before this next Summer, if we may be inabled this winter to ruine *Tyrone* and *O Donnell*. We haue great neede of one hundred Northerne horses, for our horses here grow weak, and ill, and if your Lordships please to afford vs that number, we will so handle the matter, as it shall bee no increase of the Lyst. If the Spaniards come, we must haue at the least three hundred, and if they be Northerne horses, and Northerne Riders, we assure our selues they will be much fitter for this seruice; then such as are vsually sent hither, who come with purpose to get licence to returne, and yet are a greater charge to her Maiesty. But for the one thousand foote wee desired by our former letters, we find their comming to be of that necessitie, as wee must bee most humble and earnest suitors to your Lordships to send them presently: for our Companies are so exceeding weake, and now decay so fast, by the extremitie of the weather, as a much greater number will not supplie vs, but that the checkes will bee as great as now they are, and they little be seene amongst vs, which giues vs cause to wish now, and humbly to moue your Lordships, to be pleased to send one thousand foote more soone after. The reports here are so vncertaine, as vntill we meete the rest of the Counsell at *Trim*, we know not how the Pale stands affected, vpon this assured confidence of the Spaniards comming, onely this we perceiue, many of them are wauering; yet the Lords hereabouts, namely, *Mac Gennis*, *Tirlogh Mac Henrie*, *Euer Mac Cooley*, and *O Hanlon*, keepe with vs, notwithstanding that *Tyrone* hath sent them word, that hereafter it will bee too late for them to make their peace with him, if they doe it not now vpon this occasion, and they assure vs, as much as men can doe, that they will not fall againe from their obedience, though thereby their state bee no better then horseboyes. But of this wee can giue your Lordships no assurance, neither in them haue wee any extraordinarie confidence. It may further please your Lordships to be aduertised, that the Lord of *Dunfany*, hauing the command of a Fort in the *Brenny*, called *Liscannon* (where wee had placed certaine Irish Companies, as fittest to spoile and wast the Countrie thereabouts), did lately draw most of them into *Mac Mahowns* Countrie, for the taking of a prey, which they lighted on, (as is said) to the number of some sixteene hundred Cowes: but in their returne, being hardly laied vnto, (as some of them say, with very great numbers, yet as we haue heard by some that were present, not aboue seuen score), they did not only lose their prey, but according to the manner of the Irish (who haue no other kind of retreat) fell to a flat running away to the Fort, so as poore Captaine *Esmond* (who had the command of the Reare, and very valiantly with a few made good the place) was sore hurt, and afterwards taken prisoner, and forty or fiftie of our side slaine. We cannot learne that any English were amongst them, so as we account our losse to be no more then the taking of the Captaine, neither doe the Rebels bragge thereof, both because they scaped not free; loosing very neere as many men as wee did; and for that they knew they dealt but with their Countrymen, who (as they doe) hold it no shame to runne, when they like not to fight, though wee meane to call some of ours to account thereof. And so we most humbly take leaue.

The eight and twentieth of August; his Lordship receiued two letters from the Lord President of *Mounster*; the first imported, that hearing that his Lordship had sent into *Connaght* for part of the Companies of the *Mounster* Lyst to come into the North, he prayed to bee excused, that hee had given contrary directions, vpon feare of the Spaniards landing, & the knowledge of *Tirrels* purpose to come with the banished *Mounster* men, and aides of Northerne men out of *Connaght*, presently to disturbe the Prouince of *Mounster*, and signified, that now to manifest his precise obedience to his Lordships commands, hee had sent them directions to march towards his Lordship

vpon sight of his letter, yet praying his Lordship to send some part of them into *Munster*, without which helpe he could neither keepe the field against *Tirrel* and the Prouinciall fugitiues at their first entrie, nor vpon the Spaniards arriual, giue any impediment to their disposing of such Townes, as were recommended to his speciall care, and assuring his Lordship that the Spaniards had been seene at Sea, and that in his iudgement and by vulgar report, it was likely they would make discent in some part of *Mounster*. Lastly, aduertising that he had sent *James* the Suggon pretended Earle of *Desmond*, and *Florence Mac Carty* (the chiefe practiser with the Spaniards in those parts) into *England*. The second letter imported the Lord Presidents commendation (which by established course was effectually) to his Lordship, for the granting of her Maiesties pardon for lands liues and goods, to five hundred fortie two inhabitants of *Muskery*, and other parts in the Countie of *Corke*, for which present warrant was accordingly giuen.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship came to *Trym*, where the Counsellers comming from *Dublin* met him, according to appointment. Heere they consulted of the publike affaires, more particularly how that part of the Army within *Lemster*, might be employed to prosecute *Tirrel*, sent by *Tyrone* to disturbe that Prouince, and yet to be ready vpon any sudden occasion to make head against the forraigne enemy. And the aduertisements being daily multiplied, that the Spaniards were at Sea, it was concluded, that in regard these forces were not able to answer both, or either the ends aforesaid, great part of the Army in *Ulster* should be drawne downe, and both forces ioyned, should assaile *Tirrel*, who came to insult ouer the subiects, and to draw them to rebellion, but especially the late Submitties, whom by many promises and threatnings he had tempted to a relapse, but preuailed not with them. And his Lordship resolved, by his presence to giue a sharper edge to this seruice, till either hee should be called, to affront the Spaniards landing, or to draw backe into the North, if they landed not.

The third of September his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote vnto the Lords in *England*, excusing that the extraordinary expences had farre passed the limited sum of sixe thousand pound yeerely, which was farre too little, for the transportation of victuals, carriage of munition, charges and imprests to victualers, rewards to messengers, and for speciall seruices, making of boats, and things of like necessitie, and the repairing of Castles, Houses, Bridges, Forts, and all buildings. In which last charge, they had not been able fitly to repaire *Sithlone* Castle, the Key of *Connaght*, nor the Castles and Bridges of *Carlogh* and *Laughlin*, and the Forts of *Phillipstowne* and *Maryburgh*, being of great consequence, to curbe the Traytors, and assure the subiects, and the decay whereof would giue the rebels free passage into many Countries, besides our dishonour to neglect those places, which the wisdom of former times with great policie planted; the great charge of repairing whereof, appeared by the transmitted certificats of Commissioners appointed to view these places. And for these reasons they besought her Maiesties warrant, to leaue this charge to their discretion for a time, without any limitation, promising not to enlarge the same in any thing, which might be spared, without apparant prejudice to her seruice; and giuing their opinion, that in this time of the new coine, these places might be repaired with small charge. Likewise they desired to haue great store of munition and victuals sent ouer, and that presently, to preuent the vsuall contrarietie of winds after Michaelmas, and all the Winter season. Lastly, they desired to haue the one thousand shot presently sent ouer, for which they had formerly written; the Army consisting in great part of Irish, which could not be kept to liue in Garrison out of their owne Countie. And they aduertised the Lords, that diuers of the horse at twelue pence *per diem* had quit their pay, being not able to liue thereupon in those deare times.

This third of September likewise his Lordship receiued letters from her Maiestie, giuing warrant for the pay of two thousand men sent into *Mounster*, being about the Establishment. The same day his Lordship receiued letters from Sir *Robert Cecyll* Secretary, that the Spaniards were discovered neere the *Silly*, and as hee thought they would

would land at *Lymrick*, being fortie five sayle, whereof seuentene were men of warre, whereof sixe were Gallions, the rest of one hundred, or one hundred and fifty tunnes burthen, and had in them sixe thousand souldiers, praying his Lordship to demand such supplies as he thought needfull, and vpon the Spaniards landing, to name the places whether the supplies should be sent, and assuring his Lordship that the two thousand men for *Mounster* were already imbarked.

The same time his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, importing her Maiesties acceptance of his seruice, with her willingnesse and theirs to send him needefull supplies, praying him to demand them timely, because hee could hardly receiue them from *England* in sixe weekes after the demand, the wind standing fauourable. Likewise professing that it is the fault of the Commissioners and Commissaries for victuals, if there be any want thereof, since the proportions required by them were arriued in *Ireland*; as likewise that the souldier made not some part of prouision for victuals by mony (especially in parts neere the sea, and like places, where victuals were to be bought), since by these great prouisions of victuals in *England* with sterling mony, her Maiesty lost the third part of the profit she hoped to make by the new standard of *Ireland*, & which might be made, if vittels were prouided by the souldier in *Ireland*, hauing full pay in that mixed mony. Also aduertising, that her Maiestie had sent for *Ireland* twenty last of Powder, with all munitions in proportion necessary, halfe by land, and (for sparing of carriage) halfe by Sea, praying that care might be had in issuing thereof, since they were informed, that great wast thereof had been formerly made, by the Irish bands, conuerting the Powder to their priuate gaine, and by the whole army, vnder pretence of her Maiesties remittall of Powder spent in seruice (which had been defalked out of the souldiers pay, but was after held an hard course, to punish them for their good deserts), now charging vpon her Maiestie all wilfull and fraudulent consumptions of Powder. Further signifying, that Sir *Henrie Dockwra* his failing in correspondency with his Lordship this Summer, for want of match, was distastfull to them, had he not made amends by surprizing of *Donnegall*, which would faciliate the planting of *Ballishannon*. That her Maiesty referred the garrison of *Loughfoyle* wholly to his Lordships direction, and the transposing any part thereof to the inhabling of Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Knockfergus*, the charge of that garrison being exceeding burthensome to her Maiesty, by reason that Coast in Winter is so subiect to stormes, and for that it was supplied with all prouisions out of *England* bought with sterling money, and small quantity of the Irish mixed monies could be there issued to any such purpose, in which regard her Maiesty wished that the Irish in those parts (in whose seruice no profit was found) should either be cast, and pensions of mixed monies giuen to the chiefe Lords, or at least should receiue no victuals out of the stoare, but haue their full pay in that standard, to prouide therewith for their Companies. Touching the expected landing of the Spaniards, their Lordships being of opinion that they would presently land in *Mounster*, aduertised his Lordship, that two thousand men were imbarked for that Prouince, and two thousand more should be readie within twentie daies at the Sea-side, to come where his Lordship should direct them. Touching the exception aboue mentioned which his Lordship had taken, that part of the Officers for the Companies sent into *Mounster* were left to the Lord Presidents disposall, and all the rest were bestowed in *England*, their Lordships professed, that as in all circumstances of honour and contentment, they desired to respect his Lordship, so they praied him to consider, that it stood with the reputation of a Counsel of State, to conferre some such imployments, and keepe men of quality at Court, to be vpon all occasions vsed in her Maiesties seruice, wherein notwithstanding they had preferred few or none, who had not his Lordships letters of recommendations to that Board, and now referred them all to bee continued or called at his pleasure. Lastly, whereas their Lordships were informed, that some were apprehended in *Ireland* for coining of the new mixed monies, they signified her Maiesties pleasure, that those men should be executed, the rather to preuent the great inconuenience might arise, in maintaining the exchange for such counterfet monies, and otherwise.

The fourth of *September* his Lordship wrote from *Trym* to *Sir Robert Cecyll* the following letter.

SIR at my comming into these parts, I found them not so distempered as I was borne in hand I should, so as I make no doubt at all, but if the Spaniards doe not come, I shall be able to giue her Maiesty a good accompt of my charge here; and I am not out of hope, but rather of opinion, since they haue staied so long, that they will not come this Winter, though I desire not to leade you into that conceit, nor omit not my selfe to provide for the worst may happen: and therefore haue sent Master Marshall towards *Leax*, with almost a thousand foot and some horse, both to be neere the Lord President of *Mounster*, for what may fall out that way, and to prosecute *Tyrrell* in the meane while, who with some two hundred Rogues is gotten thither, and with the remaine of the *Moores*, *Connors*, and their followers, whom I could not cut off the last yeere, are altogether drawne to be aboue foure hundred. For *Connaght*, I haue appointed *Sir Oliuer Lambert*, with as many Companies as I can spare him, vntill I may vnderstand her Maiesties further pleasure, because I know him to be very actiue, and find a necessity to imploy some forces that way, so long as the brute of the Spaniards comming doth continue; especially now, that *Odonnell* doth make his residence in that Prouince about *Sligo*, and might otherwise doe what hee list without impeachment. For my selfe, I thinke it fittest to stay hereabouts a while, for from hence I may aptly draw towards *Mounster* or *Connaght* as need requires, or fall backe towards the North, so soone as we can gather any certainty of the Spaniards not comming. And if we may be supplied with the 1000 shot; so earnestly desired by our former letters; (and without which, our foundation will be in a manner ouerthrowne), to strengthen the English Companies here, (I assure you) growne exceeding weak, (otherwise I would not put her Maiesty to that charge); I make no doubt but we shall be able to doe her Maiesty that seruice there this Winter, (those shot being landed at *Carlingford* or the *Newry*, with the victuals, munition, and other meanes desired), that the Spaniards shall not from thenceforth be able to get footing, to doe vs any great annoyancē, especially if it would please you to procure, for an addition to the rest two hundred shot to be sent for the supplying of *Sir Arthur Chichester* at *Carickefergus*: for from that place we haue discovered such an entrance into the heart of *Tyrone*, as in all likelihood will soon ruine that Arch-Traytor, if *Sir Arthur* may be enabled with meanes, as from me he shall not want what I can yeeld him. I haue here inclosed sent a note, that you may see how the garrisons are planted North-wards, and who it is that commands in each of them, in the absence only of *Sir Francis Stafford*, for he hath the chiefe command ouer them, as the best meane to make them ioine vpon all occasions of the seruice.

The ninth of September his Lordship receiued aduertisement from the Lord President, that the two thousand men embarked in *England* for *Mounster*, were arriued, part in *Corkharbour*, part at *Waterford*, of which companies some were left by the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell, in their directions to his disposall, but he left them to his Lordships pleasure, knowing the duty he ought to his Generall. And whereas the Lords of the Counsell, in the same letters gaue directions that the foot Companies of the Lord President and Earle of *Thomond*, being each 150, should be increased each to two hundred, the Lord President auowed that it was obtained by the said Earle, ioyning him for countenance of the sute, altogether without his priuity, which he praied his Lordship to beleue: for since his Lordship had promised that fauour to him vpon the first occasion, he protested that he neuer had any thought to make so needlesse a request in *England*. Therewith hee sent his Lordship the list of the said Companies newly arriued, being one thousand foure hundred vnder foureteen Captaines named in *England*, one hundred for the increase of the Lord Presidents and Earle of *Thomonds* foot Companies, and five hundred which hee the Lord President, by vertue of the Lords letters, (the Lord Deputy pleasing to giue his admission) assigned to five Captaines, being in all two thousand foot.

His Lordship hauing disposed the forces as is aboue mentioned, and written from
Tyrone

Trym to the Lord President, desiring him to meet him vpon the borders of *Lemster*, meaning *Kilkenny*, as the fittest place for that meeting, tooke his journey thitherward, and arriuing at *Kilkenny* the thirteenth of *September*, the same night receiued aduertisement from the Lord President, that the Spaniards were met at Sea, bearing for *Ireland*, and therein (as he was informed) for *Mounster*, so that he craued pardon that hee came not to meete his Lordship, whose pleasure hee conceiued to bee, that in this case hee should not be absent from those parts, where the enemies discent was expected; and he further prayed his Lordship so to fashion his affaires in *Lemster* and the North, as the forces he meant to bring might be in readinesse; withall protesting, that he staid only for a second direction, which if he receiued, he would come without delay to his Lordship.

The next day his Lordship wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Cecyll her Maiesties Secretarie.

Sir, hauing left the Northerne borders as well guarded, as in prouidence I could, the Command wherof I left to Sir *Ioh. Barkeley*, and hauing sent Sir *Oliuer Lambert* into *Connaght* to settle those parts, & Sir *Rich. Wingfeild* the Marshal into *Leax*, to prosecute *Tirrel* with his adherence, I wrote to the President of *Mounster* to meete me about *Kilkenny*, if hee conueniently might, with a desire to establish a full correspondencie for the resistance of forraigne forces, if they should arriue, or otherwise for making the warres in all parts this Winter, the rather because I know not how (for the present) *Galloway*, and consequently *Asherawe* (if it be planted) might be supplied of munition and some other prouisions, but out of, and by *Mounster*: & further my being in those parts seeming to me of no small purpose, to deuide the *Birnes* and *Cauenaghs* from holding intelligence, or ioining with *Tyrrel*, & to nourish the ouerture I haue lately entertained from *O. M. S.* the chiefe of the *Moorees*, to bring me *Tirrel* aliue or dead, which he desires should passe as a secret between only me, himself, and *Omoloy*, to whom he hath already giuen a pledge to performe it. Now that I might not disinable any of the forces, I am come to *Kilkenny* onely accompanied with some threescore horse, without any one Commander or Captaine of the Army, hauing left them all with commandement to be resident on their charge. Onely when I came neere Master Marshall, I sent to conferre with him, being before accompanied with none of the Counsell, but onely Sir Robert Gardner chiefe Iustice. As I entred into *Kilkenny*, I receiued intelligence from the Lord President of the Spaniards being at Sea, and returned his messenger, desiring him not to stirre from his charge, but to aduertise me often of occurents. My selfe purpose to returne presently to *Carlogh* (whether vnder the colour to prosecute *Tirrel*, I will draw as many of the forces, as I can, to imploy them in the meane time, and to be ready to answere such occasions as shall fall out in *Mounster*) that being (as things stand) the place best to giue direction to all parts, and to assure the most dangerous. Now Sir, what I should desire or aduise from hence, on so great a sudden, as I thinke it fit to make this dispatch, and in so great a matter, I am not very confident, but propound to your much better iudgement what I thinke first and fittest to be thought of. That it may please the Lords to send ouer the two thousand men by their last letters signified to me to be at *Chester*, with all expedition, one thousand of them to *Carlingford*, the other to *Dublin*. These I intend to thrust into other companies, to make them full (if I can) to a man, whereby the Queene shall be serued with all their bodies, and yet her Lyst no way increased, nor other charge but transportation. I desire so many at the least may be sent to *Carlingford*, because I am confident that it is the best counsell, whether the Spaniards land or no, to strengthen that part of the Armie, which will be able to assure the Pale that way, and to ruine the Northerne Rebels, in such sort, that it shall not be in the power of forraigne force to make them liue, and if the worst happen, they be therby inabled to come off to vs, if we send for them, where now they cannot except we fetch them. In generall, for such a warre you must send great Magazines of munition and victuals, and when you resolue how many men you will send, or haue sent, the proportion will bee easily cast vp by such Ministers as you

haue there in those kinds. The best place for the greatest quantity will be *Dublin*; for from thence we may finde meanes to transport what other places shall haue neede of, except the warre be in *Connaght*, for then onely from *Lymrick* and *Galloway* all our provisions must come, and in *Connaght* I chiefly expect the Spaniards first discent, yet there with most difficulty can front them with any warre before *Galloway*, or *Athlone* (from *Lymricke*) be thoroughly supplied with provisions. If forraigne force doe not arrive, these provisions will not be lost; for this Winter *Odennell* must be forced out of *Connaght*, or else he will get there what he hath lost in *Tyrconnell*, and so, this Winter we must doe our endeavour to doe the like in *Ulster*, to ruine *Tyrone*, which is a worke of no small difficulty, but of so great consequence, that I am perswaded it would not onely turne the professions of this people, but even their hearts to her Maiesties obedience, for such as loue *Tyrone*, will quit their affections; when the hope of his fortune failes, and such as doe not; their dependancy on him will fall, when their feare of his greatnes shall be taken away: for belecue me Sir, I obserue in most (if I be not much deceiued) of the Irish reclaimed Lords, great desire to continue Subiects, if they might once see apparance of defence, though perchance not so much out of their honest dispositions, as the smart they yet feele of a bitter prosecution. If you heare that forraigne powers in any great numbers are arrived, you must resolue to send at the least 200 Horse out of *England*, and two thousand men more well armed, for you must belecue Sir, that then it will not be the warre of *Ireland*, but the warre of *England* made in *Ireland*. If we beat them, both Kingdomes will be quiet, if not, even the best in more danger then I hope euer to liue to see. If you provide vs more men when wee send you word that the Spaniards are landed, wee will write whether we desire they should be sent. Howsoever, I presume her Maiesty shall not repent the putting ouer so many men hither; for we hope to ease the charge in the shortnesse of the worke: If this aide arrive not here, and if any forraigne force arrive in *England*, (the which we gather by some intelligence may be), then if you send hither new men to assure places fit to be kept, we may bring you ouer old souldiers & Captaines, two or three thousand; which I wil vndertake shal strike as good blowes as ten thousand ordinary men. I haue made some of the subiects lately reclaimed, and in these times suspected, put themselues in blood already, since my comming hither; for euen now I heare my Lord *Mountgarrets* sonnes haue killed some of the *Glancherres*, and some of *Tyrrels* followers, since I contested with their Father, about somewhat I had heard suspicious of them. Sir I will againe aduertise you of our affaires here very shortly, and desire you now to pardon my hast. From *Kilkenny* this foureteenth of September 1601.

Your most assured friend to
doe you seruice,
Mountioy.

His Lordship returned from *Kilkenny* to *Carlogh*, where he disposed the forces to answer the seruice in those parts of *Lemster*. Thence he wrote to the Lord President to meet him sometime at *Kilkenny*, if possibly he could: And within few daies hearing that the Lord President hauing left *Sir Charles Wilmot* with the forces at *Corke*, was on his iourney towards him, his Lordship parted from *Carlogh*, and the nineteenth of September met him at *Laughlin*, whence they rode together to *Kilkenny*.

Mounster.

Before I proceed further, I will briefly adde the affaires of *Mounster* till this time, collected out of the Lord Presidents letters. The settling of peace in the yeere 1600. was interrupted by the allarum of a Spanish inuasion generally giuen in the beginning of this yeere 1601. And in the moneth of *Aprill* the *Mounster* Rebels which fledde the last yeere into *Connaght* and *Ulster*, attempted againe to returne into *Mounster*, hauing beene strengthened by *Tyrone*; but the Lord President sent Captaine *Flower* with one thousand foote to the confines, and these forces of *Mounster* on the one side, and *Sir Iohn Barkeley* with the *Connaght* Forces on the other side, so persued them, as the same moneth they were forced to breake and returne into *Ulster*.

Florence

Florence mac Carty notwithstanding his protection, had procured the sending of the said Rebels out of the North, and besides many rebellious practices, about this time laded a Barke with hides, which should bring him munition from forraigne parts. The Lord President ceased not to lay continuall plots to apprehend the titular Earle of *Desmond*, & hauing often driuen him out of his lurking dennes, (in which seruice the Lord *Barry* hauing a Company in her Maiesties pay, did noble endeouours,) at last the Lord President vnderstanding that he lurked in the white Knights Countrey, his Lordship did so exasperate him with feare of his owne danger, as in the moneth of *May* he tooke him prisoner and brought him to *Corke*, where hee was condemned for treason, to intitule the Queene in his lands, and for a time kept prisoner there.

In the moneth of *June* the Lord President receiued this gracious letter from the Queene, written with her owne hand.

MY faithfull *George*. Ifeuer more seruice of worth were performed in shorter space then you haue done, we are deceiued among many eye witneses: we haue receiued the fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit, that what so wit, courage, or care may do, we truly find, they haue all been thoroughly acted in all your charge. And for the same beleue, that it shall neither be vnremembered, nor vnrewarded, and in meane while beleue, my helpe nor prayers shall neuer faile you.

Your Soueraigne that best
regards you, E. R.

In the beginning of Iuly the Lord President aduertised the Lord Deputy, that according to his directions hee would presently send into *Connaght* 1000 foot and fifty horse of the *Mounster* list, though vpon good and fresh intelligences, the arriual of Spaniards was daily expected in that Prouince; and the forces remaining with him, were not sufficient to guard *Kinsale*, *Waterford*, *Yoghall*, *Killmalloch*, *Lymricke*, and *Cork*; (the last whereof according to his Lordships directions, he would haue care specially to strengthen). That he had giuen the chiefe leader of the said forces *Sir Fran. Barkely* direction to return to him vpon his letter, if her Maiesties seruice in his opinion should require it, praying the Lord Deputy to allow of this direction; since hee meant not to recall them, but vpon sudden reuolt of the Prouincials or arriual of Spaniards. That the Prisoner vsurping the title of Earle of *Desmond*, and many other euidences made manifest, that the rebels of *Ulster*, and especially the Spaniards, did most relie vpon the helpe of the said prisoner, & *Florence mac Carty*, which *Florence* though protected had assured them of his best aide, and had preuailed in a Councell held in *Ulster*, that the Spaniards should land at or neere *Cork*. And that hereupon he the Lord President had apprehended *Florence*, and sent him together with the said Earle Prisoner into *England*, where they were safe in the Tower, which being in time knowne to the Spaniards, might perhaps diuert their inuasion of *Ireland*. And no doubt the laying hand on these two Archrebels, much aduanced her Maiesties seruice in the following inuasion, whereby the Lord President deseruedly wonne great reputation. Thus much I haue briefly noted to the time aboue mentioned, when the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President to meet him on the confines of *Mounster*.

They meeting (as I said) at *Laughlin*, rode together to *Kilkenny*, where the twenty day of *September* they sate in Counsell with the Earle of *Ormond*, and the rest of the Counsell with purpose, so soone as they had resolued of the meetest course for the present seruice, to returne to their seuerall places of charge. But the same day newes came by post, (for Postes were newly established for the same purpose) that a Spanish Fleet was discovered neere the old head of *Kinsale*, whereupon they determined to stay there all the next day, to haue more certain aduertisement therof. The three & twentieth day another Post came from *Sir Charles Willmot*, aduertising the Spanish Fleete to be come into the harbour of *Kinsale*, and it was agreed in Counsell, that the Lord President should returne to *Corke*, and the Lord Deputy for countenancing of the seruice in *Mounster*, should draw to *Clommell*, and gather such forces as hee could presently, to draw

The landing
of the Spaniards.

John
draw to *Kinsale*, nothing doubting but that this forwardnesse (howsoever otherwise the Army, neither for numbers of men, nor sufficiency of prouision, was fit to vnder- take such a taske) would both couer their many defects from being spied by the Country, and for a while, at the least stop the currant of that generall defection of the Irish, which was vehemently feared. This was resolved in Counsell, after the Lord President had giuen them comfort to find victuals and munition at *Corke*: for at first they were not so much troubled to draw the forces thither, as suddenly to bring victuals and munition thither for them. But when they vnderstood, that his Lordship had fed the souldiers all Summer by cesse, and preserued her Maiesties store of victuals which they thought to be wasted, they were exceeding ioyfull of this newes, and not without iust desert, highly commended the Lord Presidents prouident wisdom, in the said most important seruice to the State.

The same day they wrote these letters to the Lords in *England*.

I may please your Lordships: The Spanish Fleete so long expected by the Rebels here, is now in the harbour of *Kinsale* or *Corke*, as it may appeare vnto your Lordships for a certainty, by the copies of these inclosed letters, from Sir *Charles Wilmott*, and the Maior of *Corke*, which is as much newes as we haue yet receiued, so as we can not iudge, whether this be the whole Fleete set out of *Spaine*, or whether part thereof is comming after to them, or bound for any other harbour, onely we haue some reason to thinke (the weather falling out of late exceeding stormy and tempestious) that all the ships could very hardly keepe together, and the report was, the whole number were at least seuentie. We are now to be earnest suitors to your Lordships, to supply vs with all things needefull for so weighty an action, and so speedily as possibly it may be. The two thousand foote already (as we conceiue) at *Chester*, we now desire may presently be sent to *Waterford* (and neither to *Carlingford* nor *Dublin*, as I the Deputie thought fittest in my last dispatch, when I meant to haue vsed them in the North), two thousand more at the least had neede come soone after vnto *Corke*, if it be not inuested before their comming, but if it bee, their landing must then be at *Waterford* or *Yoghall*, and with them three hundred horse will be as few, as we conceiue wee haue reason to demand, and therefore expect both the one and the other so soone as may be, also munition and victuall must be sent for ten thousand men, to come likewise to *Waterford* (vnlesse your Lordships heare from vs to the contrary), for if in those two kinds we be not royally supplied, men and mony will serue vs to little purpose, with all which we recommend to your Lordships consideration, whether it were not fit to send some part of her Maiesties Nauy to lie vpon this coast, aswel to assure the passage by Sea, as to attempt something vpon the Spanish shipping. Thus hauing briefly set downe our requests, as sparingly as we may do, the danger considered, we think it not impertinent to acquaint your Lordships with the cause of our meeting here, and purposes. We thought fit vpon the expectation of these forraigne forces, before we held it of any certaintie, to conferre with the Lord President of *Mounster*, and to consult vpon the generall disposall of the forces of this Kingdome, how to make the warre vpon their arriual, which we could hardly doe, without being thorowly informed by him, of the state of that Prouince, and what meanes of victuall, munition, and other prouisions we should finde there, if we should draw the army thither, or from thence were driven to make the warre in *Connaght*, where wee found it would bee of exceeding great difficulty, vnlesse wee might haue good helpes out of *Mounster*. For this purpose meeting at this place vpon Munday the one and twentieth of this present, the next day while wee were in consultation, came the first of these letters from the Maior of *Corke*, assuring vs of the discovery of the Fleete neere the old head of *Kinsale*, but whether friends or enemies he then knew not, but that being made certaine by the rest of the letters that came since, we presently grew to this resolution, that the President should returne with all speede possible, though before hee left the Prouince, hee tooke order to the vttermost that could bee done in prouidence, aswell to settle the same, as to defend all places likeliest to be inuaded; and we concluded, that I the Deputie

puty should draw forward, as farre as *Clonmell*, to be neere the chiefeft brunt of the warre, and vpon the present apprehension of all things thers, to giue directions to the rest of the Kingdome, and yet to omit no occasions against the inuasion, whilst the Marshall drew vp as many of the forces to me, as he can with best conueniency and expedition. For since the two thousand supposed to be at *Chester*, came not to *Carlingford* and *Dublyn*, in time to supply the Companies Northward, that they might haue gone on with their prosecution, we haue now resolved to leaue no more in those parts, then are sufficient to keepe the garrison places, because wee hold it to bee to no purpose, vntill her Maiesty send hither greater forces, though we are still of opinion, it were the best course to proceed there, if her Maiesty would be pleased to enable vs, for otherwise it cannot be looked for, but that we shal go backward greatly in this busines. Thus being confident your L^{ty} will be carefull of vs, we take this to be sufficient vpon this sudden, since what is any way necessary or fit for vs, is to your Lordships in your wisdom and experience best knowne, and so we doe most humbly take leaue, with this assurance, that we will leaue nothing vnperformed, that may giue true testimony to the World, that we value our duty to our most gracious Soueraigne, and tender the preservation of this her Kingdome, committed to our charge (as we know we ought) before our liues and liuings, and doubt not but to giue her Maiesty a very good account of all our doings. From *Kilkenny* this three and twenty of September, 1601.

Your Lordships most humbly to command, &c.
signed by the Lord Deputy and Councill.

The foure and twentieth day, his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretary.

SIR I did euer thinke, that if any forraigne force should arriue, it would be doubtfull for me to lay my finger on any sound part of all this Kingdome, which if our supplies had come in time, to haue left the Northerne garrisons strong, we might in some good sort haue provided for, but now my resolution is this, to bend my selfe as suddenly as I can against these forraigne forces. If wee beat them, let it not trouble you, though you heare all *Ireland* doth reuolt, for (by the grace of God) you shall haue them all returne presently with halters about their neckes: if we doe not, all prouidence bestowed on any other place is vaine. Till I know more particularly in how many places they haue made their discent, I cannot write much, but for the present I apprehend a world of difficulties, with as much comfort as euer poore man did, because I haue now a faire occasion to shew how prodigall I will be of my life, in any aduenture that I shall finde to be for the seruice of my deere Mistresse, vnto whom I am confident God hath giuen me life to doe acceptable seruice, which when I haue done, I will sing *Nunc dimittis*. This day I expect to receiue light and further ground to write more at large, and being now ready with the President to take Horse, whose fortune & mine shall now be one, I leaue you to Gods continuall blessings, in hast. *Kilkenny* the foure and twenty of September 1601.

The same day Master Marshall was dispatched into the Pale, to draw the Companies thereabouts towards *Mounster*, and to procure from the Councill at *Dublyn* all things necessary for that businesse. Sir Henry Dauers was sent for the Companies about *Armagh*, and Sir Iohn Barkeley had direction to bring other Companies that were laid about the *Nauan*. And the L. Deputy the same night rode to *Kiltinan*, a Castle and dwelling of the Lord of *Dunboyne*, being a great daies iourney, where he was assured that the Spaniards were landed and entered into *Kinsale*. The five and twenty his Lordship rode to *Clonmell*, where Sir Nicholas Walshe, one of the Councill, came to him, and there it was resolved, his Lordship should goe on to *Corke*, and so to proceed as there should be cause. The six and twentieth his Lordship rode to *Glenowre*, the Lord Roche's Castle. The seuen and twentieth his Lordship rode from *Glenowre* to *Corke*, accompanied with the Lord President, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Nicholas Walshe, Counsellors.

The

The eight and twenty day his Lordship was aduertised by a Scot comming from *Lisbone*, that the Spaniards sent to *Kinsale*, were sixe thousand in number, commanded by *Don Iean del' Aguyla*, who had beene generall in *Britaine*, that one thousand of them scattered by tempest, were since arriued at *Baltimore*. That they were directed to *Kinsale*, with promise of great succours by the pretended Earle of *Desmond*, lately taken and sent into *England*, and by *Florence mac Carty*, whom the Lord President vpon suspicion had lately taken, and in like sort sent prisoner into *England*. That the Spaniards gaue out, that assoone as they could haue horses from *Tyrone*, and other Irish rebels, in which hope they had brought foure hundred, (or as after was credibly aduertised 1600 saddles), they would keepe the field, and therefore would not fortifie at *Kinsale*, and that vpon the reuolt of this Countrey, the King of *Spaine* meant from these parts to inuade *England*.

Whereupon the same eight and twenty day the Lord Deputy resolved in Council, that letters should bee written into *England*, that it was giuen out, the Spaniards in *Mounster* were sixe thousand, and that of certaine they were fise thousand commanded by *Don Iean del' Aguila*; whereof three thousand were arriued in *Kinsale*, and the Vice-Admirall *Siriago*, (for *Don Diego de Braslino*, was Admirall of the Fleet), with foure other ships scattered by tempest, were arriued at *Baltimore*. That no Irish of account had repaired to them, excepting some dependants of *Florence mac Carty*, (of whose imprisonment the Spaniards had not heard before their landing), who was the perswader of their comming to that Port. That to keepe Rebels from ioining with them, it behoued vs presently to keepe the field. That it was requisite to send some of the Queenes ships, who might preuent their supplies, and giue safety to our supplies, both out of *England* and from Coast to Coast, and might bring vs to *Corke* Artillery for battery, with munition and victuals. Likewise to write presently for three hundred Northerne horse, and for the two thousand foot at *Chester*, and two thousand more. To write for sixe peeces of battery, the biggest to be Demy Cannon for the field, with carriages and bullets. To certifie the Lords that Artillery could not be brought from *Dublyn*, because the Irish ships had not masts and tackle strong enough to take them in and out, (besides that, Easterly and Northerly winds onely seruing to bring them, were rare at this season of the yeere;) and that the greatest Peeces in *Mounster* lay vnmounted on the ground. And lastly, to write for powder for fise thousand shot, and for sixe Peeces of Battery, (which must be some sixty last), and for fifty tunne of lead, with like quantity of match, and fise thousand Pyoners tooles.

The same day his Lordship was by letters aduertised, that a Frier in a Souldiers habit, was dispatched from *Kinsale* the foure & twenty of *September*, and passed through *Clonmell*, naming himsele *Iames Flemming*, and from thence went to *Waterford*, where hee aboad few dayes, and named himsele *Richard Galloway*. That he had Bulls from the Pope, with large indulgences to those, who should aide the Spaniards, (sent by the Catholike King to giue the Irish, liberty from the English tyranny, and the exercise of the true olde Apostolike Roman Religion), and had authority to excommunicate those that should by letters, by plots, or in person ioyne with her Maiesty, (whom the Pope had excommunicated, and thereby absolued all her Subiects from their oath of alleagiance). That euery generall Vicar in each Diocesse, had charge to keep this secret till the Lord Deputy was passed to *Corke*, when he assured them, his Lordship should either in a generall defection not be able to vnderstand these proceedings, or hearing thereof should be so imploied, as he should haue no leisure to preuent them. That he gaue out, the Spaniards at *Kinsale* were 10000, besides 2000 dispersed by tempest, which were landed at *Baltimore*, hauing treasure, munition, and victuals for two yeers. And that *Tyrone* would presently come vp to assist them at *Kinsale*, and to furnish them with horses, which they onely expected from him, and had brought saddles and furniture for them. Lastly, aduice therein was giuen to his Lordship to write to the corporate Townes and chiefe Lords, not to beleue these fabulous reports, but to take aduice (not giuen out for feare of their defection, but onely for their good) to continue loyall subiects.

The nine and twentieth his Lordship with the Lord President and the aboue named Counsellors, tooke some horse for guard, and rode to view the Towne and harbour of *Kinsale*, and the Spaniards Fleete, that vpon that view, they might resolve of the fittest place for our Campe to sit downe by them. They found the Spaniards possessed of the Towne, and the greatest part of their shipping to haue put to Sea for *Spain*, (for of thirty foure ships arriuing there, only twelue now remained in the Harbour, some of the other being lately put out, and then seene vnder sayle), so as they saw there was no more to be done, till our forces should be arriued out of the North and *Leinster*, and we enabled from *England* to keepe our selues from breaking, after we should take the field.

The first of October his Lordship and the Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in *England*, according to the proiect resolved on the eight and twentieth of September. Further beseeching their Lordships to pardon their earnest writing for munition and victuals, though great proportions of them were already sent, and that in respect the magazines formerly appointed for the best, when the place of the Spaniards descent was vnkowne, were so farre diuided, as we could not without great difficulties make vse of them in these parts, and at this time, when for the present the Spaniard was Master of the Sea, and the Queenes forces being drawne towards *Kinsale*, the rebels might easily intercept them by land, but especially for that great vse might be made of those prouisions in the very places where now they were, if *Tyrone* come into *Mounster* with his forces, as no doubt he would, namely, the magazin at *Lymricke* would serue excellently for the prosecution formerly intended, and after to be made in *Connaght*, though by sea or land they could not be brought to *Corke*, without great difficulties and dangers. Adding that for the present, the Lord Deputie was forced to draw most of the forces of the North into *Mounster*, leauing onely the Fortes guarded, and so the Pale was not able to defend it selfe against *Tyrone*, whereas he hoped to haue been enabled both to continue the prosecution in the North, and also to besiege the Spaniards at one and the same time, whereof yet hee did not altogether despaire, so as their Lordships would speedily furnish such things, as were earnestly desired by them: for the good of the seruice, being confidently of opinion, that the only way to make a speedy end of the rebellion, and as quicke a dispatch of the Spaniards out of *Ireland*, was to make the warre roundly both in the North, and in *Mounster* at one time. Also aduertising that the Spaniards (as they for certaine heard) brought with them not onely sixteene hundred Saddles, vpon the Rebels promise of horse, but also great store of Armes for the common people, vpon hope they had giuen them of their generall revolt; and humbly praying their Lordships, that in regard our greatest strength and aduantage consisted in our horses, they would cause a thousand quarters of Oates to be speedily sent for *Corke*, without which store, our horses were like to starue within a short time, and in case they approued the prosecution in the North to bee continued without intermission, then they would bee pleased to send the like quantitie of Oates to be kept in store at *Carlingford*. Lastly, praying their Lordships to send hether a Master-Gunner, with sixe Canoniers.

The second of October, his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretarie.

Sir I doe thinke we shall finde these forces out of *Spain* to be aboue foure thousand, Saboundantly provided with Munition, Artillery, and Armes (besides their owne vse), to arme the Countrey people, great store of treasure, and of all victuals but flesh. All the Chiefes that are in rebellion, and all the loose sword-men, will presently take their parts. The Lords that we haue reclaimed, if we doe not defend them from *Tyrone*, must and will returne vnto him. Vpon the first good countenance the Spanish army shall make, I feare me, many will declare themselves for them, but vpon the first blow we shall receiue (from the which I hope God will preserue vs), I doubt there would fall out a generall revolt. The Commander of the Spanish Army is one of the

greatest Scouldiers the King of *Spaine* hath, the Captaine vnder him are most ancient men, their Bands, some out of *Italy*, some from the *Terceraes*, and few *Bisones*. They are specially well armed, all their shot (as I heard) muskets, they haue brought sixteene hundred saddles, and Armes for horsemen, of light shot, whereof they make account to be provided in *Ireland*, and so may they be, as well as in any part of *Christendome*, and likewise to haue horses for their saddles, but therein I thinke they will be deceived. There are not yet come vnto vs any other forces, but such as onely I found in this Prouince. Vpon the arriual of the first troopes (which I looke for howerly) we shall send you word of some good blowes that will passe betweene vs, for I meane to dwell close by them (by the grace of God) to put them to it. Sir, the King of *Spaine* hath now begun to inuade her Maiesties Kingdomes, if only to put *Ireland* in generall commotion, he hath chosen the worst place, if to doe that, and to lay a sudden foundation for the warre of *England*, the best: if he hath beene deceived in any expectation here, the State of *Spaine* must now make good the error, and doubtlesse is ingaged to supplie all defects. The commodity that is offered vnto her Maiesty is, that shee may sooner preuent then *Spaine* provide: Now as her Maiesties faithfull workeman, I am bold to propound in my own taske, that it may please her to send presently good part of her royall Fleete, and with them such prouisions for battery as we did write for, and at the least so many horse and foote as by our letter we haue sued for, with victuals and munitions in aboundance for them. It will be fit that this Winter there be a sharpe warre made in *Ulster*, which will keepe the Spaniard from any important succour, and ruine for euer the Traitors, if the warre be well followed. If it be made by the seuerall Gouvernours, the effect will not be so great: if you will haue it performed thorowly, you must make one Gouvernour of all *Ulster*, and the fittest man that can bee chosen in *England* or *Ireland* is Sir *Arthur Chichester*. If you resolute on that course, from him you must continually receiue his demands, onely of the three hundred horse wee did write for, it were good he had sent him out of the North one hundred. For foot, if you send him out of *England* to supply the Companies at *Loughfoyle* and *Knockesfergus*, aboue our proportion, it will be much better: for *Armagh* and those parts shall receiue from vs. This course I hope will soone make an end of the warre in *Ireland*, of *Spaine* in *Ireland*, and perchance of *Spaine* for a long time with *England*. I doubt not but you will conceiue this action to bee of no lesse importance then it is. What goodly Hauens are in these parts for shipping, how many fighting men of the Irish may be from hence by the King of *Spaine* carried for an inuasion of *England*; (the want of which two kinds hath beene his chiefe impediment hitherto) you well know. Beleeue Sir, out of my experience here, if the King of *Spaine* should preuaile in *Ireland*, he may carry aboue ten thousand men from hence, that ioined with his Army, will be of more vfe for the inuasion of *England*, then any that can be chosen out of any part of *Christendome*. And now Sir, that you know (as I hope) the worst, I cannot dissemble how confident I am, to beate these Spanish *Dons*, as well as euer I did our Irish *Macks* and *Oes*, and to make a perfect conclusion of the warre of *Ireland* as soone, as if this interruption had neuer happened, if wee haue Gods blessing and the Queenes, and those ordinary meanes without the which none but infinite powers can worke. I beseech the eternall God preserue her Maiesty and her Kingdomes, and send me the happinesse to kisse her royall hands, with the conscience of hauing done her the seruice I desire. And so Sir I doe wish you all happinesse, and will be euer
 From *Corke* the 2 of
 October 1601. Yours Sir most assured to doe
 you seruice, Mountjoy.

The same day his Lordship wrote another letter to Master Secretary as followeth.

SIR here are diuers worthy men very fit to haue charge, who haue followed the wars here as voluntaries to their very great expence, & look now by my meanes to haue command vpon the comming ouer of the next Companies, if you send more
 then

then serue only for supplies. I haue no meanes to keep them from going thither, to vse the helpe of their friends and get them Companies there, but by promising them any thing that I can doe for them here, for by that course I conceiue I ease you of that trouble, which their importunate suites would breede you, and hold them here ready for any seruice vpon the sudden, thinking it no policy at this time to spare any, that may giue furtherance to the great worke we haue in hand. If it will please you to doe me that fauour, to procure that the Companies to come ouer, may be appointed Captaines of my nomination, I shall be able to satisfie those Gentlemens expectations, who I am perswaded will be fitter for this imployment then any that can be sent from thence, and they finding their aduancement here, where they are to be tied to their taske, will (in my iudgement) endeauour to deserue the best, being in the eye of him that was the meanes thereof, which for the seruice sake chiefly I affect, though I can be content Sir to acknowledge vnto you, that I would gladly haue the World see, that I am no lesse graced in my imployments then my Predecessours haue beene; for this people doe not little obserue it, and at this present especially I hold it a matter of that consequence, as without it, I shall be the lesse able to weeld this great businesse, with that successe that otherwise I am hopefull of: We haue not here any of the Queenes Pinnisses, whereof at this time there is great want. At my comming out of the North, althoughe the Rebels in generall did giue out, that they were out of hope of forraigne succours this yeere, (I thinke in policy, and to make vs slow to call for supplies), yet *Tyrlogh mac Henry* did assure me vpon his life, that the Spaniards would come, and further told me that one *Bathe Agent* for *Tyrone* in *Spaine*, and since returned to him, was sent into *Scotland*, whence he was presently to returne: Whereupon I deliuered a description of the man to Captaine *Button*, and willed him to lie vpon the Coasts to apprehend him, assuring my selfe that I should haue wrested out of him the certainty of all things. Since that time I haue heard nothing of that Captaine, nor of the Queenes Pinnis vnder his command. I pray you Sir let vs haue some of the Queenes shippes with expedition, for without them we shall not be able to conuay any thing vpon this Coast from place to place, and the waies by land will be dangerous. So Sir I wish you all happinesse.

The third of October, his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote to the Lords in *England* this following letter.

IT may please your Lordships. Hauing seriously considered of the great worke we haue now in hand; wee obserue that belides the forraigne enemy the Spaniard with whom wee are first to deale; and the knowne Traitors and Rebels already in armes, there are two other sorts of people here, which if wee doe not carefully prouide for, they will soone adheare vnto the rest, and make their party so strong, as in iudgement wee cannot see how we shall be well able to encounter it, vnlesse by good prouidence it be preuented, which is the marke we aime at. The one of these two sorts is the subiect, who hath lands and goods to take to, for whom wee must prouide defence, else with his liuelyhood wee are sure to loose him, and therefore wee will omit nothing that our meanes will stretch to, that may preserue, cherish, and content him. The other sort are such as haue no living, nor any thing that will afford them maintenance, and yet hitherto haue not shewed themselves disloyall, though all of them bee Swordmen, and many Gentlemen by descent, and are able to draw after them many followers. To this sort wee heare for certaine, the Spaniards make offer of great entertainment, and if wee should not in some sort doe the like, wee cannot in reason looke but they must and will fall to their partie. Wee haue therefore out of this necessitie resolved, to take as many of them into her Maiesties intertainement, as wee haue any hope will truly sticke vnto vs, being confident that wee shall make good vse of them against the Spaniard; for wee meane thorowly to put them to it, though if wee should faile in our expectation, and finde them cold or slacke in seruing with vs, yet will it bee a great counte-

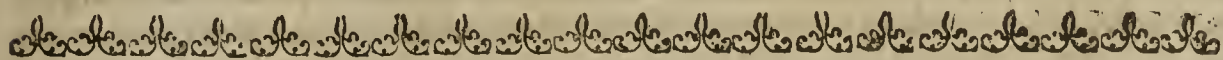
nance to the service to shew the persons of so many men on our side, where otherwise they would have been against vs: and of this we can assure your Lordships, that when they haue serued our turne against the Spaniards, vntill wee haue freed our selues of them, we can without danger ease her Maiestie of that charge, and wil no longer hold them in entertainment. In the meane time they shall spend little of the Queenes victuall, but being paid of the new coine, prouide for themselves, which may bee with lesse oppression to the Countrey, then if in that sort they were not entertained, for then they would spoile all, and put out such as otherwise will continue in subiection. Of this course of ours, we humbly desire your Lordships approbation (though wee will be very sparing to entertaine more then shall be necessary) and warrant to Master Treasurer to make them payment, and hold vs we beseech you excused for resolving it, before we acquainted your Lordships therewithall, seeing we were enforced thereunto by necessitie for the service sake (since many of them were actiue, and would otherwise haue serued the enemye), and wee could not sooner write vnto your Lordships of it, and euen so, &c.

The same day Sir *Benjamin Berry* came to *Corke* with his Lordships Guard which he commanded, and with some other Companies (for till this time his Lordship had no part of the Army with him, but only the Bands of the *Mounster* Lyft.) Then ninth day the Companies came to *Corke*, which Sir *Richard Wingfield* the Marshall had drawne out of the Pale, and Sir *Iohn Barkeley* Sericant Maior had drawne from the frontiers of *Lemster* and *Connaght*. The tenth day being Saturday, the Companies came to *Corke*, which Sir *Henrie Daners* had drawne from *Armagh* and the Northerne Garrisons. And this day Sir *Richard Wingfield* Marshall, and Sir *Iohn Barkeley* Sericant Maior, were sent with some horse and foote, to view and chuse a fit ground neere *Kinsale*, where our Army might sit downe to besiege the Towne. The next day some horse and foote were sent out to keepe the Irish from selling victuals to the Spaniards. The twelfth two French men ran from the Spaniards to vs, who confessed that three thousand Spaniards landed at the first in *Kinsale*, beside sixe hundred since arrived in a great ship scattered from them by a tempest.

This day one aduertised his Lordship, that vnder pretence of fauouring the Spaniards discent, he had spoken with their General; who inquired whether the L. Deputie in person came to view *Kinsale*, and with what numbers, to which he answered, that he was there in person with foure hundred foote lodged not farre off out of sight, and foure troopes of horse. That he asked what souldiers the Lord Deputy had, to which he answered some eight thousand, besides the daily arriuall of others of the Army in *Lemster* and the North: what souldiers were new, and what weapons they had, and what artillery the Lord Deputy had, to which hee answered with addition to our strength. He said that the Generall presumed by the contrary winds, that they in *England* heard not of his arriuall, and though hee told him the English Fleete was at *Plymoth*, he seemed not to beleene it, and made countenance, that they should haue enough to doe, to defend the English coast from inuasion, and much insisted vpon the copper money the Queene sent, with purpose to make the Irish her slaves: but promised gold and siluer from his Master. That he inquired of *Tyrone* and *Odonnel*, seeming to distaste their being so farre off, and the way to them being dangerous, and his owne want of horses, and therefore prayed this Gentleman to certifie *Tirrell* and the Lord of *Leytrim*, that hee expected *Tyrone* with horses and beeuies, which hee praied them to supply in the meane time, both sending him notice before they came, adding that himselfe had Bread, Rice, Pease, and Wine for eightene moneths, and store of treasure. And that he inquired much after the strength of *Corke*, and the Queenes new Fort there. Lastly, he aduertised, that the ships returned were foureteene (of them six the Kings owne of one thousand tun the least, in which was the Admirall Generall, Saint *liago*, and the great Admirall of *Castill*, *Don Diego, de Braxero*.) That the twelue remaining were smaller, and embarged (or arested) to serue the King, whereof some were Irish. That the ships at *Baltimore* had 700 men. That by his view, there were 3000 in *Kinsale* royally prouided of all prouisions for war, hauing many saddles for horses; and

and that vpon *Tyrones* expected comming, they intended to take the field.

The thirteenth it was resolued we should presently take the field, though wee had not as yet any prouisions fit for that purpose, but that day and the two dayes following we could not stirre from *Corke*, by reason of extreame raine and foule weather. Neither artillery, munitiō nor victuals were yet come from *Dublin*, yet it was thought fitter thus vnprouided to take the field, then by discouery of our wants to giue the Irish opportunite and courage to ioyne with the Spaniard.



CHAP. II.

Of the besieging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with the deliuey of the Towne to the Lord Deputy, and their returne into Spaine in the same yeere 1601.



He 16 day of October, his Lordship with the Army rose from *Corke*, and encamped fīue miles short of *Kinsale*, at a *River* place called *Owney Buoy*. The 17 the army rose, & marching towards *Kinsale*, encamped within half a mile of the towne vnder a hill called *Knock Robin*, where some few shot of the Spaniards offered to disturbe our sitting downe, but were soone beaten home. Wee had at that time scarce so much Powder as would serue for a good dayes fight, neither had wee any competent number of tooles, so as wee could not intrench our selues, for these prouisions were not yet come from *Dublin*. That day Captain *Morgan* came out of *England* with one of the Queenes ships, and our Master Gunner came from *Waterford*, aduertising that some ships of prouisions, sent from *Dublin*, were come to that Port, where they were enforced to stay by a contrary wind, being Southerly. The eighteenth the Army lay still, and we viewed the fittest places to incampe neere the Towne: but our Artillerie being not come, we remoued not. And that night the Spaniards made a salley, much greater then the former, to disturbe our Campe, but our men soone repelled them without any losse to vs. The nineteenth wee lay still, expecting prouisions, and that day, our men sent to view the ground, had some slight skirmishes with the enemy, and *Don Iean* after professed, that hee neuer saw any come more willingly to the sword, then our men did. That night Sir *Iohn Barkeley* was appointed to giue Alarum to the Towne, who did beate the Spanish guardes set without the Towne, into their trenches. The next night after, some sixteene hundred Spaniards came to the top of the hill, vnder which wee lay, either with purpose to cut off some of the scouts, or to attempt some thing on the Campe: But Sir *Iohn Barkeley* lying with a party of ours not exceeding three hundred, discovered them, and skirmishing with them, killed some dead in the place, tooke some Armes and other spoyle, and hurt diuers, and did beate them backe to the Towne, without the losse of any one of our men, and onely three hurt.

The one and twentieth *Cormock Mac Dermot* an Irish man, chiefe of a Countrie called *Muskerie*, came with the rising out (or souldiers) of his Countrie, to shew them to the Lord Deputy, who to the end the Spaniards might see the meere Irish serued on our side, commanded them at their returne to passe by the Spanish trenches, made without the Towne on the top of the hil, but lodged strong parties (out of the enemies fight) to second them. The Irish at first went on wel, and did beat the Spanish guardes from their ground, but according to their custome, suddenly fell off, and so left one of the Lord Presidents horsemen engaged, who had charged two Spaniards: but Sir *William Godolphin* commanding the Lord Deputies troope, when he saw him in danger, and vnhorsed, did charge one way vpon their grosse, and Captaine *Henry Barkley* Cornet of the same troope, charged another way at the same instant, and droue their shot into the trenches, and so rescued the horseman with his horse, comming off with

one man hurt, and onely one horse killed, from the great numbers of Spanish shot, whereof foure were left dead in the place, diuers carried off dead into the Towne, and many hurt.

The two and twentieth day Captaine *Button* arrived at *Corke* with the Queenes Pin-
nis, called the *Moone*, which waisted other ships bringing victuals and munition from
Dublyn, and the same day came to the Campe, aduertising that the same shippes were
come from *Waterford* towards *Corke*. That night his Lordship sent him backe, to
bring his ship about to *Kinsale* Harbour, and to take with him Captaine *Wards* shippe
from *Oyster Hauē*, where it lay to guard the victuall and munition we brought with
vs.

These two ships were commanded to annoy the Castle of *Rincoran*, seated close
vpon the harbour of *Kinsale*, and possessed by the Spaniard; but after they had spent
many shot vpon the Castle without any great effect, because their Ordinance was
small, they lay still to keepe the Harbour, that neither the Castle nor the Towne might
be releued by water, which was the chiefe end of their comming. The three & twen-
tith the *Dublyn* shipping arrived at *Corke*, & were directed to come presently to *Oyster*
Hauen, where we might vnlade the Artillery (which could not be brought by land),
and other prouisions for the present vse of the Army.

The foure and twenty day it was resolved, we should rise and incampe close by the
Towne, but the shipping being not come about with the artillery and other necessa-
ries, that day was spent in dispatching for *England*. And by night Captaine *Blany* and
Captaine *Flower* were sent out, to lie with five hundred toote, to intertaine the Spani-
ards which were drawne out of the Towne, but they came no further, and so our men
returned.

This day his Lordship and the Counsell wrote to the Lords in *England* this fol-
lowing letter.

IT may please your Lordships, since our last dispatch from *Corke*, which bare date
the fourth of this present moneth, we spent some time there, expecting the com-
ming of the old Companies out of the Pale and Northerne parts, and hoping to be
supplied with victuals, munition, and other necessaries from *Dublyn*, without which
we saw it would be to little purpose to take the field. But when we had staid there till
the sixteenth, & were not prouided of munition, (none being come to vs from *Dublyn*
or from *Lymricke*, whether we had likewise sent to haue some brought to vs), and
wanting both victuals, and most of the prouisions belonging necessarily to so great a
siege, yet to inuest the Town where the Spaniards are lodged, from receiuing succours
both of victuals and of such as were disposed to ioine with them, and withall to auoid
the opinion, which the Countrey beganne to conceiue of our weakenes, because wee
did not draw into the field, we resolved the sixteenth day to rise, and the next day did
sit downe within lesse then halfe a mile of the Towne, keeping continuall guardes
round about the enemy. We can assure your Lordships that we doe not thinke our
selues much stronger (if any thing at all) in numbers then they are, whose army at their
setting to sea, did beare the reputation of fixe thousand, and we haue cause to iudge
them (because since our last letters to your Lordships, there arrived another ship at
Kinsale, which brought five hundred men more vnto them) now to be aboue foure
thousand by the Pole. In both these points of number in reputation or by Pole, they
differ not much from ours, for it may please your Lordships to consider, that the
whole force we can draw into this Prouince (leauing the Pale, *Connaght*, and the North
prouided for, as it may appeare by this inclosed note they are in some measure) doth
not excede in lyst 7000, and of those we are enforced to leaue some part vpon the bor-
ders towards *Lymricke*, to be some stay to the whole Countrey, and it must in reason
be thought, that our Companies generally are weake in numbers, seeing they haue
had no supplies of a long time, and that we desire two thousand to reinforce them, be-
sides that many are taken out of them for necessary wards, some are sicke, and many of
the Northerne Companies lie yet hurt, since the late great skirmishes against *Tyrone*,
which

which they performed with good successe but a little before they were sent for to come hither. Wee doe assuredly expect, that many will ioine with *Tyrone*, (if hee onely come vp towards these parts), and almost all the Swordmen of this Kingdome, if we should not keepe the field, and the countenance of being Masters thereof, how ill provided soeuer wee doe find our selues. Wherefore wee most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to hasten away at the least the full number of such supplies of horse and foote as we doe write for in our last, and that it will please your Lordships to beleue from vs, that if the Countrie should ioine with *Tyrone*, and make a defection, our chiefe securitie will be in the horse we must receiue out of *England*, for the most of these here already, are much weakned and harazed out, with their continuall employment in euery seruice. It may also please your Lordships to consider, that in a siege, where foure thousand such men as these Spaniards, are possessed of any place whatsoever, there will bee necessarily required royall prouisions, and great numbers to force them, neither can it bee thought, but the sword and season of the yeere will continually waste our Army; so as we are enforced earnestly to desire your Lordships, while this action is in hand, to send vs continuall supplies, without which this Army will not be able to subsist. And although (griued with her Maiesties huge expence) we are loth to propound for so many men as are conceiued to be needefull and profitable for the present prosecution of this dangerous warre, yet wee are of opinion, that the more men her Maiesty can presently spare, to be employed in this Countrie, the more safe and sudden end it will make of her charge. And not without cause we are moued to sollicite your Lordships to consider thereof, since wee now perceiue that we haue an Army of old and disciplined souldiers before vs of foure thousand Spaniards (that assuredly expect a far greater supply), and much about twenty thousand fighting men, of a furious and warlike nation of the Irish, which wee may iustly suspect will all declare themselves against vs, if by our supplies and strength out of *England*, they doe not see vs likely to preuaile. These Prouincials (a few of *Carbry* onely excepted, appertaining to *Florence Mac Carty*) do yet stand firme, but no better then neutralitie is to be expected from those which are best affected, nor is it possible to discover their affections, vntill *Tyrone* with the Irish Forces doe enter into the Prouince, who (as the Councell at *Dublin* write) is prouiding to come hither. The supplies from *Spaine* are presently expected: If they should arriue before our Army be strengthened out of *England*, or before this Towne of *Kinsale* be taken, it must be thought a generall defection through out the Kingdome (wherein wee may not except the Townes) will ensue, and then the warre will be drawne to a great length, and the euent doubtfull. If the Queenes ships doe not in time come to *Kinsale*, our taske will bee very heauie, with this small Army to force so strong an enemy, so well provided of all necessities for the warre. Wherefore wee humbly beseech the sending of them away, which will not onely giue vs a speedie course to winne the Towne, but also assure the coasts for our supplies, and giue an exceeding stay to the Countrie (the enemy fearing nothing more, and the subiect desiring nothing so much as the arriuall of her Maiesties Fleete.) The sixtie lasts of Powder and fixe pieces of battery with their necessities, the victuals and all things else, written for in our former letters, wee humbly desire may presently bee dispatched hither, and although so great a masse of victuals, as is needefull, cannot bee sent at an instant, wee desire it may bee sent as it can bee provided, and directed for the haue of *Corke*. What wee shall bee able to doe till our supplies come, wee cannot say: but what we shall haue reason to feare, except they come in time, your Lordships may iudge. Onely wee assure your Lordships, that her Maiestie (with the helpe of God) shall finde, wee will omit nothing that is possible to bee done, nor shunne any thing that may bee suffered, to doe her the seruice wee owe vnto her. If in the meane time, by all our letters both to the Councell at *Dublin*, and all others in this Countrie, to whom we haue occasion to write, we giue out these Spaniards to bee in number not three thousand, in their meanes scant and miserable, in their persons weake and sickely, and in their hopes dismayed and amazed;

we hope your Lordships will conceiue we do that, but for the countenancing of our party, and to keepe as many as we can from falling from vs. On the other side, *Don Ieandell Aguyla* the Spanish Generall, hath vsed many arguments to moue the Irish to defection, and among other (which is very forceable and fearefull vnto their waue-ring spirits), he telles them, that this is the first great action that the King his Master hath vndertaken, and assures them he hath protested, that he will not receiue scorne in making good his enterprise, and that he will rather hazard the losse of his Kingdoms, then of his Honour in this enterprise. The Priests likewise (to terrifie the consciences) threaten hell and damnation to those of the Irish, that doe not assist them (having brought Bulles for that purpose), and send abroad Indulgences to those that take their parts. These and such like pollicies (as their offering of sixe shillings a day to euery horseman that will serue them) doe so preuaile with this barbarous Nation, as it is a wonder vnto vs, that from present staggering they fall not to flat defection, as they will soone doe, if they once discouer them of abilitie to giue vs one blow, before the comming of our supplies and meanes, which wee are most earnestly to sollicite your Lordships to hasten, assuring your Lordships that nothing will more confirme the state of this Kingdome, then the arrivall of her Maiesties Fleete, which wee are resolved by the best iudgements may be employed in these parts to preuent the arrivall of forraine succours. Yet in the meane time we will omit nothing that shall be feisable with the force we haue, neither haue we been idle since our comming hither, hauing had continuall skirmishes, whereof two especially were well performed by our men. The first the twentieth of this moneth, when the enemy by night sallyed with more then a thousand foote, to cut off a guard of horse we kept neere the Towne, and purposing to attempt something on our Campe; but three hundred of our men led by Sir *John Barkley* did incounter them and beat them backe, with losse of many of their men, and some bodies left in the field, by whose spoile our men were encouraged, and returned with triumph. The other, the next day when *Cormock Mac Dermot*, chiefe Lord of *Muskerie*, comming to the Campe, to shew vs his rising out, we willed him to returne by the Spaniards trenches, that they might see the Irish serue on our side against them, where they entertained a good skirmish, but soone falling off, a horseman was engaged and vnhorsed: but Sir *William Godolphin* with my troope rescued him, charging close to their trenches, in a way flanked by two trenches, and filled with great numbers of shot, yet returned (to our great maruell) with little or no hurt, hauing beaten them from their strength, and killed many of their men, whereof they left some behind them, besides others wee saw them carry off. From this beginning we hope God will so blesse our iust quarrell, as shortly we shall haue cause to enforme you of better successe. We vnderstand that *Tyrone* will presently come hither, which if he doe, your Lordships can iudge how weake we are to deale both with him and the Spaniards.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Master Secretarie.

Sir, what we desire, and how our affaires are disposed of, you haue by our general letters to my Lords. Now I will desire, that my vnremoueable affection may be held as a conclusion so absolutely granted, that I may no more trouble you with any ceremonies; for you shall finde, that I will not value my life, nor any fortune of this world to make you assured demonstration thereof, when I shall haue the happinesse to haue power and occasion to shew it. Onely now touching the point of my Lord Presidents comming ouer, to take from you any doubt, that in my owne particular I could not earnestly concurre with you, I doe protest on my Christianitie, that I know no man in this Kingdome, that I could haue been better pleased, should haue been the deliuerer of my affections and actions, then himselfe, and by him vnto you, and from you might haue deliuered and receiued much, which I desire most to doe; neither do I know any, who I conceiue could haue deliuered more sufficiently the present state of this Kingdome, nor propounded to greater purpose for her Maiesties seruice the course that will be fittest for you in *England* to embrace. But against mine owne priuate

uate desire, he hath opposed his own peremptory distaste of the motion, with this protestation, to hate me if I should urge it. Besides, it seemes to me, against the publike commodity, in so weighty a cause to send away so worthy an instrument, and deprive our selves of the assistance we receive thereby at this time, (especially the stage of this great action being chiefly in his owne Prouince, in the which the successe of his gouernement doth best shew what authority his iudgement and presence doth carry). So that I conclude, for your sake, his owne and mine, but especially for the publike, at this time he cannot well be spared from hence, besides that he hath vowed to fall out with all, if it be urged. And although these spoiles of ambition are of all other the most vnwillingly shared by men of our profession; yet I protest I am glad, even in this great goale of honour, to runne equally with him, and to participate with all his aduentures. This band of the honour we beare to you, and mutuall affection to each other, hauing for chiefe knot the seruice of our dearest Soueraigne, there is no corruption that may be likely to dissolue it; and therefore I hope it is tied by the hand of God, and it shall not be in the power of man to loose it. I am assured, that you and I thinke, the State of *England* cannot but conceiue the importance of our worke: for now *Iacta est alia* betweene *England* and *Spaine*, and we that doe play the game, haue least interest in the stake, though we will winne or loose our liues, to shew that we doe not play booty: wherefore I hope you will not forget vs, for *vestra res agitur*: And let this onely argument, which I could confirme with many circumstances, oppose it selfe against the Counsels of those, that will sell their birth rites in Heauen it selfe, to please their owne enuious and partiall pallates, that the warre of the Low-Countries was begunne, and hath beene maintained with few more naturall Spaniards, then are arriued here already; and that putting armes and discipline into this people, they are more warlike then any of his auxiliaries. Sir I will trouble you no longer, being desirous to doe somewhat worth the writing. God send vs an Easterly winde, and vnto you as much happiness as I doe wish vnto my owne soule. From the Campe by *Kinsale* this 24 of October 1601.

Yours Sir most assured for euer
to doe you seruice,
Mountioy.

The fiue and twenty the Army was ready to rise, but the weather falling out very foule, direction was giuen not to dislodge. Foure naturall Spaniards came this day to vs from the Enemy, who the next day were sent to *Corke*. This night *Sir Iohn Berkeley* went out with some three hundred foot, hauing with him Captaine *Flower*, Captaine *Morris*, and Captaine *Bostocke*, and fell into the Spaniards trenches, and did beate them to the Towne, fell into the gate with them, and killed and hurt about twenty of the Spaniards; hauing but three hurt of our men. Hitherto we lodged in Cabbins, so as it rained vpon vs in our beds, and when we changed our shirts.

The sixe and twenty the Army dislodged and incamped on an hill on the North-side before *Kinsale*, called the *Spittle*, somewhat more then musket shot from the Towne, and there intrenched strongly. When we sat downe, we discovered that the Spaniards had gotten a prey of two hundred or three hundred Cowes, and many sheepe, which were (in an Iland as it seemed) vpon the South-east side of the Towne, beyond the water, which wee could not passe but by going eight or nine mile about, where there was a necke of land to goe into it. Captaine *Taffe* being sent with horse and foot, vsed such expedition in that businesse, as he attained the place before night, and by a hot skirmish recovered the prey, saue onely some twenty Cowes that the Spaniards had killed, although they were vnder the guard of a Castle, called *Castle Ny Parke*, which the Spaniards had in possession.

The disposall of the whole Army in Ireland the seuen and twentieth of October 1601.

Left at *Loughfoyle*.

Sir Henry Dockwra 50. *Sir Iohn Bolles* 50. Horse 100.

Sir Henry Dockwra 200. *Sir Matthew Morgan* 150. Captaine *Badby* 150. *Sir Iohn Bolles* 150.

150. Captaine *Erington*, 100. Captaine *Vaughan*, 100. Captaine *Bingley*, 150. Captaine *Coach*, 100. Captaine *Basset*, 100. Captaine *Dutton*, 100. Captaine *Floyde*, 100. Captaine *Oram*, 100. Captaine *Alford*, 100. Captaine *Pinner*, 100. Captaine *Winsor*, 100. Captaine *Sydley*, 100. Captaine *Atkinson*, 100. Captaine *Digges*, 100. Captaine *Brooke*, 100. Captaine *Stafford*, 100. Captaine *Orrell*, 100. Captaine *Leigh*, 100. Captaine *Sidney*, 100. Captaine *Gower*, 150. Captaine *Willes*, 150. Captaine *W.N.* 100.

Foote 3000.

Horse left at *Carickfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* Gouvernour, 50. Captaine *John Iephson*, 100.

Horse 150.

Foote left at *Carickfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* Gouvernour, 200. Sir *Foulke Conway*, 150. Captaine *Egerton*, 100. Captaine *Norton*, 100. Captaine *Billings*, 150. Captaine *Phillips*, 150.

Foote 850.

Foote left in *Lecale*.

Sir *Richard Moryson* the Gouvernours Company vnder his Lieutenant, himselfe attending the Lord Deputy at *Kinsale*, 150.

Horse left in Northerne Garrisons.

At the *Newrye* Sir *Francis Stafford*, 50. At *Mount Norreys*, Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 50.

Horse, 100.

Foote in the North Garrisons.

At the *Newrye* Sir *Francis Stafford*, 200. At *Dundalke* Captaine *Freckleton*, 100. At *Carlingford* Captaine *Hansard*, 100. At *Mount Norreys* Captaine *Atherton*, 100. At *Armagh* Sir *Henrie Daners* vnder his Lieutenant, himselfe being at *Kinsale*, 150. At *Blackwater*, Captaine *Thomas Williams*, 150.

Foote, 800.

Horse left in the Pale, and places adioyning.

In *Kilkenny* the Earle of *Ormond*, 50. In *Kildare* the Earle of *Kildare*, 50. In *West-meath* the Lord of *Dunsany*, 50. In *Lowth* Sir *Garret Moore*, 25.

Horse, 175.

Foote in the Pale.

At *Kilkenny* the Earle of *Ormond*, 150. Captaine *John Masterfon*, 100. Captaine *Thomas Butler*, 100. At *Carlogh* Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence* 150. Sir *Francis Shane*, 100. Sir *Tilbot Dillon*, 100. Sir *Edward Fitz Garret*, 100. Sir *Henrie Harington*, 100. Sir *Richard Greame*, 100. At the *Nasse* Sir *Laurence Esmond*, 150. In *Ophalia* Sir *George Bourcher*, 100. Sir *Edwrrd Harbert*, 100. Sir *Henrie Warren*, 100. In *Leax Fort*, Sir *Francis Rush*, 150. To be placed by the Counsell at *Dublin*, Sir *Henrie Power* vnder his Lieutenant, himselfe being at *Kinsale*, 150. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 150. Sir *William Warren*, 100. Captaine *Guest*, 150. Captaine *Cawfeild*, 150. At *Kildare* the Earle of *Kildare*, 100. Captaine *Ocarrol* in his Countrie, 100. At *Kelles* the Lord of *Dunsany*, 150. In *West-meath* the Lord of *Deluin*, 150. Captaine *Mac Henry*, 100. At *Ardee* Sir *Garret Moore*, 100. Captaine *N.N.* 150.

Foote 3150.

Horse left in *Connaght*.

The Earle of *Clanrickard*, 50. Captaine *Wayman*, 12.

Horse, 62.

Foote left in *Connaght*.

Sir *Oliuer Lambert* Gouvernour, 150. The Earle of *Clanrickard*, 150. Sir *Thomas Bourk* 150. Captaine *Clare*, 150. Captaine *Thomas Bourk*, 100. Captaine *Malbye*, 150. Captaine *Tybbot ne Long*, 100. Captaine *Dauy Bourke*, 100. A Company void for the *Iudges pay*, 100.

Foote 1150.

Totall of Horse 587. Totall of Foote 9100.

The *Lyst of the Army with his Lordship at Kinsale*.

The old *Mounster Lyst*.

Sir *George Carew* Lord President, 50. Sir *Anthony Cooke*, 50. Captaine *Fleming*, 25. Captaine

Captaine *William Taffe*, 50. Horſe 175.

Footc of the old Lyft.

The Lord Prefident, 150. The Earle of *Thomond*, 150. Lord *Barry*, 100. Lord *Andley*, 150. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, 150. Maſter Treafurer, 100. Captaine *Roger Haruey*, 150. Captaine *Thomas Spencer*, 150. Captaine *George Flower*, 100. Captaine *William Saxey*, 100. Captaine *Garret Dillon*, 100. Captaine *Nuſe*, 100. Sir *Richard Percy*, 150. Sir *Francis Barkley*, 100. Captaine *Power*, 100. A Company for the Earle of *Deſmonds* vſc, 100. Footc 1950.

New Companies ſent into Mounſter lately, which arriued and were put into pay the fourth of September paſt.

The Lord Prefident added to his Company, 50. The Earle of *Thomond* added to his Company, 50. Sir *George Thorneton*, 100. Captaine *Skipwith*, 100. Captaine *Morris*, 100. Captaine *Kemiſh*, 100. Captaine *North*, 100. Captaine *Owſlye*, 100. Captaine *Fiſher*, 100. Captaine *Yorke*, 100. Captaine *Hart*, 100. Captaine *Liſle*, 100. Captaine *Rauencroft*, 100. Cap. *Rich. Hanſard*, 100. Captaine *George Greame*, 100. Captaine *Yelverton*, 100. Captaine *Panton*, 100. Captaine *Cullom*, 100. Captaine *Hobby*, 100. Captaine *Gowen Haruy*, 100. Captaine *Coote*, 100. Footc 2000.

Horſe brought from the North and the Pale to Kinſale.

The Lord Deputies troope, 100. Sir *Henrie Dauers*, 100. Maſter Maſhall, 50. Sir *Chriſtopher Saint Laurence*, 25. Sir *Henrie Harrington*, 25. Sir *Edward Harbert*, 12. Sir *William Warren*, 25. Sir *Richard Greame*, 50. Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, 25. Sir *Francis Ruſh*, 12. Captaine *George Greame*, 12. Horſe 436.

Footc that Sir Iohn Barkley brought from the borders of Connaght to Kinſale.

Sir *Iohn Barkley*, 200. Sir *Arthur Sauage*, 150. Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, 200. Sir *Iohn Dowdall*, 100. Captaine *Kingsmill*, 100. Captaine *George Blount*, 100. Captaine *Boſtock*, 100. Footc 950.

Footc brought out of the Pale by Maſter Maſhall, and from the Northerne Garrifons by Sir Henry Dauers to Kinſale.

The Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Maſter Maſhall, 150. Sir *Beniamin Berry*, 150. Sir *William Fortefcue*, 150. Sir *Iames Fitz-piers*, 150. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100. Sir *Henrie Foliot*, 150. Captaine *Edward Blany*, 150. Captaine *Iofias Bodley*, 150. Captaine *Rotheram*, 150. Captaine *Thomas Roper*, 150. Captaine *Roe*, 150. Captaine *Treuer*, 100. Captaine *Ralph Conſtable*, 100. Footc 2000.

At Kinſale, Horſe 611. Footc 6900.

Totall of the whole Army in Ireland, Horſe 1198. Footc 16000.

Of the fixe thouſand nine hundred footc at Kinſale in Mounſter, one Company of one hundred was conuerted to the Earle of *Deſmonds* vſc (who was then kept in *England*), and ſome were placed vpon the borders of the Prouince, to bee a ſtay to the Countrie. And all the old Bands called out of the North, the Pale, and *Connaght*, were very deficient in number, hauing been long worne out in ſkirimiſhes, iournies and ſickneſſes, without any ſupplies lately ſent out of *England*, though much and often deſired. Theſe fixe thouſand nine hundred footc were diſtributed into Regiments, commanded by Colonels, as ſhall appeare at the increaſe of the Liſt the next moneth.

The ſeuen and twentieth day, our Artillerie and prouiſions ſent from *Dublin*, were landed at *Oyſter Hauen*, our munition was brought into the Campe, and the front of the quarter that faced the Towne, and both the flanks of our trenches were more ſtrongly

strongly fortified, and the Campe was round about intrenched, and all those workes perfected, which could not bee done the day before, by reason of the foule weather.

Now the Spaniards held the Castle of *Rincorane* from their first landing, and because it commanded the Harbour of *Kinsale*, so that our shipping could not safely land our provisions neere the Campe, it was thought fit to make the taking thereof our first worke. To which purpose Sir *John Berkeley*, Sir *William Godolphin*, and Captaine *Iosias Bodley* Trench-Master, were sent to chuse a fit place to plant our Artillerie against the Castle. The 28 day two Coluerings which had not been long ysed, were made fit, and the next day they were mounted. The Spaniards were in the towne foure thousand strong, and wee had not many more in the Campe by Pole, though our Lyst were more. That night the Spaniards issued out of the Towne by water, to relieue the Castle, but Captaine *Buttons* ship did beate them backe. The thirtieth day the two Culuerings began to batter the Castle, but one of them brake in the caue-ning.

In the meane time the Spaniards gaue an Alarum to our Campe, and drew a demy Canon out of the Towne, wherewith they plaied into the Camp, killed two with the first shot, neere the Lord Deputies tent, shot through the next tent of the pay-Master, (wherein we his Lordships Secretaries did lie) brake a barrell of the Pay-Masters money, with two barrells of the Lord Deputies beare in the next Cabin, and all the shot were made, fell in the Lord Deputies quarter, and neere his owne tent.

This night the Spaniards attempted againe to relieue the Castle, but Sir *Richard Percy* hauing the guard, with the Lord Presidents Regiment vnder his command, did repulse them. The one and thirtieth day the coluering battered the Castle, and the morning another culuering, & a canon, being planted, they plaied without intermission, which while we were busily attending, 500 of their principall Spaniards came out of *Kinsale* (with shew to go to relieue *Rincorran* by land) and drew toward a guard we kept betweene *Rincorran* and the Towne (leauing a great grosse for their seconds, vnder the walles), vnder that colour to giue a safe passage for their boats to the Castle. Whereupon diuers broken Companies out of the Regiments in the Campe (being all in armes) drew voluntarily that way, and Sir *Oliuer Saint Johns* sent out Captaine *Roe* his Lieutenant Colonel and Sir *Arthur Sauages* Lieutenant with one hundred men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round skirmish, hee himselte tooke thirtie shot of his owne Companie, and went vp to them, where he found Captaine *Roe* and those with him, skirmishing with the enemies shot, being two hundred, and hauing another grosse lying neere the Towne to second them. And seeing the Spaniards come vp close with their Pikes to giue a charge, he ioyned with Captaine *Roe*, and incountring them, did beate them backe to their seconds, making them to retire hastily, the Spaniards then playing vpon our men with shot from euery house in that part of the Towne. In this charge Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohn* receiued many pushes of the Pike on his Target, and with one of them was slightly hurt in the thigh, but hee killed a Leader and a common souldier with his owne hand. The Lord *Audley* comming vp with his Regiment, was shot through the thigh. Sir *Garret Haruy* was hurt in the hand, and had his horse killed vnder him, Captaine *Butlers* Lieutenant was slaine, and foure other of our part. Sir *Arthur Sauages* Lieutenant was shot through the body, and fourteene other of our part weee hurt. The enemy left ten dead in the place, besides their hurt men, which we apparantly saw to be many, and the next day heard to be seuentie, by one who saw them brought to the house, where their hurt men lay, and who reported, that eight of them died that night. Likewise in this skirmish *Iuan Hortesse del Contreres* was taken prisoner, who had been Serieant Maior of the Forces in *Britany*, and our men got from them diuers good Rapiers, and very good Armes.

All this while our 3 pieces battered the Castle, till six of the clock at night, when those of the Castle did beate a Drumme, which the Lord President (whom the Lord Deputy had left there, when himselte in the euening returned to take care of the Camp) admitted to come vnto him. With the Drum came an Irish man borne at *Cork*, and these

these in the name of the rest, prayed that with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, they might depart to *Kinsale*. This the Lord President refused, and said hee would not conclude with any but the Commander of the Castle, neither had commission to accept any composition, but yeelding to her Maiesties mercie. Presently they sent another Drumme, and a Serieant with him, but the Lord President refused to speake with them. At their returne the Commander himselfe, being an *Alfero* (or Ensigne) called *Bartholomeo de Clarizo* (for the Captaine had his legge broken) came vnto the Lord President, but insisting on the condition to depart with Armes, Bag and Baggage to *Kinsale*, his offer was refused. After he was put safe into the Castle, wee began afresh the battery, and they more hotly then euer before bestowed their völlies of shot on vs. But the first of Nouember at two of the clocke in the morning, when they found how the Castle was weakened by the fury of our battery, they did againe beate a Drumme for a parley, but we refusing it, many of them attempted to escape vnder the rocke close to the water side, which our men perceiuing, drew close vp to the Castle, and hindered their escape. The first of Nouember earely in the morning, the Lord President came to the Campe, and made relation of that nights proceedings to the Lord Deputie, where it was determined, that if they would render the Castle and their Armes, vpon promise of life to the Spaniards onely, and promise to send them safe into *Spaine*, they should be receiued to mercy, which was concluded, because the speedie taking of the Castle was of importance to the more easie furnishing vs with all prouisions from that harbour, and of reputation to our side, as also because we could not enter the breach without losse of good men (which we esteemed pretious, being no more by Pole in the Campe, then the Spaniards in the Towne besieged by vs, by reason our Companies were very deficient in the numbers of the List, hauing not been supplied out of *England* of a long time), and because this noble dealing with the Spaniards in the Castle, might induce those in *Kinsale*, to leaue the Towne vpon like composition, when they felt the misery, whereunto wee hoped ere long to bring them. About one hower of the day the *Alfero* sent word to the Lord President (by that time returned) that he would quit all their Armes, and render the place, so as they might be suffered thus vnarmed to goe into *Kinsale*, which being refused, hee intreated that himselfe alone might hold his Armes, and bee put into *Kinsale*, which being also refused, he resolutely resolved to burie himselfe in the Castle. His Company seeing him desperately bent not to yeeld, did threaten to cast him out of the breach, so as they might be receiued to mercy. So as at last he consented to yeeld, and that all his people should be disarmed in the Castle (which was committed to Captaine *Roger Hanuy* then Captaine of the Guards, to see it done), that the *Alfero* himself should weare his sword till hee came to the Lord President, to whom he should render it vp. And this being done, they were all brought prisoners into the Campe, and immediatly sent from thence to *Corke*. The Spanish thus yeelded, were in number fourescore and sixe, and foure women (whose names I haue, but omit them for breuitie), besides a great multitude of Irish Churles, Women and Children, but not any Swordmen; for those being skilfull in the waies, had all escaped, one *Dermot Mac Carty* only excepted, who was a Pensioner to the King of *Spaine*, and heretofore a follower to *Florence Mac Carty*. Also some thirtie Spaniards had been slaine in the defence of this Castle, which was now yeelded to vs, those in *Kinsale*, not making one shot at our men the while, but standing as men amazed.

The second of Nouember, finding how much we had to doe, in taking *Rincorran* Castle with our weake prouisions, it was concluded, that all attempts against *Kinsale* Towne were in vaine, till wee were better furnished for such a businesse, which notwithstanding we made daily countenance to take in hand. This day we drew our Ordinance from the Castle into our Camp. The third day of Nouember the Spanish Serieant Maior in *Britanny*, taken in a skirmish, and the *Alfero* yeelding at *Rincorran*, obtained licence to write to *Don Iean de l'Agayla*, and one of our Drums had licence to carry their letters, who staid in the towne all the following night.

And this day his Lordship received letters of supplies sent out of *England*, whereupon he wrote to the Counsell at *Dublin*, and to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, to make stay of certaine Companies, which lately hee had directed to bee brought out of the North and the Pale, to the Campe at *Kinsale*. Touching the said supplies, her Maiestie writ to the Lord Deputie this letter following.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and well beloued, Vve greet you well. Vpon such aduertisements as Vve haue receiued from diuers places, of a Fleete dispatched from *Spain*, with a good number of men of warre to bee landed in that Our Realme, in assistance of Our Rebels there, Vve haue thought good to send from hence some further forces for increase of Our Army there, to enable you the better to make head against them, if they shall fortune to land. Wherefore We haue caused to be leauied here the number of two thousand men, and appointed them to be embarked by the twentieth day of this moneth of October (aboue the other two thousand lately sent vnto you.) For this two thousand now leauied, because We cannot certainly iudge here, whether you shall finde most commodious for Our seruice, either to vse them for the filling vp of decayed Bands there, or to retaine them in Companies, or to employ some of them for filling vp the decayes of other Companies, and to retaine other some in Bands. We haue thought good to leaue the disposition of them to your discretion, with the aduice of our Councell, and onely to authorize you hereby, that forasmuch as any part of them which you shall retaine in seuerall Bands, will be aboue the number of Our Establishment, for the payment whereof, neither you nor Our Treasurer haue any warrant, that you may giue warrant to Our Treasurer for the paiment of the whole or any part of the said two thousand, which you shall finde necessarie to retaine in Our pay in Bands seuerall, aboue the number of Our Establishment, or any other former Warrant limited, the said paiment to be made in lending and apparrell, as other Our souldiers there are paid, and to begin from the day of their landing there. Since the writing of thus much to you, concerning the two thousand preparing, Vve haue receiued aduertisements of the landing of the Spaniards at *Kinsale*, whereupon we haue added a further supplie of three thousand men more, to be sent to you. And for that it may be, We shall haue cause to increase or alter the numbers of Our Armie, as Our seruice shall require, We doe therefore giue you warrant, to giue order from time to time for the paiment of all such numbers of men there, either horse or foote, aboue the number limited by Our Establishment, as you shall bee from Our priuy Councell here, or sixe of them (whereof our Treasurer of *England*, and Our principall Secretarie to be two) authorized to retaine in Our pay, as Our seruice shall require. Given vnder Our Signet at Our Mannor of *Richmond*, the fourth day of October, in the fortie thee yeere of Our Raigne.

Postscript. Of all these numbers two thousand shal be imbarcked in Our own ships by the fourteenth of this October at *Rocheſter*, because they shal be secured in their transportation. Two thousand more shal bee sent by the twentieth of this moneth to *Bristol* and *Barſtable*, and the fifth odde thousand shal be sent to *Loughfoyle*; so as Our leaue is now in all fise thousand men.

The same day his Lordship received another letter from the Queene, of her owne hand, and signed below, not aboue (as she vsually signed), as followeth.

Since the braine-sicke humour of vnadvised assault hath seized on the hearts of Our causelesse foes, We doubt not but their gaine will be their baine, and glory their shame, that euer they had the thought thereof. And that your humour agrees so rightly with Ours, Vve thinke it most fortunately happened in your Rule, to shew the better whoſe you are, and what you be, as your owne hand writ hath told Vs of late,

late, and doe beseech the Almighty power of the Highest, so to guide your hands, that nothing light in vaine, but to prosper your heede, that nothing be left behind, that might auaille your praise, and that your selfe in venturing too farre, make not the foe a prey of you. Tell Our Army from Vs, that they make full account, that euery hundred of them will beate a thousand, and euery thousand theirs doubled: I am the bolder to pronounce it in his name, that euer hath protected my righteous cause, in which I blesse them all. And putting you in the first place, I end, scribling in hast,

Your louing Soueraigne

E. R.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, signifying that tenne shippes of warre set sayle from *Rocheſter*, with the first wind after the eigh of October last, to attend the Coast of *Mounſter*, wherein were sent two thousand foote for the Army in *Mounſter*, vnder Captaines appointed. That two thousand more were then leuiued to bee sent to the Army, by the way of *Briſtow* and *Barſtable*, which were left to his Lordship, to bee disposed in ſupplies or Companies; as hee thought fit. That one thousand foote more were sent to ſupplie *Loughſoyle* Garriſon. That two hundred horſe were sent to his Lordship for the Army; and fifty horſe to *Loughſoyle*. That they had ſent his Lordship, beſides the former twenty laſt of powder; thirty laſt more. That they had ſent large prouiſions of victuals. And that they greatly commended the Lord Presidents prouidence; that he had made his ſouldiers formerly liue of their pay in money, and ſo preſerued the former ſtore of victuals in *Mounſter*, for this time, without which the Army could not haue kept the field till the new prouiſions ariued. The laſt part of their L^{ds} letter followeth in theſe words: Hereunto we muſt adde this, as that whereof our ſelues haue been a good while both hearers and obſeruers. That no Prince can apprehend with better acceptation your Lordships proceeding in that Kingdome, then her Maieſtie doth, in ſo much as ſhe vsed often this ſpeech, that ſhe would not wiſh her Army there, nor the ſafetie of her people in better hands then in yours. In whom (and ſo in other Principall Officers of her State and Army) as ſhe doth obſerue, that all difficulties are well entertained with alacritie and reſolution; ſo we muſt let your Lordship know, that when her Maieſtie had read a priuate letter of yours to mee the principall Secretarie, written from *Kilkenny* with your owne hand, aſſoone as you had heard the newes of a forraigne enemy, it pleaſed her Maieſtie to cauſe it bee read to vs all, as being written in a ſtile, wherein ſhee diſcerned both the ſtrong powers of your owne minde (in promiſing to your ſelfe all happy ſucceſſe againſt ſuch an enemy) and the liuely affections you beare to her perſon (for which you deſire to bee made a Sacrifice), wherein although you haue not deceiued her former expectation, yet her Maieſtie would haue you know, that ſhee doth not doubt; but you ſhall liue to doe her many more ſeruices, after you haue made the Prouince of *Mounſter* ſerue for a Sepulcher to theſe new Conquerours. Of the ſoure thousand men which now her Maieſtie ſendeth into *Mounſter*, wee ſend onely two thousand vnder Captaines, the reſt wee leaue to conductors, to be vsed as you ſhall pleaſe, when they arriue, and to diſplace any whom wee doe ſend, if you thinke them not ſufficient. Now therefore till wee heare further from you, wee haue no more to ſay, but that wee account our ſelues all in one ſhip with you; that wee will all concurre to aduance by our Miniſterie, whatſoener her Maieſtie ſhall reſolue to doe for you, all of vs hauing one ende and one deſire, to inable you as her Maieſties principall inſtrument, to free that Kingdome from the malicious attempts of forraigne power, and to redeeme it out of the inward miſery by inſtine rebellion.

The fifth of Nouember foure barkes with munition and victuals that were ſent from *Dublin*, arriued in *Kinſale* harbor, and vpon certaine intelligence, that *Tyrone*

was comming vp with a great Army to ioyne with the Spaniard, it was resolved by the Counsell of State, and the Colonels of Councell at warre, that the next day the Camp should be fortified against *Tyrone*, on the North side furthest from the towne-ward, and that the next day following, the Lord President with two Regiments of foote, consisting of two thousand one hundred men in Lyst, and with three hundred twentie five horse, should draw to the borders of the Prouince, to stop, or at least hinder *Tyrone's* passage. To which purpose the Lord *Barry*, and the Lord *Bourke*, with the forces of the Countrey, had direction to attend the Lord President.

The sixth day the Campe was accordingly fortified, and the seventh in the morning, the Lord President with the said horse and foote left the Campe, at which time it was concluded by both Counsels, that wee could attempt nothing against the towne, vntill either the Lord President returned, or the new Forces and prouisions promised from *England* arriued, it being iudged a great worke for vs in the meane time, to continue our lying before the Towne, since the Spaniards in the Towne were more in number, then we who besieged them.

The same seventh day his Lordship and the Counsell here wrote to the Lords in *England* this following letter.

IT may please your Lordships. The first and second of this present moneth, we receiued her Maiesties and your Lordships most comfortable letters, of the fourth and sixth of the last, and for the speciall care, it pleaseth you to take of vs doe yeeld (as we haue iust cause) our most humble and heartiest thanks, protesting that we will labour to deserue the same and the continuance which it pleaseth your Lordships to promise thereof, with the vttermost of our endeouours and seruices, euen to the sacrificing of our liues. And in the meane time humbly pray your Lordships both to accept in good part and fauourably to report vnto her Maiestie, what hitherto we haue been able to performe, though nothing to that we did affect, if our meanes had answered our desires, or that little we expected to come some *Dublin*, which we sent for vpon the Spaniards first landing here, had by a more fauourable wind arriued sooner, as we hoped. Wee beseech your Lordships giue vs leaue to referre you for your information in that point to the Iournall which herewithall we send, for thereby wee conceiue will best appeare, both what wee haue done, and were enabled to doe, since the returne of Master Marshall and other Officers and Commanders, sent of purpose into the Pale, and the parts Northwards, to draw the forces thereabouts the more speedily hither to vs, and to hasten hither such other prouisions, as giue vs leaue here we should haue need off. And with your Lordships fauour, license vs to adde, that wee can hardly proceede any further, till our supplies of men and munitions come; for we finde it a worke of great difficulty and assured losse of men, and expence of al prouisions of warre, to vndertake with these meanes we haue to force so many men out of any place, although it were not greatly otherwise fortified but by the bodies of men onely, whereas this Towne of *Kinsale* hath a good wall, and many strong Castles in it.

Wee doe looke howerly for *Tyrone*, esteemed to be comming with a great Armie of horse and foote, selected out of all the rebels in *Ireland*, and from all others that he can seduce to his partie. At his comming these Prouincials will discouer themselves either against vs or neutrals (as they are) for better wee doe not expect from them. Except our supplies doe come before his arriual, wee shall hardly bee Masters of the field, but rather driuen (wee feare) to discontinue our siege; yet if her Maiesties shipping, prouisions, and supplies, doe arriue in any time, we hope to giue her (ere it bee long) a good account of this place; though wee desire your Lordships to consider the difficulties we haue to contend with in this Countrey and season of the yeere, besides the force and opposition of the enemy. I the President doe acknowledge the receipt of such an intelligence, concerning Captaine *A.* as it pleaseth your Lordships to remember, and since that time kept very good spiall vpon him, and haue had the fight

fight of all his papers, yet cannot find any thing giues me cause to suspect him; and therefore we all thinke it fit, seeing his Company is returned hither among other, to make vse of his seruice here, for which we find him very fit, vntill there may be some apt occasion to dispose of him elsewhere, without giuing him discontentment, vnlesse we had more particular and certaine ground to charge him with, which wee must receiue from thence: yet in the meane time hee shall bee so narrowly looked vnto, as if hee haue the will (which wee doubt not), hee shall not haue meanes to hurt much.

The same seuenth day his Lordship vnderstanding from Master Secretary by his letter dated the nineteenth of the last moneth, and receiued the second of this moneth, that he found her Maiesty inclined to make one Gouvernour ouer all *Ulster*, and especially to like of Sir *Arthur Chichester* for that great charge, whereupon hee purposed to proceed therein, if his Lordship would explaine himselfe, how hee would haue that matter carried.

His Lordship wrote his minde plainly therein, aduising that Sir *Arthur Chichester* should bee made Gouvernour of all *Ulster*, by what name it should please her Maiesty to giue him, whereby hee might direct all the parts of that Prouince, and be resident where he should thinke fittest for the seruice, commanding in chiefe where he came. The managing of the warre to be in generall left to himselfe, except he receiued particular directions vpon speciall occasions from *England*, or from the Lord Deputy, adding that from him the Lords might be more speedily enformed, of what is done, or fit to be required for the making of that warre, whom of all other Commanders he thought fittest for that charge, praying that the Lords there would aduise him and Sir *Henry Dockwra*, to hold a good correspondency for her Maiesties seruice, since hee conceived the warre was to bee chiefly made by their two ioining together. For the Scots, that any number not exceeding foure thousand might in his conceit fitly be entertained, and left to the disposall of Sir *Arthur Chichester*, whose iudgement vpon the state of things there, was fittest to be followed, for hee could best chuse apt places to lodge them, till Sir *Henry Dockwra* and he might draw into the field, when those Scots should ioyne with them, and would be of very great vse to spoile, which is the best seruice can be done vpon the Irish. Concluding that he had written to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, that he should send into *England* to him the Secretary, his opinion in this businesse, which (no doubt) hee would presently doe. But this proiect of appointing a Gouvernour in *Ulster*, tooke no effect by reason that *Tyrone* with most of his Forces were defeated shortly after in *Mounster*.

Master Secretary at the same time had sent his Lordship Spanish newes, which in this his answere he confessed were very likely, yet thought it would bee very hard for them to make ready foure thousand men more before Christmas. He signified that they here were all of opinion, that the necessity of the Spanish forces already in *Ireland* being more then was expected, both by losse at Sea, and since their comming hither, and by the failing of the Irish hitherto to ioyne with them, their supplies would be hastened sooner then was determined: for so they were aduertised by all the Prisoners taken, and by such as did come vnto vs from them. His Lordship acknowledged himselfe very much bound vnto Master Secretary for the good dispatch he procured with this last passage, and not the least that her Maiesty was pleased to allow of their entertainment of the Irish, yet beseeched him to beleue that by this course they had prevented *Tyrone* of a great many men, that otherwise would and must haue serued him for entertainment, hauing no other meanes to liue, and yet hitherto all was done within the compasse of the lyst, and the White Knight was one of them, that before the comming of this approbation was prouided for, so carefull was hee to giue him good contentment.

For their outcries in the Pale, he answered that he did not maruel, for by that which he had obserued, he did iudge that the word Pale had cost the Queen a million, & yet so it were they disposed, & so backward euen in their own defence, as they now suffred *Tyrone* with a few horle, about the number of 60 to burne and prey them at his pleasure,

though they were able of themselves to haue beaten him and all his forces, and besides had the assistance of Companies in the Queenes pay, being three thousand or two thousand at least, yet if he would consider, that foure thousand Spaniards (for so the prisoner that we tooke deliuered them to be vpon his saluation, with whom all our prisoners relation and our intelligence did concur) are possessed of a Towne full of strong houses, and walled about, and helped with many aduantages of ground, (though commanded by some places), hee might easily conceiue, that it must bee no small army can force them, since our approches this winter were so difficult, that the very trenches we made were continually filled with water, and the decay of our men was so great, by continuall labour, sicknesse, sword, and bullet. And therefore we had no reason to keepe a great body of men in the Pale to guard it, till this dangerous war were finished. But to preuent this clamour of the Pale it was meerely vnpossible, though it would please her Maiesty to keepe there ten thousand in her pay, when they would not stirre, nor raise the crie, but suffer themselves to bee so vsed, out of the malice of their owne hearts, that they might haue some colour of complaint, being the worst sort of people in all the Kingdome, though he protested he had been as carefull of them, as if they had been his Kindred or speciall friends, knowing well their humor to be so clamerous.

For her Maiesties expence, he besought him to belecue, that no man did looke vpon it with more grieve then himselfe, who reaped no commoditie by it, onely being a painefull and faithfull distributor thereof, according to the necessitie of her own seruice: but if he did not from his soule desire, and with all his wits and endeour seeke to abridge it, and to end both her warre and charge, then he desired no mercy of God, nor fauour from her. And if he were not bound thereto by his publike duty, yet he protested, that his priuate estate would vrge him thereunto: which he found vnable any longer to continue the expence, at which he was forced to liue, growing greater by the mixed coyne, as hee euer thought it would fall very heauy vpon him, by which reason he might value his entertainment to be lesse by the halfe, then it was in the time of the old standard. For whatsoeuer we bought with this new coyne, it was raised to the double price.

Whereas it seemed Master Secretarie had been informed, that all they which of late submitted themselves to her Maiesties mercy and protection, were now againe reuolted to the Rebels: he answered, that it was true, that some of them had made their peace with *Tyrone*, and in truth, except wee could haue giuen order for their defence against him, he did neuer expect other from them, and especially since the arriual of this forraigne force, hee did thinke none in *Ireland* so sure, but euen here in *Mounster* they would do the like, if our Armie did not hang ouer them, yea, he was sure that the Lord President was of the same opinion. But hee was not moued to preserue any thing which the world (to his disadnantage) might call his, by neglecting that which he knew fittest to be preserued for her Maiesty and her seruice. Touching these submitties while they were in rebellion, he did spoile waste and kill many of them, when they were receiued to mercy, he made many of them kill others in rebellion, and leese their liues for the Queenes seruice, and now they were againe reuolted hee doubted not, but either to ruine them againe, or to force them to submission, vpon what conditions he listed, if God pleased to send vs an happy end of this war with the forraigne enemy. For the atchieuement whereof he hoped hee should heare (by the grace of the eternall God) that they would aduenture as far, and in as good a fashion, as might be expected from this Army, vpon the arriual of the supplies of men and munition. Till when hee protested, that wee were at a stand, because that hee was most sure, that without good numbers of men, and store of al sorts of munition, this Towne so manned as it was, could not be forced.

He added, that hitherto (God bethanked) we had in all our endeouours prospered against this proud enemy, and that there neuer was Armie better disposed then this, nor Commanders that continually shewed more sound iudgement & braue resolution then ours had done. In particular, that Sir *Oliver S. Johns* had had great honour giuen him

him by the whole Army, for that which he did in their fight, for he found no man come off from the skirmish (mentioned in the Iournall) which spake not of what hee had extraordinarily performed with his owne hand, and that in a farre greater measure then was therein related. That at the same time the Lord *Audley* was hurt, fighting very gallantly, and if it should please her Maiesty to take notice thereof, it would be a great comfort to them, and encouragement to the rest. That he hoped God would enable vs shortly, to send him relations of better seruice. In the meane time and euer he praied the eternall God to preserve her Maiesty and her Kingdomes, and send them her poore seruants peace and quietnes.

He added that he could wish it had pleased her Maiesty to haue left the horse to his disposall, or at the least to haue bestowed them on some Englishmen, for as 100 are conferred, though he held the Commander a worthy Gentleman, and faithfull to her Maiesties seruice, yet he was Irish, and in short time would make those horse Irish, so as he accompted to haue receiued onely one hundred to serue his purpose. For he did very much build on those horse, not onely to be his chiefe strength at this time, but to haue stood hereafter when her Maiesty did lessen the army, to bee imployed for the absolute finishing of this warre. And to this purpose now (in all likelihood) he should not be able to make vse of them, which he confessed did not a little trouble him.

He added, that although there were but foure thousand Spaniards already landed, and they had no horse, yet there was no doubt but they would auayle themselves of great assistance in this Countrey, and that with a number much about this of naturall Spaniards, their King had made the long continued great warre in the Low-Countries. Besides, he besought him to remember, that about two hundred Spaniards held a Fort lately built at *Croyden* in *Britany*, till Sir *John Norreis* lost very neere one thousand five hundred men before it. That (God bethanked) we had plucked one hundred fifty Spaniards by the eares out of *Rincorran*, and wee hoped (by the grace of God) to doe the like by them in *Kinsale*, yet except God should please extraordinarily to worke for vs, this was not likely to be done without great losse of men, and expence of all prouisions to that purpose. For now they beganne to worke very hard about fortifying of the Towne, finding (as themselves said) that they had other men to deale with, then they expected; &c.

The eight of Nouember certaine ships to the number of thirteene, were discried to passe by *Kinsale* to the Westward, but it was not knowne whether they were English or Spaniards. The tenth day we had newes that the Earle of *Thomond* was landed with one thousand foote, left to the Lord Deputies disposall, and with an hundred horse, appointed in *England* to be commanded by the said Earle; and these were the thirteene ships discovered to passe Westward.

By this time the Spaniards had gotten knowledge of the Lord Presidents departure from the Campe with good part of our forces, and thereupon supposing vs to be much weakened, (as in deed we were, and Inferiour in bodies of men to them in the Towne); they drew out this day about noone most part of their forces, and soone after sent some sixty shot and Pykes to the foot of the hill, close by our Campe, leauing their trenches very well lined for their seconds: some of ours were presently drawne out to entertaine skirmish with those that came vp; and another strong party was sent out towards *Ryncorran*, who from the bushy hill plaied in flankes vpon their trenches, and did beate them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Campe, being beaten backe by our shot, and thinking to find the seconds they left behind them, were disappointed by their quitting of the Trenches, and by that meanes driuen to follow the rest to the succour of the Towne. Our men following with much fury, hurt and killed diuers, amongst whom they brought off the body of a Sergiant, and possessed the enemies trenches, the which the enemies (being reinforced) made many attempts to regaine, but were repulsed and beaten backe into the Towne. Wee heard by diuers, that *Don Iean* committed the Sergiant Maior, who commanded then in chiefe, presently after the fight, and threatned to take his head, commended highly the valour of our men, and cried shame vpon the cowardise of his owne, who he said

had beene the terrour of all Nations; but now had lost that reputation, and hee gaue straight commandement vpon paine of death, which hee caused to bee set vpon the Towne gates, that from thenceforth no man should come off from any seruice, vntill hee should be fetched off by his Officer, though his powder were spent or his Peece broken, but make good his place with his Sword. Captaine *Soto* one of their best Commanders, was that day slaine, (for whom they made very great mone), and some twenty more, besides those we hurt, which could not but be many. On our side, onely some ten were hurt, and three killed; among whom Master *Hopton* a Gentleman of the Lord Deputies band, was sore hurt, and in few daies died thereof. If this skirmish had not beene readily & resolutely answered on our part, the Spaniards had then discouered the smalnes of our numbers, and would no doubt haue so plied vs with continuall sallies; as we should hardly haue beene able to continue the siege.

The eleuenth day we had newes, that the one hundred horse and the thousand foot embarked at *Bastable*, (both which were left to the Lord Deputies disposall, the horse to be made new troopes, the foot to be dispersed for supplies, or to raise new Companies as his Lordship should thinke fit) were arriued at *Waterford*.

The twelfth day Sir *Richard Lenison* Admirall of the Queenes Fleet sent into *Ireland*, and Sir *Amias Preston* Vice-Admirall, were arriued with tenne ships of warre at *Corke*, wherein we had two thousand foot all vnder Captaines appointed in *England*, besides other prouisions of artillery and munition, and his Lordship directed the Admirall with all speed to bring the Fleet into the Harbour of *Kinsale*.

The thirteenth day his Lordship wrote to Master Secretary this following letter:

SIR hearing that our last packet is not yet gone from *Corke*, by reason of the contrariety of the wind, I haue so good occasion to make this addition to our former dispatch, that I haue receiued letters from my Lord of *Thomond*, Sir *Anthony Cooke*, and others from diuers places, that all the supplies appointed for this Prouince, are safely arriued at *Waterford*, *Raghal*, *Corke*, and *Castle Hauen*, with no losse (that I can heare of) but of one victualar, although the weather hath beene extreme tempestuous; and this last euening I was enformed but by a rumour, that the Queenes shippes were discouered about the Hauen of *Corke*, whereupon I presently dispatched to Sir *Richard Lenison* to put into the Hauen of *Kinsale*, for otherwise it would be long ere we shal be able to auaille our selues of such artillery and munition as he brought for vs. From my Lord President I heard, that the Rebels are drawne downe very strong, whereupon I haue directed Sir *Christopher S. Laurence*, (that was comming to the Campe with most of the forces of the Pale) to repaire speedily to my Lord President, and I meane to send vnto him all the Horse that is now come out of *England*, which I hope will be forces sufficient to stop any power the Rebels can make, specially since *Tyrone* (as I heare) himselfe will not be with them, except they doe steale by, which will be heard to preuent. If they come to force their passage, I am confident that against so many Horse as the Lord President shall haue, they will neuer put themselves vpon the plaine. For although they are as dangerous an enemy as any are in the World, when wee are driuen to seeke them in their strength, or passe their fastnesse, yet are they the worst and weakest to force their owne way, either vpon straights or plaines, so that except they steale their passage, (which I feare most) I make no doubt but my Lord President will giue a very good accompt of them. We here in the Campe, since our last letters, haue not had much to doe, only the enemy one day drew out (I thinke) most of this whole force, vpon opinion that the greatest part of our Army was gone from vs to meet the Rebels, & began a round fight with vs, close to our trenches: but we entertained them so well, that we waited on them home, to the wals of the Towne, and made them leaue some of their dead bodies behind them, although we saw them carry many off with them. They haue made within lesse then Caliuier shot of our trenches, very good fights, euen from thence close to the Towne, so that our men did follow them with great disaduantage, yet we did beat them from one trench to another, til I had much a doe to make our souldiers come off. The greatest losse of our side fell to my share, for I had

had one of my Company killed, and a very gallant Gentleman that serued in that Band, called Mr. *Hopton*, hurt (I feare) to death, and I think there was not aboue 2 or 3 more that were killed in the Campe ouer our heads, while wee were in the skirmish. Then we made them so good a Muster, that they haue thought good to checke vs no more, but within the Towne and without they doe worke very hard, and haue raised Rauelings and Mounts, and wee on the contrary side keepe very good watch; for if wee should receiue but one blow of the Spanish Fencer, all *Ireland* would take heart with it; & we haue no great reason to be very secure, for beleue me vpon my Honor, I thinke the besieged are more in numbers, then we that are the besiegers at this time. They doe continually taste vs, but they find vs so well at our warde, that they still goe away with the vnnies. And now, if the Queenes ships become, we will cast at all, and I hope in God, ere it be long, winne a faire game for the Queene, whose money wee play. If any without consideration of the iust circumstances of our present busines, to serue any priuate purpose, taxe mee for being too negligent of other parts of this Kingdom, and too large in my demands, I beseech you Sir to beleue, that I had good ground, both for my precipitate drawing hither, and for the prouisions I haue craued to strengthen my selfe by all meanes, while I am about this worke. For the first, it was not my opinion onely, but my Lord Presidents, that if I did not suddenly make head to this force, most of this Prouince would haue reuolted; and if wee had suffered the force of *Spaine* to haue been Masters of the field but sixe dayes, as easily they might haue been, if we had not sought well to preuent it, I assure my selfe, that all the Townes of this Prouince would haue reuolted, and the current of that fortune would haue run so violently through all *Ireland*, that it would haue been too late to haue stopped it. For the second, the difficulties of a winters siege, in this Countrie (where by reason of the great numbers of the besieged, we are forced to keep strong and continual guards) will soone waste a greater Army then ours, if God doe not mightily blesse vs: for the weather is so extreme, that many times we bring our Sentinels dead from the stations, and I protest euen our chiefe Commanders (whose diligence I cannot but mightily commend) doe many of them looke like spirits, with toyle and watching, vnto the which we are with good reason moued, since there be many examples, that where an enemy can sally out with two or three thousand men, they haue defeated Armies, that haue been trebble our number. But now besides these ordinary difficulties, which in all winter sieges doe waste, or make vnprofitable the greatest part of an Army, when wee are to make our neereft approches to force them, we cannot doe it without great losse, for although the Towne be weake against the Canon, yet can we plant the Canon nowhere, but they haue places that do absolutely command it, so that the towne is weak to defend it self, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best part that art can adde to any fortification, and this is so well prouided by nature, that from one hill they beat into any ground that wee can lodge in neere them. All these difficulties, and many more, I doe not allcage, as being any waies diffident of the great fauour that God is determined to shew her Maiestie in this action, but that you may in some measure guesse, that wee are not so improuident in her Maiesties cause, as to require an army and charge of greater proportion then is fit for such a taske, the which when wee haue performed with that happinesse, that I hope the eternall God will blesse vs with all, I will then say and proue it vnto you at large, *A Domino factum est hoc, & mirabile est in oculis nostris*. Sir, if I should write all vnto you, that I haue a desire to let you know, both for the publike and my priuate, I should not end my letter before the time that I hope we shall beate the Spaniards, but hauing been vp most of this night, it groweth now about foure a clocke in the morning, at which time I lightly chuse to visit our Guards my selfe, and am now going about that businesse, in a morning as cold as a stone, and as darke as pitch, and I pray Sir think whether this be a life that I take much delight in, who heretofore in *England*, when I haue had a suite to the Queene, could not lie in a tent in the Summer, nor watch at night till she had supped: but by God Sir, I will doe for Queene *Elizabeth* that which I will not doe for my selfe, and willingly, and be you my pledge that I will faithfully serue her against all the World, or any in
the

the World, or else I beseech God now I am going out, that I may neuer returne aliue to my House of Turffe, in the which I write this at her Maiesties Campe before *Kinsale*; This thirteenth of *November* 1601.

The thirteenth day our Fleet recovered the mouth of *Kinsale* Harbour, but could not get in, the wind being strong against them. The foureteenth day the Fleete with much difficulty warped in, and recoiured the Harbour, whence the Admirall and Vice-Admirall came to the Lord Deputy at the Campe. This night and the next day the two thousand foot, sent vnder Captaines in the Queenes shippes, were landed, and came to the Campe. And the fifteenth day in the afternoone, the Lord Deputy went aboard the shippes, whence returning to the Campe, the Enemy discerned him riding in the head of a troop of horse, and made a shot out of the Town at him, which grazed so neere him, that it did beat the earth in his face. In these ships were sent vnto vs not onely artillery and munition, but also speciall Officers to attend the same, as fise Canoneers, two Blacke-smiths, two Wheele-wrights, and two Carpenters. This day the Lord Deputy was aduertised, that according to his former direction, Sir *Christopher S^t Laurence* was come out of the Pale, and the Earle of *Clanrickard* out of *Connaght*, to the Lord Presidents campe, to whom his Lordship wrote, that if the Rebels should slip by him, he should be carefull to come vp with his Forces to our campe, so as hee might arriue there to ioine with vs, before the Rebels came vp so farre. The Queenes ships after they had saluted the Lord Deputy at his going aboard with thundering peales of Ordinance, had direction the next day to beat vpon a Castle in the island, called *Castle Nyparke*, which the Lord Deputy was resolved to make his next worke, & to beat the Spaniards out of it, and so to inuest the Towne on that side. This some of the ships performed, and brake the top of the Castle, but finding that they did it no greater hurt, and that the weather was extreame stormy, they ceased shooting. This day his Lordship gaue direction, that the hundred horse & one thousand foot, which first landed at *Castle Hauon*, and now were arriued from thence in the Harbour of *Kinsale*, should be conducted to *Corke*, to refresh themselves, for being beaten at Sea, and now landed in extreame weather, and in a Winter Campe, where they had no meanes to be refreshed, they beganne to die, and would haue beene lost or made vnseruiceable, if this course had not beene taken to hearten them. This day and for many daies after, diuers Spaniards ranne from the Towne to vs, by whom we vnderstood that in the tenth daies skirmish, the aboue named Captaine *Soto*, a man of speciall accompt, was slaine.

The seuenteenth day the weather continued stormy, so as neither that day nor the next we could land our Ordinance, or doe any thing of moment, yet because this was the day of her Maiesties Coronation, which his Lordship purposed to solemnize with some extraordinary attempt, if the weather would haue suffered vs to looke abroad, wee sent at night when the storme was somewhat appeased, the Seriant Maior and Captaine *Bodley* with some foure hundred foot, to discouer the ground about *Castle Nyparke*, and to see whether it might be carried with the Pickaxe, which was accordingly attempted; but the engine we had gotten to defend our men, while they were to worke, being not so strong as it should haue beene, they within the Castle hauing store of very great stones on the top, tumbled them downe so fast, as they broke it, so that our men returned with the losse of two men, & proceeded no further in that course.

The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy called a Counsel both of the Counsell of *Ireland*, and of al the Colonels and chiefe Officers of the field, and propounded to them, that since it had pleased her Maiesty so graciously to supply vs with the matter and prouisions for the warre, it was our parts to aduise of such a forme, as might bee most likely to bring forth an effect, not vnworthy her Princely care. First our strength and meanes to attempt the place or continue the siege, were thorowly considered, and next the numbers and commodiues of the enemy in the Towne, and of their succours abroad. The commodities and incommodities of proceeding with expedition, or by keeping them from all reliefe, were thorowly disputed, and in the end it was concluded, that the soundest course were to vse all meanes to inuest them as speedily as we might,

might, by possessing our selves of all they held without the Towne, and next to mount our artillery in such places, where it might annoy them most, and by breaking downe their Houses, to expose them to the same extremities of cold and raine, as we were exposed to in the Campe, by which meanes they might be reduced to a greater weaknesse, and then be forced with much lesse hazard; since when it comes to the point of entering of a breach, there is little or no difference betweene a strong Towne and a weake, for the besieged in either, doe wholly trust to their new and sudden workes, which the enemy within had as good opportunity to doe in this place as in any other, and had yet (of our knowledge) so many hands to fight, as that the advantage would chiefly haue bene his.

The nineteenth day *A Demy Cannon* was vnshipped, as soone as it was calme, and placed on this side of the water, which played most part of the day vpon the Castle *Nyparke*, being a great reliefe to the besieged, & brake many places, but made no breach that was assaultable. In the night they of the Towne attempted to releue the Castle by boates, but were repelled by Captaine *Tolkerne* and Captaine *Ward*, who lay with their Pinnaces betweene the Iland and the Towne.

Hitherto nothing could possibly bee attempted against the Towne, more then had bene done. For considering that the numbers of the defendants not onely equalled, but by all report, exceeded the number of the besiegers, (yea exceeded them farre, after the Lord President was sent from the Campe to meete *Tyrone* with two thousand one hundred foot and three hundred and twenty horse), and considering that if wee had vndertaken the carrying of approaches, with a purpose to batter, the whole Army must either haue been tired with watching night and day, without shelter, in tempestuous weather, or disgracefullv haue forsaken the worke, or (to say the best) incurred the hazard of fight in places of disadvantage, with an expert enemy. And considering that the Countrey stood vpon such tickle tearmes, and so generally ill affected to our side, that almost the least blow, which in the doubtfull euent of warre might haue lighted vpon vs, would haue driuen them headlong into a generall reuolt. And further, that our Army consisted for a third part (at the least) of Irish, who being not fit to make good an entrenched campe, & much lesse fit to giue vpon a breach, would without question, either presently haue quitted vs, or turned their weapons against vs, if the Spaniards had had any hand ouer vs; and considering that in all sound iudgement, this little army, (which was to be the soule of that body that should oppose it selfe against these inuaders and rebels), was by all possible meanes to bee preferred as much as might be, and not at all ventured, but with manifest assurance to preuaile. These things with other like circumstances considered, what could there be more done, during the time that we wanted our supplies and seconds? but to assure our Campe with carefull watches against sallies or surprises of the Enemy, and to inuest them from succours or reliefe, not omitting in the meane time to provide whatsoeuer might be needfull, for the businesse in hand, the meeting with all inconueniences, and the taking of all advantages vpon the Enemies guardes without the Towne; for which purpose diuers skirmishes were made with very good successe on our part.

The Lyst of the Army at Kinsale the twentieth of Nouember.

The foot of the Lyst the seuen and twenty of October, are 6900.

The Companies drawne since that Lyst from other parts of the Kingdome to *Kinsale* Campe.

Sir *Francis Rush* 150. Captaine *Master son* 150. Captaine *Thomas Butler* 100. Sir *Richard Greame* 100. Captaine *Toby Camfield* 150. Sir *Christopher S. Laurence* 150. Sir *Henry Harrington* 100. Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* 150. Sir *Edward Harbert* 100. Sir *William Warren* 100. Sir *Edward Fitzgarret* 100. Sir *Tybbot Dillon* 100. Sir *Garret Moore* 100. Captaine *Eyonell Guest* 150. Captaine *Malby* 150. The Earle of *Clanrickard* 150. Sir *Thomas Bourke* 150. Captaine *Clare* 150. Captaine *Thomas Bourke* 100. Captaine *Laurence Esmond* 150. Sir *George Bourcher* 100. Foot 2650.

Compa-

Companies sent in the Queenes ships under Captaines, viz.

Captaine *Sheffield*, 100. Captaine *Norton*, 100. Captaine *Henry Fortescue*, 100. Captaine *Bret*, 100. Captaine *Lower*, 100. Captaine *Chatterton*, 100. Captaine *Dorington*, 100. Captaine *Crompton*, 100. Captaine *Gilbert*, 100. Captaine *Wade*, 100. Sir *Anthony Cooke*, 150. Sir *Alexander Clifford*, 150. Captaine *Lane*, 100. Captaine *Wadnol*, 100. Captaine *Blundel*, 100. Captaine *May*, 100. Captaine *Wynn*, 100. Captaine *Kenricke*, 100. Captaine *Butler*, 100. Foote 2000.

Of the one thousand foote landed at *Castle-hauen* with the Earle of *Thomond*, and the one thousand foote landed at *Waterford* with Sir *Anthony Cooke*, hauing no Captaines, but being left to the Lord Deputies disposal, one thousand three hundred fifty were distributed among the Captaines, to supply the deficient numbers in their seuerall Companies, and the rest were diuided into these following Companies increasing the Lyft.

Sir *Garret Harue*, 150. Captaine *Henrie Barkley*, 150. Captaine *Roberts*, 150. Captaine *Boyse*, 100. Captaine *Henslo* for Pioners, 100. Foote 650

Totall of foote, 12200.

Hereof in the old list taken out for a dead Company kept for the Earle of *Desmond*, 100.

Take now out absent Sir *George Thorton* in Garrison at *Kilmallock*, Capt. *Gawen Harue* in Garrison at *Limricke*, and Captaine *Treuer* (reckoned before, but not comming hither, who staid about the *Newry*, as I remember,) 300.

So the Totall of foote is 11800.

Of these not distributed into Regiments.

For attendance of the Munition, Sir *George Boucher*, Master of the Ordinance, 100. For Pioners, Captaine *Hensloe*, 100. Foote, 200

Foote distributed into eleuen Regiments under command of the Lord Deputy, Lord President, and nine Colonels.

Vnder the Lord Deputie commanded by his Lieutenant Sir *Benjamin Berry*, 1400. Vnder the Lord President, 1100. Vnder the Earle of *Clanrickard*, 1000. Vnder the Earle of *Thomond*, 1000. Vnder the Lord *Audley*, 900. Sir *Richard Percy*, 950. Sir *Richard Moryson*, 1100. Sir *Charles Willmot*, 1000. Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, 1050. Sir *Henry Follyot*, 1050. Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*, 1050. Foote, 11600.

Totall of foote, 11800.

Out of these Regiments was raised a Squadron volante (or flying Regiment) which onely was to answer Alarums, and to be freed of all watches, and to the same Sir *Henrie Power* was appointed Colonel, and Captaine *Bostock* his Lieutenant. The seuerall Companies of this Squadron are these.

Out of the Lord Deputies Regiment, Sir *Richard Wingfield Marshall*, 150. Sir *Iohn Barkley* Serieant Maior, 200.

Out of the Lord Presidents Regiment, Captaine *Saxey*, 100.

Out of the Lord *Audleys* Regiment, the Treasurers Lieutenant, 100.

Out of Sir *Charles Willmots* Regiment, Captaine *Nuse*, 100.

Out of Sir *Henry Follyots* Regiment, Captaine *Iosias Bodley*, 150.

Out of Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns* Regiment, Captaine *Bostock*, 100.

Out of the Earle of *Clanrickards* Regiment, Captaine *Laurence Esmond*, 150.

Foote 1050.

Horse in the Army at Kinsale.

Take out of the List made the seuen and twenty of October, Sir *Edward Harbert*, 12, and Captaine *George Greame* twelue, and thirtie of Master Marshalls (otherwise imployed, and now absent from the Campe), and the whole Lyft is five hundred fiftie seuen.

Horse

Horse called since that time from other parts in the Kingdome to the Campe at Kinsale.

The Earle of Kildare, 50. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Garret More, 25.

Horse, 100.

Horse newly sent ouer and landed at Castle-hauen, and at Waterford.

The Lord Preident added to his troope, 50. The Earle of Thomond a troope newly erected, 100. Sir William Godolphin (who commanded the Lord Deputies troope) had newly erected to his owne vse, 50.

Horse, 200.

Totall of horse, 857.

The twentieth of Nouember his Lordship vnderstood by letters from the Lords in England, that one thousand foote and fiftie horse were sent, and already shipped for Loughfoyle. The same day the demy-Cannon planted the day before, did againe batter Castle Nyparke, together with another Cannon this day landed, and planted by it: and with some Ordinance also out of the ships, though they serued to small purpose. About noone one hundred men were sent with Captaine Yorke and Captaine Smith, to view the breach, and though they found it not assaultable, yet the Spaniards with in being no longer able to indure the furie of the shot, hung out a signe of parly, vpon the first shew of those men, and offered to yeeld themselves and the Castle, vpon promise of their liues onely, which being accepted, they were brought presently to the Campe, being in number sixteene that were left aliue.

Before the Castle was yeilded, the Spaniards in the Towne made diuers shot at Captaine Tolkernes Pinnacle with a piece of Ordinance which they mounted a day or two before close to the Gate of the Towne, but did no hurt at all vnto the Pinnacle, the same warping neerer to the other side vnder the hill, and at last riding safely without danger of the shot.

The same day a platforme was made vpon a ground of aduantage, being a strong Rath, betweene the Towne and the Camp, that commanded one part of the Towne, that vnder the fauour thereof, we might the better make our neerer approaches, though at that time we could hardly worke, by reason of the extreame frost, and a demi-Cannon was mounted vpon it, with which some shot were made at the Towne. A sentinell taken in the euening affirmed, that the first piece shot off, went through the house in which Don Iean lay, and did otherwise great hurt. The one and twentieth the prisoners taken in Castle Nyparke, and some runawaies, were sent to Corke, with directions to the Maior, to send them and the former prisoners by the first ship into England, keeping (of them) still at Corke onely the Sericant Maior (taken in skirmish), and the two Commanders of the Castles of Rincorran and Nyparke. This day the Cannon and demi-Cannon, planted vpon the platforme, did play into the Towne. And this day the Lord Deputy went ouer into the Island, to view how from thence the Towne might be best annoied and inuested. And the Spaniards this day put out of the towne great numbers of Irish women, and children, which came to the Campe, and were suffered to passe into the Countrie to their friends.

The two and twentieth day, one James Grace an Irishman, obtaining the Lord Deputies Protection, escaped out of the Towne, and gaue his Lordship this intelligence following. Six Irish Gentlemen horsemen came into the towne of Kinsale on Sunday the fifteenth of Nouember, and one Owen Conde came the same day, and they are all readie to goe out againe, and Father Archer with them, to put out the Countrie, if the Bishop will suffer him. Don Iean sayes priuately, that the Lord Deputy was borne in a happy hower, for he will haue the Towne, vnlesse they be relieued from the North. They haue nothing but ruske and water. They haue but foure pieces of Artillery, one small piece is at the Churchyard, one great and a small in James Meaghes Garden, and the other biggest of all is at the Watergate, to play vpon the shipping, and all foure are mounted. The Spaniards were five thousand by report at their setting out from Spaine, they landed at Kinsale three thousand five hundred, they are yet 3000, there are

two hundred sicke and hurt in the hospitals, they lost 100 at *Rincorran*, and 17 and a boy at Castle *Nyparke*. They had nine slaine when they offered to relieue the Castle, and five when Captaine *Soto* was slaine. They had foure and thirty Colours abroad when they shot into the Lord Deputies Campe, and that was all they had, and they had then two pieces, a great and a small, and that day all the Townesmen were put out at the Gates, that they might doe no hurt with the Munition. They fill the old Abbey at the West gate with earth, that they may mount a great piece there, which they make account wil commād the ground where the English battery is planted at the North Gate, where the Mount is raised, yet it is not likely they will mount any Ordinance there, but rather keep it as a hold. They haue store of powder and munition, which lies at *Iohn Fitz Edmonds* Castle, but they meane to remoue it presently, and put it in a seler within the towne. Their treasure lies at the house where Captaine *Bosstock* lay. They are much affraid the Lord Deputie will place some Ordinance at Castle *Nyparke*, or thereabouts, which will much anney them: but most of all they feare the placing of it at a place neere the water side (where some were sent to seeke rods, not farre from the place where the skirmish was, when they sallyed), for which cause they raised their mount, but especially filled vp the old Abbey, from whence it is best commanded. *Don Iean* lies at *Phillip Roches*. A shot made from the English on Friday at night, hit the house where *Don Iean* lay. The Townesmen will stay no longer there, for feare of the shot, and then the Spaniards will be in great distresse. One went from *Don Iean* to *Tyrone* about nine daies agoe to hasten his comming, the man was blind of one eye.

The same day the Lord Deputy receiued from her Maiestie direction, that forasmuch as the County of *Clare* was of ancient time within the Gouvernement or precinct of the Prouince of *Mounster*, vntill of late it was annexed to the Prouince of *Connaght*, which her Maiestie vnderstood was vpon some vnttrue surmise made by Commissioners for *Connaght*, to the grievance and dislike of her subiects of that Countie. That the Lord Deputie and the Counsell there, should speedily consider of this information, and if they found it not evidently an hinderance to her seruice, then they speedily should giue order, that by reuocation of the former Commissioners and letters Patents for gouernement of these seuerall Prouinces, and by granting new Commissioners of like authoritie and effect, and by all other wayes requisite in Law, the said Countie of *Clare* should bee reunited and annexed vnto the Prouince of *Mounster*, and be reduced vnder the order and gouernement of the Lord President and Councell of *Mounster*, which her Maiestie was perswaded would bee for the aduancement of her seruice, and the good liking of her louing subiects in those parts.

The same two and twentieth day foure Pieces were planted by the Cannon and demy Cannon, which altogether played into the Towne, one of which shot killed foure men in the Market place, and stricke off a Captaines leg, called *Don Iohn de Saint Iohn*, who after died of that hurt, we likewise planted three Culuerings in the Iland beyond the water, in which the foresaid Castle *Nypark* stands, and from whence we heard, that *Don Iohn* feared annoiance.

The three and twentieth these did beate vpon the old Towne with good effect. And the same day our other sixe Pieces on the North-East side plaied vpon the Towne, and so continued till night, in which time (in all mens iudgements, and by report of the prisoners we tooke) they did great hurt to the Towne. This day while the Lord Deputie, the Marshall and Sericant Maior were viewing the ground where the approches were intended, a priuate souldier of Sir *Iohn Barkleys*, in their sight, and in the face of the Spanish guards, attempting to steale a Spanish sentenel (as hee had stolne diuers before) this sentenel being seconded by foure, that he saw not, he fought with them all five, whereof one was the Sericant Maior, whom he had almost taken; and when he found he could doe no good vpon them all, he came off without other hurt, then the cutting of his hand a little, with the breaking of a thrust, which one of them made at him, and he hurt the Sericant Maior.

The night following, we began certaine neere approaches on the North-East side of the Towne on a hill, which by the naturall situation thereof, was free from sudden sallies, by reason of a Valley betweene it and the Towne, so as it might bee speedily seconded from the Campe. There with much expedition was raised a Fort (and Artillery planted, to play into the Towne), which with three or foure Companies was easily gardable; for in this businesse there seemed nothing more to bee respected, then how to approach and infest the enemy in such sort, as neither our old, nor our new men might be ouerspent, or ouer-harried with watches and works (the time of the yeere and extremitie of the weather considered) nor the enemy might take any aduantage to surprize our works by their sallying, without ingaging themselves in fight with our whole Army. For making those approaches, the Lord Deputy drew out one thousand foote, continuing the worke all night; and although the ground were extreme hard, by reason of the Frost, and the night very light, yet that night they brought the worke to very good perfection. The enemy played all the night vpon them with great vollyes, but hurt onely three men, either in the trenches, or in diuers sallies they made (in the one whereof a Squadron of our new men did beat them back to the Gates.)

This day the Lord President aduertised, that *Odonnell*, by aduantage of a Frost (so great as seldome had been seene in *Ireland*), had passed a Mountaine, and so had stolne by him into *Mounster*, whereupon he purposed to returne with the forces hee had, to strengthen the Campe. And in the euening Sir *Richard Lenison*, by the Lord Deputies direction, drew the Admirall and Vice-Admirall in betweene the Iland and *Kinsale*, whence the foure and twentieth day they shot into the Towne.

The five and twentieth day all the Artillery still played vpon the Towne: but the shot from the ships doing little hurt, saue onely vpon the base Towne, the Lord Deputy gaue direction to spend few shot more, except it were on the high Towne. This night direction was giuen to make a platforme for the Artillery vpon the trenches, which was made the three and twentieth at night. Somewhat after midnichte the Spaniards made a sudden salley, with purpose to force the trench, but were soone beaten backe by Sir *Francis Barkeley*, who commanded the watch that night in that place.

The sixe and twentieth the Lord President with the two Regiments of foote, and with his horse he had led out against *Odonnell*, together with a *Connaght* Regiment vnder the Earle of *Clanrickard*, and a Regiment of the Pale vnder Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence* (which vpon the way were commanded to ioine with the Lord President), came to the Campe; and these foure Regiments were that night quartered by themselves, vpon the Westside of *Kinsale*, to inuest the Towne more closely, and to keepe *Odonnell* and the Spaniards from ioining together, which quarter or lesser Campe was commanded by the Earle of *Thomond*: for the Lord President remained euer neere the Lord Deputy in the great Campe, and so did the Earle of *Clanrickard*. This day the three Culuerings were brought from the Iland beyond the water on the East-side, and were planted on a hill, in a point of land neere the water on this side of the Hauen, lying to the East of our Fort newly built there, to which hill the Towne lay neere and very open. In the meane time the Spaniards from the Towne, played vpon our ships with a Demy Cannon, and shot our Admirall twise, and our Vice-admirall once, while they rode (as aforesaid) close by the Towne, but our ships within few shot exchanged, did dismount their Demi-Cannon, so as they could make no more shot with it, and at the same shot hurt their chiefe Gunner.

The seuen and twentieth day betimes in the morning, our three peeces planted the day before on the point of the hill neere the water side, played vpon the Towne, and did great hurt to the enemy, by reason they were planted so neere the Towne, but the eight and twentieth day falling out extreame windie and rainy, wee were enforced to cease our battery, and spent the rest of the day in drawing downe to that place, some other peeces, formerly planted vpon the first platforme.

The foresaid eight and twenty in the morning, we sent a Trumpet to summon *Kinsale*, who was not suffered to enter the Towne, but receiued his answer at the gate, that they held the Town first for *Chbist*, and next for the King of *Spaine*, and so would defend it *Contra tanti*. Vpon his returne with this answer, the Lord Deputy commanded to make battery with all our Artillery, (planted all on the East side of the Towne), which was presently performed, and continuing till towards night, brake downe great part of the East gate. In the meane time the Spaniards being retired in great numbers into their trenches on the West side, to escape the fury of our Ordinance on the East side, Sir *Christopher S. Laurence* was commanded to draw out from our new Campe, on the West side, and to giue vpon them in their trenches, which he performed, and did beat them out of the Trenches, following them to the very gates of the Towne, killing many, and hurting more of them, and so returned without losse of a man on our side, hauing onely some few hurt. The nine & twentieth all our Artillery plaied vpon the Town, and brake downe most part of the Easterne gate, and some part of a new worke the Enemy had made before the gate. This day two Spaniards wrote from *Kinsale* to some of their friends prisoners in our Campe, whom they stiled poore Souldiers, when we knew them to be men of accompt, and withall sent them such money as they wanted, yet vnder the title of Almes; as if they had neither mony of their owne, nor were of credit to be trusted for any.

The last day of *November* Sir *Richard Wingfield* the Marshall tooke some fifty shot, and went to the wall of the Towne, to view the fittest place for vs to make a breach; the Spaniards made a light skirmish with them, and hurt some few. The Marshall when he had well viewed the wall, drew the shot off, and iudging the wall, close to the Easterne gate on the right hand, to be fittest for the making of a breach, he gaue present order that our artillery should beat vpon that place, which was done without intermission, and therewith we brake downe before night a great part of the wall, which the Enemy in the night attempted to make vp againe, but was beaten from it by our Guards, who plaied vpon them with small shot most part of the night. In the euening a Spaniard ranne away from *Kinsale* to our campe, who reported to the Lord Deputy that our Artillery had killed diuers Captaines and Officers in the Towne, besides many priuate souldiers.

The first of *December* it was resolued in Counsell of State and by the Counsell of Warre, (namely the chiefe Commanders and Colonels) that some foote should be drawne out of the campe, to giue the Spaniard a brauado, and to view if the breach we had made were assaultable, and also to cause the Spaniards to shew themselves, that our Artillery might the better play vpon them. To this purpose two thousand foot, commanded by Sir *Iohn Barkeley* the Sergiant Maior, and Captaine *Edward Blany*, were presently put in Armes, and drawne neere the wals of the Towne, who entertained a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, who were lodged in a trench close to the breach without the Towne. During this skirmish, our Artillery plaied vpon those that shewed themselves, either in the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them; besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot.

Among the rest one Captaine *Moryson* a Spaniard, (of whom as one of the pledges vpon the composition, we shal haue cause to speake hereafter) walked crosse the breach, animating his men, and though *S^r Richard Wingfield* our Marshall caused many both great and smal shot to be made at him, with promise of 20 pound to him that should hit him, or beat him off; (whereupon many great shot did beat the durt in his face, and stones about his eares); yet all the skirmish he continued walking in this braue manner, without receiuing any hurt. Many thinke them best souldiers, who are often and dangerously hurt, but it is an errour: for wounds are badges of honour, yet may befall the coward as soone as the valiant man; and I haue knowne most aduenturous men who neuer receiued wound. Pardon this my digression, not warrantable in a iournall, I will onely adde, that braue souldiers (for the starres haue a kinde of power in our birth) are by some secret influence preserued, when others intruding themselves into that course of life, or driuen to it by necessity of estate, fall at the

first allarum: And to speake theologically, God preserues vs, but stil in our waies, so as he who without calling rushes into another way then his own, hath no warrant of diuine protection. After an howers fight, when we had taken full view of the breach, and found it not assaultable, our men were drawne off, with little or no dammage on our part, onely three of our men were hurt, and Captaine *Guesfs* Horse was killed vnder him, which Captaine first had killed two Spaniards with his owne hand.

The same day it was resolued in counsell, to plant a Fort on a Rath on the West side of the Towne, to lodge therein some foote, for seconds to the guard of our artillery, intended to be planted neere the same. And to this purpose, in the night following, the Marshall, the Sergiant Maior, Captaine *Edward Blany*, and Captaine *Iosias Bodley* Trenchmaster, (the Lord Deputy being almost all night present with them), drew out five and twenty of each company, and intrenching themselves on the said hill, not halfe Calliwers shot from the Towne, beganne to cast vp a small Fort. And though the Spaniards perceiued not their purpose, yet many of them lying in a trench they possessed close to the West gate, did play very hotly all night on our men, guarding the Pyoners, and ours did no lesse on them, so that diuers were hurt and killed on both sides. But the second day of *December*, about nine in the morning, when a great myst beganne to breake, and they discovered our worke a yard high, then from the said Trenches, and more from the Castles, and high places in the Towne, they plied vs all the day with small shot. Notwithstanding which annoyance, our men brought the work to very good perfection before night. In the meane time, a Serieant to Captaine *Blany*, drew out some seuen or eight shot, and suddenly fell into a Trench which some Spaniards possessed, close by the Towne, of whom the Serieant killed two, and each of the rest one, with their owne hands. But when not content therewith, they attempted another Trench, something distant from the first, the Serieant in going on was shot through the body, and two of his Company were hurt in bringing him off, and so returned with this and no more losse.

This night the Trenches where the Cannon was planted on the East side of the Towne, were manned with the Lord Deputies guard, (commanded by Captaine *James Blount*) with *Sir Thomas Bourkes* Company and *Sir Benjamin Berries* company, (both commanded by their Lieutenants), by Captaine *Rotherams* company, (commanded by himselfe) by Captaine *Hobbies* company (commanded by himselfe) Captaine *Nuses* (commanded by his Lieutenant) and by Captaine *Roger Haruy* his company, (himselfe commanding in chiefe as Captaine of the watch there that night for as euery Colonell watched each third night, so euery Captaine watched in one place or other each second night). Also this night the Fort on the West side neere the Towne, betweene the two Campes, which was cast vp the day before, was manned by Captaine *Flower* (commanding in chiefe) and his company by Captaine *Spencer* and his company, by Captaine *Dillon* and his company, and by the companies of *Sir Arthur Saunge*, *Sir Iohn Dowdall*, Captain *Master son*, and *Sir William Warren*, (commanded by their Lieutenants) together with certaine squadrons out of the Earle of *Thomonds* quarter in our second campe, which stood in guard without the Trenches. Now within an hower after night, and some two houres before the Moone rose, it being very darke and rainy, the Spaniard impatient of the Forts building, the day before so close to the Townes West gate, and resoluing to attempt brauely on our Ordinance, planted on the East side, made a braue sally with some two thousand men, and first gaue slightly towards the Trenches on the West side, but presently with a grosse and their chiefe strength fell vpon the Trenches, in which the Artillery lay on the East side, continuing their resolution to force it with exceeding fury, hauing brought with them Toolles of diuers sorts, to pull downe the Gabbyons and the Trenches, as also Spykes, to cloy the Ordinance. The allarum being taken in the campe, the Marshall and Serieant Maior, *Sir Richard Moryson*, *Sir William Fortescue*, *Sir Francis Rusbe*, and Captaine *Roe*, sallied presently with some sixe hundred men towards the Cannon, and *Sir Benjamin Berry* with some one hundred men fell directly towards the

Port of the Towne next to the Campe, and the Lord Deputy sent out Sir *Olinier Saint Johns* with seconds. Vpon the Marshals arriuall and charge, the enemy brake, and our men did execution vpon them. Sir *Beniamin Berry* fell directly vpon the enemies seconds, whom he charged and brake, killing many of them, and taking the Commander of that body, being an ancient Captaine, of great estimation with the enemy. At the same time the enemy gaue vpon our trenches and Fort built the day before on the West side, and continued the attempt long with great fury, till Captaine *Flower* in heate and without direction, sallying out of the Fort, to follow part of their forces discomfited, the enemy entered the Fort before he could returne, and possessed themselves of our trenches. Yet still our men continued the fight, and Sir *William Godolphin* gaue many braue charges with his horse, to countenance our men, till the Earle of *Clanrickard* was sent to second them on this part, with Captaine *Skipwith*, Captaine *Clare*, Captaine *Boise*, Captaine *Thomas Bourke*, and some threescore men (for the rest of the Regiment was not aduanced so farre.) Then his Lordship and the rest charged the enemies grosse, being without the Fort, and brake them, and did execution vpon them falling towards the towne, and so returning thence, entered the West Fort again, with little resistance, for the enemy abandoned it. This Fort his L^p and his Company made good, till he was relieued from the Lord Deputie. In this salley in all the enemy left in the field aboue one hundred and twenty dead bodies; besides such as were killed neere the Towne, and could not next day bee discerned by vs. And wee tooke thirteene prisoners, among whom was a Captaine *Reformado* (as they terme them, for honour of antiquitie) who was taken by *Henslo*, Captaine of our Pioners, and a Sericant, and a Drumme. After we heard by some of the Towne, that they left dead aboue two hundred of their best men, among whom were two Captaines, two Alferoes, and the Sericant Maior (being the second Commander to *Don Iean*), and *Don Carloe's*, and that more then two hundred of them were hurt. On our part Captaine *Flower*, Captaine *Skipwith*, and the Earle of *Clanrickards* Lieutenant were hurt, and Captaine *Spencer*, and Captaine *Dillon*, and Captaine *Flowers* Lieutenant, were killed in the West Fort, who staying in the Fort when Captaine *Flower* sallied, were there found dead in the place which they were commanded to make good, and with their faces to the enemy, in as honourable manner as could be expected from any souldier. The enemy sallying on our Fort guarding our Cannon, cloyed a demy-culuering of ours, which being a little crased, was left without the Fort, but the next morning it was made seruiceable againe. Some of them were killed vpon the cannon, and vpon the powder, and the trenches about the cannon were in some places filled with dead bodies; for in that particullar attempt they left seventy two bodies dead in the place, and those of their best men, whereof some were found hauing spikes and hammers to cloy the cannon. And in generall among the dead bodies many were found to haue spels, characters, and hallowed meddals, which they woare as preseruations against death, and most of them when they were stripped, were seene to haue scarres of *Venus* warfare. Wee tooke some fortie shouels, and as many mattocks, and much Armes, left in the field, which tooles were so massie, as they had great aduantage of vs therein, and the sight of them would haue put her Maiesties Ministers of the Ordinance to shame, who for priuate gaine sent sale ware to vs, vnfit to be vsed. In defending this fort of the cannon, Captaine *Rotheram* and *Iames Blount* Ensigne, woon great reputation by their valour, and the courage they gaue to others. Because the Earle of *Clanrickards* Company had watched the night before this, Sir *Henry Follyot* was sent with his Regiment to guard the Westerne fort till morning.

Some hower before this skirmish, the Lord Deputie was aduertised by one *Donogh O Driscoll*, that sixe Spanish ships were put into Castle Hauen, and that six more were sent with them from the *Groyne*, but in the way were scattered from these by tempest, and that since it was not knowne what became of them. That in these six ships arriued, were two thousand Spaniards, with great store of Ordinance and Munition, and that by their report twentie thousand more were comming presently after them.

The

The third of December, by reason of rany weather, nothing could be done, onely vpon relation of a French runaway, that the enemy purposed to sally againe, some of our men were for a short time drawne to Armes, but in vaine.

The fourth day we receined a confirmation of the Spaniards arriuall at Castlehaven, wherupon it was resolved in Counsel, that our first camp should be more strongly fortified, and that al our horse should be drawne into it, and that the quarter or lesser camp on the West side (consisting now onely of three Regiments, namely, of the Earle of Thomond, Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Christopher Saint Laurence) should rise and sit downe farther off, towards the South-gate, hauing another Regiment added to streng; then it, drawne out of the first campe on the North side of the Towne; where the Lord Deputy lodged, the lot whereof fell to Sir Charles Wilmott. That our trenches and Fort on the East side for the guarding of the cannon, should be committed to the continuall guard of Captaine Blany, and our Fort at the West gate to Captaine Ghest. And that our battery should cease, till those stormes of new Spanish supplies and the Irish Rebels drawing neere were ouer.

A Drumme was sent to the Towne, to offer *Don Iean* liberty to bury his dead, which message he receiued with due respect, but prayed vs to burie them, with promise to do the like for any of ours happening to fall in his power. And because our Drum, according to his direction, expostulated with *Don Iean*, that howsoeuer the Spanish prisoners were well vsed by vs, yet his Lordship heard, that one of our men taken in the last salley, after he was hurt, so long as he gaue himselfe out to be an Irish man, was kept in the hospitall, but after being discovered to be an Englishman, was drawne out, and killed. For this cause *Don Iean* sent backe with him a Spanish Drum to the Lord Deputy, intreating buriall for his dead, with the foresaid promise to doe the like for ours; and for the expostulation, denying any such thing done to his knowledge, with protestation to punish it highly, if hee could discover any such thing to haue been done. The first, his Lordship promised to doe, as a Christianlike act, though he knew the inequalitye of the offer, hauing so many of their bodies presently in his power. For the second, his Lordship rested satisfied, yet his L^d did further expostulate with the Drum, that vpon our summons of the Towne, after martiall manner, they were not content to returne a resolute answere, but added scandalous words, terming vs *meschini*. To which he answered, protesting that the speech was ill deliuered by an harquebuzier, who vndertooke to interpret it, but could not doe it rightly. His Lordship also excepted to a kind of challenge sent by *Don Iean*, that the question betweene *England* and *Spain* should be tried by combat betweene them two, this triall being in neither of their powers by commission, nor in *Don Iean's* will, though hee had the power, besides that the Councell of *Trent* forbad the Romanists to fight in *Campo Stecato* (or combat in the field) so as this message was rather quarelsome then honourable, which otherwise his Lordship protested to bee most willing to accept, with thanks for the noble offer. Lastly, his Lordship remembred, that at our first setting downe, he sent a Drum to *Don Iean*, with this message; That whereas his Lordship vnderstood certaine Ladies and women to bee in the Towne, he offered them before the playing of our Artillerie free leaue to depart, or remaining there still, to command any prouision for themselves which our campe afforded. And that *Don Iean* made an vnciuill answere, That he would not be his Baud. To these exceptions hee answered with a Spanish shrug of the shouldier, as hauing no knowledge nor commission, to satisfie his Lordship therein. So his Lordship protested, that all the courtesie offered hitherto by him, proceeded out of that honourable respect which yseth to passe betweene honourable enemies, and because he would euer be true to his owne Honour, whatsoeuer others were to theirs. But in case it were conceiued to proceede of any respect of the greatnes or power of the Spanish Nation, or his owne feare, that he would hereafter shew how much he disdained such ill interpretations of courtesie. And so his Lordship dismissed the Drum.

This night the Spaniards attempted something by boats against our Sentinels, but were soone beaten backe againe. The fifth day Sir Richard Leuison, though the wind

hindered the going out of *Kinsale* Harbour, yet with towing, got out the *Warspite*, the *Defiance*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Marline*, one Merchant, and a Caruill, and with them went to seeke the Spanish Fleete newly arrived at *Castlehaven*.

The same day the foure Regiments aboue named, did remoue to the new camping place, as was determined the day before.

The sixth day at ten in the morning, our Fleete arrived at *Castle haven*, and before foure in the after-noon one Spanish ship was sunke, the Spanish Admirall with nine foote water in hold droue to the shore vpon the rocks, the Vice-admirall with two others droue likewise aground, most of the Spaniards quitting their ships. Our Fleete was forced to stay there the next day by contrary winds, and the Spaniards having landed some Ordinance, played vpon our ships all the day, but the night following they warped out, and the day after returned to *Kinsale*.

The sixth day likewise, a Scottish Barke bringing soldiers from *Spaine*, and being one of the Fleet newly arrived at *Castlehaven*, but seuered from them at sea by storme, came into the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and put the Spaniards, being fourescore, into our hands, who were brought to the campe, and examined before the Lord Deputie. *David High of Lieth*, Master and Owner of the *Vntcorne* examined, laid vpon oath: That he went from *Waterford* sixe weekes agoe with goods of *Waterford* for *Rochel*, and so for *Burdeaux*, but was driuen through foule weather and a leake into the *Groyne*, where within an hower after hee was at Anchor, his ship was arrested, and himselfe taken by the Gouvernour called *Conde*, but after they had vnladen the Barke, and taken away the sailes, he was let at libertie. That *Siriago* with a part of the Spanish Fleete sent for *Ireland*, was then there, and ready to embarke againe for *Ireland*, having about one thousand foure hundred land souldiers, placed in nine ships, whereof this examine was one, the Admirall in which *Syriago* was, being a Netherlander of one hundred fifty tunne, or therabout, the Vice-admirall a Flemming of one hundred twenty tunne, or thereabouts, beside three French ships, and three Scots, and a Fliboat. That they haue great prouisions of Powder, Pioners tooles, and twelue or 41 great Pieces mounted for the field. That the seuen and twentieth of the last, they set saile at *Groine*, and had their directions (as farre as this examine vnderstands) for *Kinsale*. That before their departure from the *Groyne*, one *Jordan Roche* of *Kinsale*, bound for *Burdeaux*, and from thence for *South-Spaine*, comming to an anchor at the *Groyne*, was there taken, and forced in the Kings name to be a Pilot on this coast, his ship being sent on her voyage, by whom they vnderstood, that the Castles of *Ryncoran* and *Nypark* were taken, which hee heard also by the report of a French man hee met at sea. That aboard his ship there was imbarked about fourescore Spaniards, and fiue or sixe women, about fiue and twentie tunne of Bread, and sixe Butts of wine, whereof the most part was spent in beuorage: but other munitions then the souldiers weapons they brought none aboard. That *Brittingdona* is at *Lisbone*, ready to transport two thousand souldiers more for *Ireland*, so soone as hee can get shipping. That *Don Diego de Brochero* in his returne for *Ireland*, landed at *Lisbone*, and from thence posted to the Court, and after his arriual, a present dispatch was made, to hasten these supplies for *Ireland*. That in *Spaine* they make no doubt but *Ireland* is already won, and from thence the common bruite is, they will for *England*, then for *Scotland*, and after will set vpon the Turk. That the fifth of December, they made the land betweene *Corke* and *Kinsale*, and the winde being scant, turned all that day and night to come in, and by seuen of the clocke this morning came into the Harbour, and at opening of the day perceived our Fleete, which by the Spaniards was conceiued to be their Fleete: but by him (as hee saith) knowne to bee her Maiesties, and that of purpose hee came to put the Spaniards into our hands. That before his ship came to anchor, hee got a boat, and discovered to Sir *Amyas Preston* the Spaniards hee had aboard. Whereupon Sir *Amyas Preston* manned out his boates, and rowed in the ship, whereunto the Spaniards made no resistance. Lastlie, that he heard at the *Groyne*, that the *Adilantado*, being then at *Port Saint Marie*, did daily

daily expect the comming of foure thousand Italians, but for what purpose hee knew not.

The Spaniards then examined on oath, said, That there is in the Fleete with *Siriago* not above one thousand, diuers of them taken out of the Gaoles, and very poore and naked, whereof one whole Companie of Portingals was taken out of prison. That the Admirall is laden with Bisket, powder, and Match, and two cannons for battery. That the whole Fleete consists of tenne saile, whereof the Admirall and Vice-admirall are hulkes of three hundred tonnes, as they esteemed them, the rest small barkes of diuers Nations. That *Siriago* commands the Fleete, and Captaine *Alonzo del Campo* commands the foote in chiefe, being a Captaine of the *Terceres*, who hath an old Company, and *Sauedra* hath another old Company, but is himself a young souldier. That they heard nothing that *Kinsale* was besieged. That *Brittendona* was at *Lisbone*, and that they were gathering supplies, but knew not if they will be ready before the Spring or no. That the *Adilantado* was in South-Spaine, and that a Regiment of three thousand Italians was to come for *Ireland*. That the whole Fleete was bound for *Kinsale*, and they thought the Queenes Fleete was their ships of *Spaine*. That all the shipping was to be gathered together at *Lisbone*, against the Spring, and foure thousand Italians were comming for *England*.

This sixth day of December, all the Ordinance was drawne from the Easterne and Western platformes, into the first Camp on the Northside of the Towne, where the Lord Deputy lodged, that we might the better attend the seruice of the field, hauing our Artillery commodiously placed, since we were aduertised, that *Odonnel* was ioyned with those Spaniards which landed lately at *Castle-Hauen*, and that hee, together with *Tyrone*, assisted by all the Rebels force in *Ireland*, were drawing vp towards *Kinsale* to relieue it, and were come within few miles of the campe. Of all these newes the Spaniards in *Kinsale* had knowledge, and thereupon rooke heart againe, when they were otherwise ready to yeeld vpon reasonable composition. For this respect, it was thought enough for vs to keepe the ground we held, against all these enemies, till wee should be further supplied out of *England*, since vpon the least defeate or disaster befalling vs, the whole Kingdome would haue been hazarded (if not lost), by reason of the peoples inclination to a generall reuolt.

We fortified the foresaid campe on the West (or South-West) side, where the Earle of *Thomond* lay with foure Regiments, and it was resolved, that two smal forts should be cast vp, and manned, betweene that campe and the water side Southward (the said forts and campest, each one flanking the other), thereby so to inuest the Towne, as all succour from the countrie might be cut off from it. Further it was resolved, that the ditches of the Lord Deputies campe should bee deepned, and the trenches highthned, and that the backe part furthest from the Towne, lying open hitherto should now bee closed, and made defensible against *Tyrone*s forces, as the side towards the Towne was made against the Spaniards, if they both at one time should giue vpon vs. And that all the Forts should be barricadoed, and by all possible art all the accessses to the towne betweene our two campest be stopped.

The seuenth day the Lord Deputy aduertised Master Secretary in *England*, of all these particulars, adding that we daily heard very hot Alarums of *Tyrone*s purpose, to relieue the Towne, who strengthened with the aboue named forces, was now lodged in Woods, and in accessable strengths, very neere to our campe, so as hee hindered vs from forage for our horse, and from the helpes wee formerly had out of the country, for sustentation of our Army. And that his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards in *Kinsale* on the other, kept vs at a bay, from proceeding in our aproches and battery. Besides that our last supplies were in this short time incredibly wasted, the new men dying by dozens each night, through the hardnes of the winter siege, whereunto they were not inured. Yet his Lordship still made good his first hope of victory, though it were deferred, and that which hee thought to haue attempted with safety to the State, and ease to the Army, was now to be done with hazard to the State.

Inseparable

(inseperable from great actions) and greater painefulnes to the souldier (to bee induced with patience.)

*Tyrone's
Forces shew
themselves.*

The eight day our Artillery was placed in the severall places of our North side Campe, for the best defence thereof, and a Fort on the West side by the other Campe, (according to the above mentioned resolution) was cast vp, & almost finished; where towards night we had a slight skirmish with the Spaniards, in which we had an Ancient and some few men hurt. In the evening the Rebels Horse were discovered, about two miles off, and after supper all our men were drawne into Armes, vpon notice given vs by the Scouts, that the Rebels drew nigh, but after a small time, all saving the watch were dismissed to rest.

This night Sir *Richard Leuysen* returned from *Castle Haven*, with the Queenes ships into the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and came to the Campe, to giue the Lord Deputy accompt of the good seruice done there. The nineteen and eleuen daies, we spent in building the two Sconces, (or Forts) as was formerly resolved in the sixth daies Counsell. They were built on the West side of the Towne, betweene the Earle of *Thomonds* quarter and the water Southward, and to inuest the Towne round about, we cast vp trenches betweene the Forts and the Earle of *Thomonds* quarter, being thirty score in length, the Forts and the Campe flanking each other, and we cast vp Trenches from that side to the Lord Deputies Campe, to stop the passage of Cowes, Horses, or any reliefe to the Towne. The Spaniards made two or three light sallies to view our works on the West side, as they did likewise the twelfth day, but they were beaten back with ease, and no losse on our part. The thirteenth day we drew three peeces of Artillery from the Lord Deputies campe, and planted them on the West side neere the other campe, to play vpon an Abby, which flanked that part where wee intended to make a new breach. The same day the Spaniards taken in the Scots ship, were sent for *England*.

And Sir *Oliver S. Johns* was dispatched for *England*, and by him the Lord Deputy and the Counsell wrote this following Letter to the Lords in *England*.

IT may please your Lordships: How we haue proceeded in the great businesse wee haue in hand here, since our last dispatch vnto your Lordships of the seventh of the last moneth, wee haue thought fit to set downe by way of iournall inclosed, humbly praying leaue to referre your Lordships thereunto, to auoid needlesse repetition; and if the seruices we haue hitherto performed, shall happily fall short of that which your Lordships in this time haue expected, and our selves (wee acknowledge) hoped; wee haue made collection of the sundry difficulties and oppositions that we haue incountred, since the first newes of these Spaniards discovery vpon this Coast, to the end it might appeare vnto your Lordships plainly by the view thereof, (as wee are confident it will), that nothing hath beene wanting in our endeouours, to bring this worke to the desired conclusion, but that a more slow proceeding hath beene inauoydably occasioned, by the slow and vntimely comming to vs of those meanes and prouisions, without which it is impossible to be effectually actiue, and the arising of new accidents and impediments in the meane time, which made our worke more difficult, and therefore will not (we hope) be imputed any fault of ours. Since the arriual of the Queenes shippes, the forces, artillery, and other prouisions out of *England*, we haue so annoied this Towne with battery in all parts thereof, as the breach was almost assailable, and the Houses in the Towne much beaten downe, to the great weakening of the defendants, in so much as we were not without hope to be offered it by composition, or within a little more time to haue entered it by force, though that was held a course of much hazard and losse, in regard they within are very strong in bodies of men, which we know to be most certaine. The Spaniard finding how hardly he was laid to, importuned *Tyrone* and *Odonnell* with their forces to come to releue him, they both are accordingly come, and encamped not farre from the Towne. And now one thousand more Spaniards are arriued at *Castle Haven*, with great store of munition & artillery, and report that a greater force is comming after, which doth so bewitch this people,

people, as we make accompt all the Countrey will now goe out, as most of them haue done already, as in our former letters we signified that we feared. *Odonnells* forces are said to be foure thousand, and to be ioined with the Spaniards that landed at *Castle Haven*, and *Tyrone*s (as we heare generally) to be as many more, and since his passage through the Countrey hither, *Tyrrell* with many other *Lemster* Rebels, (as it is said) are ioined with him, and comming also hither. By these meanes wee are induced to leaue our battery for a time, and to strengthen our Campes, that we may be able to indure all their fury, as wee hope we shall, and keepe the Towne still besieged, and so inuested, as wee are not out of hope in the end to carry it, notwithstanding all that they can doe. Yet since it is now most apparent, that the King of *Spaine* meanes to make this place the seate of the Warre, not onely for the gaining of this Kingdome, but from time to time to push for *England*, if he should get this, (for so some that we haue taken and examined, doe confesse) and that the whole strength of the Irish are drawne and drawing hither, to set vp their rest, to get that liberty (as they call it) that they haue so long sought for. We must earnestly intreat your Lordships to supply vs, and that speedily, of all things necessary for so great a Warre, as this is like to be. We hold it a matter of necessity that foure thousand foote more be sent vs presently, without staying one for another to come together, but as they can be leuied and shipped away, and we desire good choice may be made both of the Men and Armes, for in both the last were much defectiue, those vnder Captaines were but ill bodies of men, and the supplies had very ill armes and weapons: Wee conceiue it will be fittest for the seruice, that I the Deputy haue liberty to put so many of them vnder Captaines, as cannot at the first bee vsed for supplies, for though our chiefe meaning is to fill vp the bands already here, if so many be wanting at their comming hither, that her Maiesty may not vnneccessarily be charged with new bands, when the old be not full, but much deficient, yet a great part of our companies being extreame sicke, through the exceeding misery of this Winters siege, (so as at this present there is but one third part of the last men that came ouer seruiceable, and able to doe duties, whereof happily a great part may recouer) it cannot therefore be determined, vntill they be here, what number will bee necessary for supplies, and what companies fit to bee raised, for that must grow out of a view here, of such as continue still sicke, or are growne deficient by death, or running away, whereof of late there are very many, notwithstanding the seuerer courses we haue taken, by executing some for a terrour to the rest, by making Proclamations vpon paine of death, that none should depart the campe without licence, by giuing direction to the Port Townes that they should be staied and apprehended: and lastly, by sending speciall men to *Corke*, *Youghall*, *Waterford*, and *Wexford*, to see the same duly put in execution, for which purpose they haue commission for martiall law, all which is well knowne to euery private man in the campe, and yet they steale away daily in such numbers, as besides those that by deuises doe get passages, there are at this present taken betweene this and *Waterford*; at the least two hundred ready to be returned; though we confesse the misery they indure is such, as iustly deserueth some compassion, for diuers times some are found dead, standing sentinell, or being vpon their guard, that when they went thither were very well and lusty; so grieuous is a Winters siege, in such a Countrey: For the sicke and hurt men we haue taken the best course we can deuise, for at *Corke* we haue provided a guesthouse for them, where they are most carefully looked vnto, and haue their lendings deliuered in money, to buy them what the market doth affoord, with an increase of what is held fit for them, allowed out of the surpluse of the entertainment for the Preachers and Cannoneers, (which we conceaue your Lordships haue heretofore heard of). And for those that are sicke or sickely at the campe, because we much desire to keepe them well (if it were possible), we take this course. First their owne meanes is allowed them very duly, Sir *Robert Gardner* being appointed a Commissioner for that purpose, that the souldier in all things may haue his right, with proclamation that whosoever found himselfe in any want, should repaire to him; and secondly, out of a generall contribution from the Officers and Captaines of the Army, there is fifty pound a weeke collected for them,

and

and bestowed in providing warme broth, meate, and lodging, so as a marvellous great number are thereby releued. And yet all this doth not serue, but that a great many are still vnseruiceable which we haue here noted at the greater length, that it might appeare vnto your Lordships that it proceeds not from want of care or prouidence in vs, but from keeping the field in such a season, where humane wit cannot preuent their decay. We must further earnestly intreat your Lordships, that the Fleete may remaine vpon this Coast during the warre with the Spaniards, and to furnish vs with victuals, munition and money, for Easterly winds are rare at this time of the yeere, and without euery of these, this action cannot bee maintained, but that the Army will breake, and come to nothing. Neither will this Countrey now afford vs any thing, no not so much as meat for our Horses; and therefore wee must likewise bee humble suiters, that two thousand quarters of Oates may speedily be sent vs, without which vndoubtedly our Horses will be starued. The particulars of our wants, both of munition and victuals, are set downe by the Master of the Ordnance, and the Victualer for this Province, and we haue made choice of Sir *Oliuer S. Iohns*, to sollicite your Lordships for a speedy and fauourable dispatch, as also to giue satisfaction in all things wherein it may please your Lordships to require a more particular information, in regard he is well acquainted with all things that haue passed here, otherwise as we were vnwilling to haue spared him; so wee found him very vnwilling to leaue the seruice at this time, had not the Deputy intained him to vndertake this businesse, knowing hee could best satisfie your Lordships in any particular that you might doubt off. Wee haue also held it very fit, humbly to signifie to your Lordships, that where wee heard from the Counsell of *Dublin*, and otherwise, of her Maiesties purpose to send some Scots, that it would now very much aduance the seruice, for if foure thousand Scots (which we thinke a conuenient number) might speedily be landed there, to ioine with the English at *Loughfoyle* and *Carickfergus*, while *Tyrone* keepes here with the Forces of that Countrey, they would no doubt in short time make so great a spoile there, as hee should neuer be able to subsist; to maintaine a warre any more, and a great part both of the English forces & of them, after hauing swept those Countries bare, which they might quickly doe, might draw hither to our assistance, with great part of the prey, which would abundantly releue both them and vs with victuall, and so stop the passages behind him, as hee should neuer bee able to returne; but that the warre both of *Spaine* and *Ireland* might haue an end together here, whereof wee cannot but wish your Lordships to haue due consideration, and humbly pray you to excuse vs, for making thus farre bold, which nothing should haue led vs vnto, but zeale and affection to the seruice. Lastly, whereas the Enemies Fleet at *Lysbone*, vnder the conduct of *Bretandona*, is (by intelligence from *Spaine*) assuredly intended for these parts, to bring supplies to *Kinsale* within a moneth or sixe weekes: And whereas we find the great importance of this seruice depending on the countenance of her Maiesties Fleet, to haue the same with vs as well to guard the Harbour and repell the enemies landing, as also to guard our Magazins of munition and victuals, which must be kept in ships, we hauing no other conueniency to keepe them: We haue made humbly bold to stay the Fleet commanded by Sir *Richard Lewison*, and doe in like sort beseech your Lordships to victuall them for three moneths longer, with all possible speed; for they are now victualled onely till the twentieth of Ianuary. And because so great a quantity of victuals as will serue them for that time, can hardly be so soone provided; we humbly desire that this supply of their victuals may be sent vnto them in parts, as it can be made ready: And because this Fleet, by the opinion of the best experienced in Sea seruices, (whom we for our parts doe beleue), must necessarily be diuided, and yet is too small to serue in two parts, we humbly pray that some such addition of ships, as in your wisdoms shal be thought meet, may be sent hither, to forbid the enemy to plant in other places, as *Baltimore* and *Berre Haven*, where it is very probable they meane to plant: by which diuision of the Fleet better seruice may be expected, then otherwise can possibly be performed. For it is no doubt, but many opportunities will be offered to fight with the Enemy, which otherwise cannot be looked for. This wee humbly

sub.

submit to your Lordships fauourable consideration, not forgetting (as earnestly as wee may) to recommend to your Lordships good fauour Sir *Richard Leuison*, Admirall of this Fleete, who hath shewed himselte a most worthy Gentleman, both in performing of that seruice vpon the Spanish ships at *Castle-hauen* (which in our Iournall is expresse'd), as also in being himselte painefull, carefull, wise, and valiant in the whole course of all affaires, which your Lordships committed to his charge, and that in such measure, as we thinke a more sufficient and gallant Gentleman could not haue beene chosen for such an imployment. And so wee most humbly take leaue, &c.

By the same dispatch the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Secretary in *England*.

Sir, I know that all great actions are accompanied with many difficulties, neither are they strange to me, that haue put on a minde to indure any thing for such a Mistressse, in such a quarrell. And with chearefulness shall I suffer the extremitie of hardnesse, and aduenture, if it shal please her Maiesty so graciously to interpret our labours, as to beleue (as it is true) that our difficulties arise out of themselues, and not from any defect of our Counsels or endeauors. For my selfe, I protest that I doe faithfully propound vnto my selfe, whatsoeuer I presume are her Maiesties chiefe ends, to make a speedy, safe, and honourable conclusion of this warre, which to no priuate man would be more vnsupportable then to my selfe, were I not vpheld by my dutie and affection to her seruice. I doe conceiue that it is apparant, that the King of *Spaine* is resolved to make a powerfull warre with *England*, and that he hath chosen this Countrie to be the seate thereof, where we that are her Maiesties Ministers here, must either marre, or giue way to this foundation. If he bee resolved to send continuall supplies, and to fortifie in seuerall places, the warre is likely to grow long and difficult. For first, it is hard to force a warlike Nation out of any strength, without great numbers, royall prouisions, and long time, and how hard our supplies of either, can bee spared, or sent in time so farre, I feare the estate doth already feele too much. The necessitie of making head to an enemy (who hauing the hearts of all this people, shal haue all their helpes, if they durst), doth draw our Army to indure all the incommodities of a miserable Winters siege, wherein, without all preuention, the greatest part of our strength will decay, before we be readie (in our chiefe designe of forcing the Towne) to vse it. And if otherwise we should vse in this worke more then aduised haste, we might easily hazard the losse of this Kingdome; for little disasters to vs will bee conceiued ouerthrowes, and beleue Sir, that nothing containes euen the best of this Countrie inhabitants, but the prosperitie and reputation of our Army; so that, although it may please God to enable vs to cut off the thread of this warre, sooner then wee see reason to presume of, yet because we haue iust reason to expect a growing enemy, and in so great a cause, it must please her Maiestie, either to bend and maintaine her Royall power this way, or by some attempt in his owne Countries, to diuert his purpose for this; for otherwise if he persist in his purpose for *Ireland*, if he once grow of power to breake the bankes of our opposition, he will suddenly (and not by degrees) overflow all. Hitherto it hath pleased God to prosper vs, in all we haue vndertaken, or hath been vndertaken against vs; wee haue wonne whatsoeuer the enemy was possessed off without the Towne; we haue taken aboute two hundred Spanish prisoners; there are (as wee are certainly enformed) aboute one thousand dead and killed of them in the Towne, the which we haue now as thoroughly inuested as may be: but on the other side the whole force of *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, with all the strength of the Rebels of *Ireland*, do lie within fixe miles of vs, and to their assistance they haue the Spanish supplies, and (that which is worst) their munition and prouisions; the whole Prouince either is ioyned with them, or stand neutrals; and what vse soeuer the enemy maketh of them, I am sure wee receiue by them no manner of assistance. Notwithstanding all this, I hope wee shall giue a good account of the besieged; but wee haue reason to proceede with great caution, hauing a desperate enemy before vs, and so manie

that are ingaged in the same fortune behind vs. For *Tyrone* and *O Donnell* have quit their owne Countries, to recover them here, or else to loose all. Now Sir, to enable vs in this great warre, you must continually supply vs with munition and victuals. It is true, how incredible soeuer you thinke it, that of two thousand men you send vs, you must account that we make vse of little more then five hundred, and yet wee can well iustifie, that there is nothing omitted that humane wit can prouide, for the preservation of such as we haue. I haue (much against his will and my owne) sent ouer Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, because I presume he can satisfie you in many things, which by writing we can hardly doe. Once more I thought good to remember you, that I protest before the eternall God, that it grieueth me to see her Maiesty so ill serued in her Musters, from the abuses whereof (as I haue done heretofore) I do vtterly disclaime, as not being in my power to reforme; for all the Ministers in that kind, are but ciphers or false numbers, and it is beyond my power to discend into euery particular care, in such an actiue time, wherein I spend all my meditations in making onely of the warre, and wherein how much of the weight of euery mans burthen doth lie vpon my shoulders, I doe better feele, then I can expresse, or make you belecue. I will discontinue the consideration of any thing that belongs to my owne priuate, and haue now onely desired this bearer to negotiate for mee as a publike person, and of publike matter, and I beseech God to send mee the height of my ambition, which is, with the conscience of hauing done her Maiestie the seruice I desire, to inioy a quiet, priuate life, and that her Maiestie may neuer more haue need of men of our profession.

Yours Sir most assured
to doe you seruice

Mountioy.

The foureteenth day was so rainy, and so tempestuous in winds, as wee could not stirre out, to proceede any thing in our businesses. The fifteenth our Artillerie, planted by the Campe on the West-side, did play vpon the toppes of the Castles in the Towne, where the enemies shot were placed, that from thence they might annoy our men, working in the trenches, and in the platforme, and attending our Artillerie. Our pieces brake downe many of these Castles, and killed many of their shot lodged in them. Likewise in the night, while our men were making new approches, our Ordinance plaied vpon the Towne, and many volleys of small shot were exchanged betweene vs and the enemy.

The sixteenth day the same Ordinance plaied in like sort vpon the Castles in the Towne, and did much hurt to the men there lodged. The seuenteenth day was very tempestuous with rain, and especially wind, and so continued all night, for which cause our Artillery plaied but seldom vpon the town. And this night the Spaniards sallyed, and brake downe a platforme, which we had begun the day before, with purpose to plant our Artillery there; whereupon a slight skirmish fell betweene vs and them, but with little or no hurt on either side. The eighteenth day our Artillerie continued to play vpon the Towne. And this day his Lordship intercepted this following letter, which he commanded me to translate out of Spanish into English.

To the Printe Oneale, and Lord O Donnell.

I Thought your Excellencies would haue come at *Don Ricardo* his going, since hee had order from you to say, that vpon the Spaniards comming to you (from *Castle-Hauen*), you would doe me that fauour. And so I beseech you now you will doe it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may bee. For I assure you, that the enemies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the third part of their trenches, which shall not auaille them, for resisting their first furie, all is ended. The manner of your comming, your Excellencies know better to take there, then I to giue it here; for I will giue them well to doe this way, being alwaies watching to giue the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your Excellencies fighting as they doe alwaies,

waies, I hope in God the victorie shall be ours without doubt, because the cause is his. And I more desire the victory for the interest of your Excellencies, then my owne. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons, come well appointed and close withall, and being mingled with the enemies, their Forts will doe as much harme to them, as to vs. I commend my selfe to *Don Ricardo*. The Lord keepe your Excellencies. From *Kinsale* the eight and twentieth (the new stile, being the eighteenth after the old stile) of December, 1601.

Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your Excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy, for expedition imports. It is needfull that we all be on horsebacke at once, and the greater haste the better.

Signed by *Don Iean del Aguyla*.

The nineteenth day was so extreme rainy, as we could doe little or nothing. The twentieth in the morning being very faire, our Ordinance plaied, and brake downe good part of the wall of the Towne. And to the end we might sharpen *Tyrone* (whose lying so neere did more annoy vs, by keeping reliefe from vs, then hee was like to hurt vs by any attempt); or if *Tyrone's* force came not vp sooner, that wee might proceede more roundly, this day another great breach was made beneath the Platforme, and though many shot were made to hinder vs, yet by the next morning the worke was brought to good perfection. The night was stormy, with great lightning and terrible thunder, to the wonder of all, considering the season of the yeere and this night came certaine intelligence, that *Tyrone*, drawne on by *Don Ieans* importunity, determined presently to set vp his rest for the reliefe of the Towne, and that the next night he would lodge within a mile and halfe of our Campe.

The one and twentieth our scouts confirmed the same, and towards night *Tyrone* shewed himselfe with all his horse and foote, vpon a hill within a mile of vs, in the way ^{shewes him} to *Corke*. Whereupon two Regiments of our foote, and most of our horse being drawne out of the Campe, made towards them: but when they saw our men resolutely come forward, they fell back to a Fastnesse of wood and water, where they encamped. ^{selfe horse and foote.}

This night being light with continuall flashings of lightning, the Spaniards sallied againe, and gaue vpon a trench, newly made beneath our Canon, but were the sooner repelled, because wee kept very strong Guards, and euery man was ready to be in Armes, by reason of *Tyrone's* being so neere vnto vs.

The two and twentieth *Tyrone's* horse and foote often shewed themselves from an Hill, beyond which they incamped in a Wood, yet our Artillery still plaied vpon the Towne, breaking downe the Wall, and some Turrets, from whence the Spaniards shot annoyed our men. Many intelligences confirmed, that *Tyrone* on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, had a purpose to force our Campe.

This night the Spaniards sallied, and gaue vpon a trench close to the West-side of the Towne, which the Serieant that kept it did quit: but Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence* appointed to second him, came vp with some foote, and did beat the Spaniards into the Towne before they could doe any great hurt, saue onely a little defacing it. Our Artillery still plaied vpon the Towne, that they might see wee went on with our businesse, as if wee cared not for *Tyrone's* comming, but it was withall carried on in such a fashion, as wee had no meaning to make a breach, because wee thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all to hazard, vntill wee might better discover what *Tyrone* meant to doe, whose strength was assured to bee very great, and wee found by letters of *Don Ieans*, which wee had intercepted, that hee had aduised *Tyrone* to set vpon our Camps, telling him that it could not bee chosen, but our men were much decayed by the Winters siege, and so, that wee should hardly bee able to maintaine so much ground, as wee had taken when our strength was greater, if wee were well put to, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which hee would not faile for his part to doe resolutely. And it was most true, that our men dailie died by dozens, so as the

sicke and runnawaies considered, wee were growne as weake as at our first setting downe, before our supplies of foure thousand foote.

The strength of our Regiments the three and twentieth of December.

The Lord Deputies Regiment had able men, 715. The Lord Presidents Regiment able men, 556. The Earle of *Clanrickards* Regiment able men, 529. The Earle of *Thomonds* Regiment, 572. The Lord *Audley* his Regiment, 370. Sir *Richard Percies* Regiment, 544. Sir *Richard Morysons* Regiment, 541. Sir *Oliver Saint Johns* his Regiment, 515. Sir *Charles Wilmotts* Regiment, 454. Sir *Henry Follyots* Regiment, 595. Sir *Christopher Saint Laurences* Regiment of Irish, 747. Sir *Henrie Powers* Squadron volant (or flying Regiment) drawne out of the former Regiments, after the making of the Lyst in Nouember last, 449.

The Totall of Foote able men besides runawaies, and hurt, and sicke, lying aswell in the Campe, as at *Corke*, 6595.

*Tyrone re-
solves to as-
saile our
Campe.*

This euening one of the chiefe Commanders in *Tyrones* Army, hauing some obligations to the Lord President, sent a messenger to him for a bottle of *Vsquebagh*; and by a letter wished him, that the English Army should that night bee well vpon their guard, for *Tyrone* meant to giue vpon one Campe, and the Spaniards vpon the other, meaning to spare no mans life but the Lord Deputies and his. *Don Iean de l'Aguila* after confessed to the Lord President, that notwithstanding our sentinels, he and *Tyrone* the night following, had three messengers the one from the other. All the night was cleare with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the astonishment of many, in respect of the season of the yeere. And I haue heard by many horsemen of good credit, and namely by Captaine *Pikeman*, Cornet to the Lord Deputies troope; a Gentleman of good estimation in the Army; that this night our horsemen set to watch, to their seeming did see Lampes burne at the points of their staues or speares in the middest of these lightning flashes. *Tyrones* guides misfed the way, so as hee came not vp to our Campe by night, as the Spaniards ready in Armes howerly expected, but earely about the breake of the next day.

The foure and twentieth of December, some halfe hower before day, the Lord Deputie in his house sitting at Counsell with the Lord President and Master Marshall, as thinking the intended enterprise of the enemy by some accident to bee broken, suddenly one of the Lord Presidents horsemen called him at the dore, and told him, that *Tyrones* Army was come vp very neere to our Campe. And Sir *Richard Greame*, hauing the Scout that night, when hee discovered that *Tyrone* with his forces was on foote marching towards the Campe, presently aduertised the Lord Deputy thereof, and his Lordship being alwaies in readinesse to intertaine them (seldome going to bed by night), and at this time (as I said) setting in Counsell, when he heard that they were aduanced within three quarters of a mile to our Campe, caused all our men to draw into Armes in the quarter, and himselfe with the Marshall attending him, aduanced towards our scouts, whence he sent the Marshall Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, to take view of the enemy, and hee brought him word, that they were in the same place formerly aduertised. Vpon his returne the Lord Deputie left for defence of the great Campe on the Northside, his Lordships owne Regiment, vnder his Lieutenant Sir *Beniamin Berry*, the Lord Presidents Regiment (who was in his Lordships absence to command both Camps in chiefe), the Earle of *Clanrickards* Regiment the Lord *Audley* his Regiment, and Sir *Richard Moryson* his Regiment. This done, the Lord Deputie sent a Corporall of the field vnto our lesser Campe (or quarter) commanded by the Earle of *Thomond*, and gaue order there for disposing the foure Regiments of the Earle of *Thomond*, Sir *Richard Percy*, Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*, and directed how to set all the Companies in their seuerall guards. In former notes I finde Sir *Richard Percies* Regiment quartered in the Earle of *Thomonds* Campe,

Campe, but here I find it reckoned among them of the greater Campe, and the Earle of *Clanrickards* Regiment in this lesser Campe, whereof I remember not the certaintie, but am sure, howsoever they had been changed, that the Regiments for number, were at this time thus disposed in the two Campes. By this time the Marshall, with some foure hundred horse, and Sir *Henrie Powers* Regiment (being to answer Alarums, and so drawne out at this time, as they had been for three nights before on like occasion) was aduanced within twenty score of the enemy, the ground rising so high betweene them and our men, as they could not see one the other.

*The defeat
of Tyrone's
forces.*

It was now the breake of day, whereas mid-night was the time appointed for the Rebels to meete with *Don Isans* forces, the Spaniard being to set vpon our lesser Campe (or the Earle of *Thomonds* Quarter), and *Tyrrell* leading the Rebels Vant-guard (in which were the Spaniards lately landed at *Castle-Hauen*), and *Tyrone* leading their Battaille, and *O. Donnell* their Reare, being all to set vpon our chiefe Campe, conceiuing themselves of sufficient strength to force both our Campes at one instant, and to make no great worke of it.

The Lord Deputy, with the Lord President in his company, being come vp to our forces, led out against *Tyrone*, and resolving there to giue him battaille, commanded Sir *Iohn Barkeley* Serieant Maior to draw out of the Campe the two Regiments of Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns* and Sir *Henry Fellyot*. Vpon their comming vp, the enemy finding vs resolved to fight, retired himselfe ouer a Foard; and the Marshall seeing them disorderd in their retrait, sent word thereof by Sir *Francis Ruff* to the Lord Deputy, desiring leave to fight, and his Lordship by Sir *Samuel Bagnol* gaue him leave to order that seruice according as hee in his discretion, should find the disposition of the enemy, and therewith sent backe Sir *George Carew* Lord President with three troopes of horse, to the great Campe, to command both Camps in chiefe, and to make head against the Spaniards, if they should sally out of the Towne.

But the Spaniards still expecting the comming vp of the Rebels, according to their mutuall proiect, and neuer imagining that wee with our small forces, could draw out sufficient bands to meete and beate the Rebels, contained themselves within the towne walles, till (as by the sequell shall appeare) their sallies could little profit them.

After the said message sent to the Marshall, presently the Earle of *Clanrickard* came vp, and exceedingly importuned the Marshall to fight. Whereupon the Marshall drew a Squadron of foote with their Drumme to the Foard; and willed Sir *Richard Greames* with his horse to march directly to the Foard. Then the enemy retired hastily with horse and foote ouer a boggy ground to firme land, hoping to keepe that boggy passage against vs. Then the Marshall directed Sir *Henry Dauers* (commanding the horse vnder him), with his horse, and Sir *Henrie Power* with his Regiment of foot to aduance, who presently came ouer the foresaid Foard vnto him. The Lord Deputy being vpon the hill with two Regiments of foote, commanded the Serieant Maior there attending him, to second our men with those foote. So the Marshall hauing the Earle of *Clanrickard*, and Sir *Henry Dauers* with him, aduanced with some hundred horse, and began with a hundred Harqubusiars (led by Lieutenant *Cowel* a valiant Gentleman, marked by a red cap he wore, to be a special instrument in this fight) to giue occasion of skirmish on the Bog side, which the rebels with some loose shot entertained, their three Battallions standing firme on the one side of the Bog, and our Fort on the other side. In this skirmish our foot were put vp hard to our horse, which the Marshall perceiving, put forth more shot, which made the Rebels retire towards their Battaille. Then the Marshall finding a way through a Foard, to the ground where the Rebels stood, he possessed the same with some foote, and presently he passed ouer with the Earle of *Clanrickard*, Sir *Richard Greames*, Captaine *Tasse*, and Captaine *Fleming*, and their horse, and offered to charge one of the Rebels Battailles of one thousand eight hundred men: but finding them stand firme, our horse wheeled about. Now Sir *Henry Dauers* with the rest of the horse, Sir *William Godolphin* with the Lord Deputies, and Captaine *Minshall* with the Lord Presidents troopes (kept by the Lord

Deputie to answere all accidents), and our Serieant Maior with two Regiments (sent by the Lord Deputy to second the Regiment of Sir *Henrie Power*, being with the Marshall,) came all vp, whereupon the Marshall with the horse charged home vpon the Reare of the Battaile, and the Irish not vsed to fight in plaine ground, and something amazed with the blowing vp of a Gun-powder bagge (they hauing vpon the like fright defeated the English of old at *Blackwater*), but most discouraged to see their horse flie (being all Chiefes of Septs and Gentlemen, to the number of fve or fixe hundred), were suddenly routed, and our men followed the execution. The other two Battailes that stood stil, now finding this routed, made haste to succour them. Whereupon the Lord Deputy sent instantly Captaine *Francis Roe* with Sir *Oliuer Saint Johns* Regiment (of which he was Lieutenant Colonell), to charge on the Flank of the Vanguard, which presently retired disorderly, being followed by our foote and horse: but the Spaniards landed at *Castle-Hauen*, marching there, and being not so good of foote as the Irish, drew out by themselves, yet were by Sir *William Godolphin* leading the Lord Deputies troope, soone broken, and most of them killed, the rest (with their chiefe Commander *Don Alonzo Del Campo*) being taken prisoners, namely, two Captaines, seuen Alfieroes, and forty souldiers, whereof some were of good qualitie. In the meane time many of the light footed Irish of the Van escaped, as did like wise almost all the Rere, by aduantage of this execution done vpon the Spaniards and the maine Battaile, (of which body farre greater then either of the other, all were killed), but onely some sixty or thereabouts.

Thus the Irish horse first leauing the foote, then two of the Battalions being routed, they all fell to flie for life, our men doing execution vpon many in the place. On our part Sir *Richard Greames* Cornet was killed, Sir *Henry Dauers*, Sir *William Godolphin*, Captaine *Henry Crofts* Scout-master were slightly hurt, onely fixe souldiers hurt, but many of our horses killed, and more hurt. The Irish Rebels left one thousand two hundred bodies dead in the field, besides those that were killed in two miles chase: we tooke nine of their Ensignes, all their Drummes and Powder, and got more then two thousand Armes. And had not our men been greedy of the Spaniards spoile, being very rich, had not our foote been tired with continuall watchings long before, in this hard winters siege. Had not our horse especially been spent by ill keeping and want of all meate for many daies before, (by reason of *Tyrone*s neer-ness, so as the day before this battaile it had been resolved in Counsell to send the horse from the Campe for want of meanes to feede them, and if *Tyrone* had laine still, and not suffered himselfe to bee drawne to the plaine ground by the Spaniards importunitie, all our horse must needs haue been sent away or starued.) Had not these impediments been, wee had then cut the throates of all the rebels there assembled; for they neuer made head against them that followed the execution, nor scarce euer looked behind them, but euery man shifted for himselfe, casting of his Armes, and running for life. In so much as *Tyrone* after confessed himselfe to be ouerthrowne by a sixth part of his number, which he ascribed (as wee must and doe) to Gods great worke, beyond mans capacitie, and withall acknowledged that he lost about one thousand in the field, besides some eight hundred hurt. This we vnderstood by the faithfull report of one, who came from him some few daies after, and told the L. Deputy moreouer, that he tormented himself exceedingly for this his ouerthrow.

After the battell, the Lord Deputy in the midst of the dead bodies, caused thanks to be given to God for this victory, and there presently knighted the Earle of *Clanric-kard* in the field, who had many faire escapes, his garments being often peirced with shot and other weapons, and with his owne hand killed about twenty Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no Rebelle. The captiue Spanish Commander *Alonzo del Campo*, a- uowed that the Rebels were fixe thousand foot and 500 horse, whereas the Lord Deputy had but some one thousand two hundred foote, and lesse then foure hundred horse. So before noone his Lordship returned to the campe, where commanding vol- lies of shot for ioy of the victory, the Spaniards perhaps mistaking the cause, and dreaming

dreaming of the Rebels approach, presently sallied out, but were soone beaten into the Towne, especially when they saw our triumph, and perceiued our horsemen from the hill on the West side, to waue the Colours we had taken in the battell, and among the rest, especially the Spanish Colours, (for such most of them were, the Rebels in woods not vsing that martiall brauery). The same day an old written Booke was shewed to the Lord Deputy, wherein was a Prophecie, naming the foard and hill where this battell was giuen, and foretelling a great ouerthrow to befall the Irish in that place.

A note giuen by one of Tyrones followers, of his losse at this ouerthrow.

Tirlogh Ohagan Sonne to *Art Ohagan*, Commander of five hundred, slaine himselfe with all his company, except twenty, whereof eleuen were hurt, and of them seuen died the eighteenth day, after their returne.

Kedagh Mac Donnell, Captaine of three hundred, slaine with all his men, except threescore, whereof there were hurt five and twenty.

Donnell Groome mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his whole company.

Rory mac Donnell, Captaine of a hundred, slaine himselfe and his company.

Five of the *Clancans*, Captaines of five hundred, themselues slaine and their companies, except threescore and eightene, whereof eightene were hurt.

Sorly Boyes sonnes had followers in number three hundred, vnder the leading of Captaine *Mulmore Oheagarty*, all slaine with the said *Mulmore*, sauing one and thirty, whereof twenty were hurt. *Colle Duff mac Donnell*, Captaine of one hundred, lost with all his company.

Three of the *Neales*, Captaines of three hundred, sent by *Cormock mac Barron*, all lost sauing eightene, whereof there were nine hurt.

Captaines slaine fourteene. Souldiers slaine 1995. Souldiers hurt 76.

The five and twentieth day (being our Christmas day) the Spaniards in the afternoon made a slight sally, but finding vs ready to entertaine them, presently they drew backe, yet to hinder our making a trench, which we then beganne, and which they found would doe them much hurt, they sallied againe strongly at nine of the clocke in the night, and maintained the fight till eleuen, wherein the Ensignes to Captaine *Roper* and Captaine *Ghest*, with diuers others on our part were hurt hard by their wall, but in short space after, they were beaten into the Towne with many of theirs hurt, and so we perfected that worke. The sixe and twentieth in the night, the Spaniards made another sally at the West gate (as formerly) vpon a new trench wee kept close to the Towne, and that so hotly, as they inforced our men to quit it, hauing the Liefeteniant of that guard and ten more of them shot. But when the Spaniards made vp to our lower Fort, they were presented with a volly of shot in their teeth, which killed foure, and hurt eight of them, and so they drew into the Towne.

The seuen and twentieth the Lord Deputy dispatched Sir *Henry Dauers* into England, with the following letters (touching the happy ouerthrow of *Tyrone*), from his Lordship and the Counsell here, to the Lords in England.

IT may please your Lordships. In the last dispatch sent by Sir *Oliuer S. Iohns*, which long ere this time we hope is safely deliuered vnto your hands, there was at large reuealed vnto you all our proceedings at the siege, and also the estate wee were then in, hauing before vs in the Towne the Spanish forces, and at our backes *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, with the Irish Army; since whose departure they dislodged from the place where they then incamped, and lay in campe within lesse then two miles of vs, in the way towards *Corke*, whereby the passage from our Campe to *Corke* was blocked vp, so as no prouisions for our reliefe from thence could come vnto vs, which vnto the Army was a great annoyance, and we in a manner were no better then besieged. The Enemies proud in their strength, resolved to set vp their rests, accounting vs in their opinion lost men, vnable to resist so great a power, and therefore by a generall consent, they

determined on all parts to giue vpon our campe, as well out of the Towne by the Spaniards, as by the Irish on the other side, and according to that resolution, on Christmas euen before day, *Tyrone* with his Army rose, and with all his forces of horse and foote, by breake of day presented himselfe in order of battell: but it pleased God in his goodnesse to giue vs a gracious victory, with a handfull of men in respect of his Army, the particulars whereof being too long to insert in a letter, we humbly referre your Lordships to the relation sent with these, wherein the same is at large & particularly related, in which ouerthrow we gained many Spanish letters of great consequence, the most effectuall of which we send vnto your Lordships herewith, together with a briebe abstract of those which we reserue here, as vnwilling to trouble your Lordships with those of lesse moment. By view of which intelligence and aduices, and the relation of such Spanish Prisoners of account, and vnderstanding, as wee haue had conference with all, the second and further preparation of the forraigne enemy, is more apparantly discovered, then at the dispatching away of Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*: And therefore we may not cease humbly to importuue your Lordships, in regard of these threatned supplies by sea and land, and that the great and speedy vse we haue of the men, munition, victuals, and treasure, which we formerly moued your Lordships for, in the letters sent by the said Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, will admit no long delaies, that your Lordships will not onely be pleased to supply vs presently therewith, but that those proportions may be enlarged in euery point, as in your wisdomes (vpon due regard had to the intelligences sent herewith) shall bethought meet: for in our vnderstanding (we being now by the occasions aforesaid inabled to know more of the enemies designs, then we did before) all of euery kind that was by vs formerly written for, will be too little. And further, in as much as the chiefe strength of our Army consisteth in our Horse troopes, who in this seruice were the principall meanes and instruments of the ouerthrow giuen the enemy, as wel in giuing the first charge, as in doing and following the execution: for the preservation of them in strength, we humbly pray your Lordships that the two thousand quarters of Oates formerly written for, may presently be dispatched hither; and in regard the whole Countrie is so harried and wasted, that it cannot yeeld vs any reliefe, and that without corne our horses (as they beginne) must daily weaken more and more, and so our army be in hazard to perish; for timely preuention thereof, we humbly pray your Lordships, that an addition of Oates may be giuen to the said proportion, and although not at once, yet from time to time sent hither, as conueniency of shipping will giue leaue: for we dare assure your Lordships, if for want of them our horses had not bene growne so feeble, there had few of the enemies horse or foote escaped. And that your Lordships will be further pleased to send away with the best expedition the munition and habiliments of warre already written for, and to send the same with all possible haste, according to the demands sent herewith, and subscribed by the Master of the Ordinance; without which all other charges and prouisions are to no purpose. We also pray your Lordships that you will be pleased to haue consideration to send hither a compitent Fleete to guard the Coast; for we are of opinion, and so gather by the collections we haue probably made, that the King of *Spain* his Fleete will be great, which being granted, the ships we haue here will not be enough to supply all occasions, considering how they must be dispersed, both to defend the Coast, and to prohibit the sending and arriual of their seconds; as also to answer all other seruices, wherein shipping is necessary to be imploied. And for asmuch as the ending and deuersion of this warre resteth chiefly in the weakening and disabling of *Tyrone*, (whose reputation by this last ouerthrow, is both with the forraigne enemy, and his owne followers, very much blemished); and for that it may be apparantly conceiued, that the Spaniard will no longer maintaine a tedious and chargeable warre in this remote Kingdome, then he hath a strong and powerfull party, and safe meanes of landing therein: To disable him from this assurance and hopes here, in our vnderstanding, the sending of foure thousand Scots into *Ulster*, would doe excellent seruice, and they being once ioined with her Maiesties forces at *Loughfoyle* and *Carickfergus*, would either absolutely banish *Tyrone* from thence, by possessing all the holds

holds and places of strength in *Ulster*, or else constrain him to make his defence at home, and keepe him from giuing any helpe to the Spaniards, and so bee vtterly reiect-
ed from hauing either credit or aides hereafter from them. The same time the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary this following letter.

SIR we haue written to the Lords both of our estate and desires, and doe wish that
it may please them to conceiue that the materials be great that must stop the breach
that the King of *Spaine* hath already made in this Countrey, and a slender opposition
will not resist, but be carried away with an inundation, if he send supplies. We haue al-
ready miraculously ouercome one dangerous brunt, and God hath giuen the Queene
the greatest victory that euer shee obtained in this Countrey, but beleue me Sir that
there is no one place that is defended with good men, but will goe neere to breake the
Army that doth force it, though it be carried. We haue forced two places already held
by the Spaniard, and now he remaines possessed and fortified in foure seuerall places
more, with great store of munition, artillery and victuals. There is supply of horse
& foot certainly comming vnto them, some say in great numbers. We haue indured,
(I dare boldly say) the most miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that
in this age hath beene heard of. If it please God to inable vs to effect this, it is impossi-
ble for this army to vndertake, in this season, and those places, as it is now or wil be di-
minished, any present seruice without rest. Beleue me Sir, you must make peace, or
prouide for a chargeable warre; for there is nothing that carries these places without
roiall prouisions. If her Maiesty thinke her owne occasions, and not vs her poore Mi-
nisters, to be the cause of this huge expence, I shall willingly indure the purgatory I
lie in, and sacrifice my time, my life and my liuing, to doe her the best seruice I can;
but if you find that shee conceiue the worse of me, because I am the Cooke to dresse
her diet here so chargably, I beseech you Sir (if I may euer deserue your loue) vse your
vttermost power to rid me speedily of my office, and I dare presume that I haue made
no euill way for my successour to tread after me. I would faine write much vnto you,
but with wet and heat in the last ouerthrow, I haue taken some cold, and my head doth
make me write in great paine. I beseech you Sir pardon me, and esteeme me your ho-
nest poore friend, that am resolu'd to be so euer. I was glad to send Sir *Henry Dauers*
ouer with this good newes, who (I assure you) hath taken exceeding paines, and lost
some of his blood in this last seruice, and besides some necessity of his owne, hath long
desired such an opportunity to come ouer for a time. And so Sir I beseech God to
send vs peace, for I am weary of the warre. From before *Kinsale* the seuen & twenty
of *December* 1601.

Yours Sir most assured to doe you
seruice, *Mouniioy*.

The 28 day of *December*, the Lord Deputy was aduertised that *Syrriago* a principall
Commander of the Spaniards, landed in the West parts, hauing receiued newes of *Ty-
rones* ouerthrow, was suddenly gone for *Spaine*, without acquainting any of the
Spaniards therewith. and that hee carried with him in the same shippe *Hugh Odonnell*.
And thus was the old prophesie fully accomplished, which often before wee had
heard, namely, that *Mounster* should be the destruction of the three great Northerne
Hughes. For *Hugh Mac Guyer* Lord of *Fermanagh*, and the first *Robinhood* of this great
rebellion, was long since killed neere the Citie of *Corke*, and *Hugh Tyrone*, and *Hugh O
Donnell* were ouerthrowne at *Kinsale*, whereof *Hugh O Donnell* is now fled for *Spaine*,
whence he neuer returned; and *Hugh Tyrone* drew faintly his last breath in the North,
without hope of better liuing, then as a Wood-kerne here, or as a fugitiue abroad.
Likewise *Hugh Mostian*, a famous Rebel at this time fled with *O Donnell* into
Spaine.

The nine and twentieth day his Lordship had aduertisements from diuers places,
that *Tyrone* in his flight out of *Mounster*, passing the *Blackwater*, lost many of his carria-
ges, and had some hundred and fortie of his men drowned, feare making them so ha-
sty.

fly, as they could not attend the passing of their owne fellowes, much lesse the fall of the waters.

The last of December *Don Iean* Generall of the Spaniards, offered a Parley, sending his Drumme Maior out of the Towne with an Alhier, bringing a sealed letter from him to the Lord Deputy, by which he required, (as by the same sent in the next dispatch by Sir *Richard Moryson* to the Lords in *England* appeareth) that some gentleman of speciall trust and sufficiency, might bee sent from the Lord Deputy into the Towne, for whose pledge a Spanish gentleman of like quality should be sent by *Don Iean* into the campe, and vpon conference he would acquaint the said gentleman with the conditions vpon which he stood. This granted, the Lord Deputy chose Sir *William Godolphin* to be imploied in this important negotiation, and sent him into the town to conferre with *Don Iohn*, as hee likewise sent *Don Pedro Henrico* to remaine in the Campe.

His first conference with Sir *William Godolphin* tended to this. That hauing found the Lord Deputy (whom he tearmed *Viceroy*) though a sharpe and powerfull, yet an honourable enemy; and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as hee feared) perfidious friends, hee was so farre in his affection reconciled to the one, and distasted with the other, as he was thereby induced to make an ouerture of such a composition as might be safe & profitable for the state of *England*, with least preiudice to the Crown of *Spaine*, by deliuering into the Viceroyes power the towne of *Kinsale*, with all other places held by the Spaniards in *Ireland*, so as they might depart vpon honourable tearmes, fitting men of warre not forced by necessity to receiue conditions, but willingly induced for iust respects to relinquish a people by whom their King and Master had beene notoriously abused, if not betrayed. That if the Viceroy liked to intertaine this parley, he would please to vnderstand him rightly, and make such propositions as were suitable to men resolu'd rather to bury themselves aliue, then to giue way to any accord that should taste of dishonour, being confident of their present strength and the royall secondes of *Spaine*, did not the former respects leade them to disingage their King of this enterprize. Sir *William Godolphin* directed onely to receiue his demands, returned to the Campe, and related them to the Lord Deputy and Counsell. The answer sent backe by him was this; That how soeuer the Lord Deputy had lately defeated the Irish, and well vnderstood their weakenesse & the vnresistable difficulties that pressed them, how ere they laboured to couer the same, yet knowing that her sacred Maiesty his Mistresse, would in her mercifull disposition repute her victory blemished by voluntary effusion of Christian blood, he was content to intertaine this offer of agreement, so it were vpon honourable tearmes, fitting the aduantage her Maiesty had against them.

In the next conference the Lord Deputy required for the first Article, that *Don Iean* should leaue his treasure, munition, and artillery, and the Queenes naturall subiects to be disposed at her Maiesties pleasure. But *Don Iean* vowed rather to indure the last of miseries, then to be guilty of so foule a treason against his King, and the reputation of his profession; though he were vnable to subsist, much more now when he had not onely meanes to sustaine the warre, but hope by patience and constancy to attaine the best ends of his busines. Adding, that he tooke it so ill to be misunderstood, in hauing an Article of this nature propounded to him, as if it were once more mentioned, the Viceroy should from thenceforth vse the aduantage of his Sword, and not the benefit of his former proffers. Hee further said, that the Viceroy had cause rather to iudge two hundred thousand duckets well disbursed by the Queene, to haue the Spaniards quit their possession of *Baltimore* alone, to say nothing of *Kinsale*, *Castle Hauon*, and *Beere Hauon*, which with all them perishing, yet *Baltimore* might easily be kept for the arriuall of the Spanish Fleets & all secondes that his Master so deeply ingaged, should please to send, which might draw on a more powerfull inuasion, this first being vnder-taken vpon false grounds, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who hauing discovered their owne weakenes, had armed his King and Master to relie on his owne strength, being tied in honour to releue his people thus ingaged. This (said hee) I
speake

speake in case the Viceroy were able to force *Kinsale*, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, I hauing vpon my honour two thousand able fighting men old souldiers, besides the sicke daily recouering, now better inured to the climate, and induring of all hardnesse, besides our conuenient meanes of foode, such as we Spaniards can well liue vpon, and our store of munition most importing, with confident assurance shortly to haue new supplies of all things. Adding that he preserved his strength, to be able to front vs in a breach, which their hearts not failing, they had hands and breasts to stop against trebble our forces, though he would giue the Viceroy that right, that his men were passing good, yet spent and tired with a Winters siege, obstinately continued beyond his expectation, but with such caution and so good guard, as he hauing watched all aduantages, could neuer make a salley without losse to his part, wherein hee acknowledged himselfe much deceiued, that grounding vpon some error in our approches, he had promised himselfe the defeate of one thousand men at least, and at one blow: but (said he) when we meete in the breach, I am confident vpon good reasons, to lay fīue hundred of your best men on the earth, which losse will make a great hole in your Armie, that hath already suffered such extremity.

Lastly he concluded, that the King his Master sent him to assist the two Counts *O Neale* and *O Donnel*, and he presuming on their promises to ioine their forces with his within few daies, had first long expected them in vaine, and sustained the Viceroyes Army, and at last had seene them drawne to the greatest head they could make, lodged neere *Kinsale*, reinforced with Companies of Spaniards, euery hower promising him reliefe; and at last broken with a handfull of men, and blowne asunder into diuers parts of the World, *O Donnell* into *Spaine*, *O Neale* into the furthest North: so as now finding no such Counts *in rerum Natura* (to vse his very words) with whom he was commanded to ioinc, he had moued this accord, the rather to disingage the King his Master from assisting a people so weake, as he must beare all the burthen of the war, and so perfidious, as perhaps in requitall of his fauour, they might at last bee wonne to betray him.

Relation of this conference being made to the Lord Deputy and Counsell, they considered, that the treasure that *Don Iean* brought, was at first but one hundred thousand Ducates, whereof the greatest part could not but be spent in paying his souldiers 4 moneths, and other occasions of expence, for which and other good reasons, they concluded not to stand vpon the first article, especially since many strong reasons made the agreement, as it was honorable, so to seeme very profitable to the State of *England*, namely, that our Army was wasted & tired with the winters siege. That it was dangerous to attempt a breach defended with so many able men. That if wee should lodge in the breach, yet they hauing many strong Castles in the Towne, so much time might be spent ere we could carry it, as our Fleete for want of victuals might bee forced to leaue vs. That at this time our Army was onely provided for sixe dayes. That we had not munition or Artillerie to make any more then one batterie in one place at once, fīue of our pieces being crased. That vpon any disaster befalling vs, the Irish were like to reuolt. That besides the taking of *Kinsale*, the other places held by the Spaniards, as *Ballymore*, *Castle haueu*, and *Beare-haueu*, would haue made a long and dangerous warre, with infinite charge to the State of *England*, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with all prouisions of warre, and our Army being so tired, as it could not attempt them, without being first refreshed, and then being supplied with all necessities, to the vnsupportable charge of our Sate, must haue been carried by Sea to those places, vnaccessable by land. Lastly, that in this time the King of *Spaine* could not but send them powerfull seconds, being thus farre ingaged in his Honour. Besides that by this long warre wee should bee hindred from prosecution of the Rebels, who were now so broken, as in short time they must needes be brought to absolute subiection.

After many goings to and fro, certaine Articles were agreed vpon the second of Ianuary towards the end of the yeere 1601, according to the English, who end and begin the yeere at our Lady day in Lent, but the Articles beare date the twelfth of Ianuarie

1602 after the new stile, and according to the Spanish manner, to begin the yeere the first day of the same moneth. The Lord Deputy gaue me the said Articles in English to be faire written, that the cobby thereof being signed by both the Generals, might be sent into *England*. And likewise his Lordship commanded me to translate the same Articles into the Lattin and Italian tongues, that two coppies of each being signed by the Generals, one of each might remaine with the Lord Deputy, and the others be sent to the King of *Spaine*. These Articles follow word by word in English, as they were signed by the Lord Deputy and the Spanish Generall.

The cordi
tions of the
Spaniards
yeelding
Kinsale and
other places.

Mountioy.

IN the Towne of *Kinsale*, in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, the twelfth of the moneth of *January* 1602, betweene the noble Lords, the Lord *Mountioy*, Lord Deputy and Generall in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, for her Maiesty the Queene of *England*, and *Don Iean del Aguyla*, Captaine and Campe-Master Generall and Gouvernour of the Army of his Maiesty the King of *Spaine*, the said Lord Deputy being encamped and besieging the said Towne, and the said *Don Iean* within it, for iust respects and to auoide the shedding of blood, these conditions following were made betweene the said Lords Generals and their Campes, with the Articles which follow.

1 First, that the said *Don Iean del Aguyla* shall quit the places which he holds in this Kingdome, as well of the Towne of *Kinsale*, as those which are held by the souldiers vnder his command, in *Castle-Hauen*, *Baltimore*, and the Castle at *Beere-Hauen*, and other parts, to the said Lord Deputy (or to whom he shall appoint), giuing him safe transportation, and sufficient for the said people of ships and victuals, with the which the said *Don Iean* with them may goe for *Spaine*, if he can at one time, if not, in two shippings.

2 Item, that the souldiers at this present being vnder the command of *Don Iean* in this Kingdome, shall not beare Armes against her Maiesty the Queene of *England*, wherefoeuer supplies shall come from *Spaine*, till the said souldiers bee vnshipped in some of the Ports of *Spaine*, being dispatched assoone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as he promiseth vpon his faith and honour.

3 For the accomplishment whereof, the Lord Deputy offereth to giue free passport to the said *Don Iean* and his Army, as well Spaniards as other Nations whatsoeuer, that are vnder his command, and that hee may depart with all the things hee hath, Armes, Munition, Money, Ensignes displayed, Artillery, and other whatsoeuer provisions of warre, and any kind of stufte, as well that which is in *Castle-Hauen*, as *Kinsale*, and other parts.

4 Item, That they shall haue ships and victuals sufficient for their money, according and at the prices which here they vse to giue, that all the people and the said things may be shipped, if it be possible at one time, if not, at two, and that to be within the time aboue named.

5 Item, that if by contrary winds, or by any other occasions there shall arriue at any Port of these Kingdomes of *Ireland* or *England*, any ships of these, in which these men goe, they be intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the Harbour, and bee victualed for their money, and haue moreouer things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voiage.

6 Item, during the time that they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be giuen to *Don Iean*s people at iust and reasonable rates.

7 Item, that on both parts shall be cessation of Armes and security, that no wrong be offered to any one.

8 Item, that the ships in which they shall goe for *Spaine*, may passe safely by any other ships whatsoeuer of her Maiesties the Queene of *England*; and so shal the ships of the said Queene & her subiects, by those that shall goe from hence: and the said ships being arriued in *Spaine*, shall returne so soone as they haue vnshipped their men, without any impediment giuen them by his Maiesty the King of *Spaine*, or any other person

son in his name, but rather they shall shew them favour, and helpe them if they neede any thing, and for securitie of this, that they shall giue into the Lord Deputies hands three Captaines, such as he shall chuse.

9. For the securitie of the performance of these articles, *Don Iean* offereth, that he will confirme and sweare to accomplish this agreement, and likewise some of the chiefe Captaines of his charge shall sweare and confirme the same, in a seuerall writing.

10. Item, that *Don Iean* in person shall abide in this Kingdome, where the Lord Deputy shall appoint, till the last shipping, vpon his Lordships word; and if it happen that his people be shipped all at once, the said *Don Iean* shall goe in the same Fleete, without any impediment giuen him, but rather the Lord Deputie shall giue him a good ship, in which he may goe; and if his said men be sent in two shippings, then he shall goe in the last.

11. And in like sort the said Lord Deputy shall sweare and confirme, and giue his word on the behalfe of her Maiestie the Queene and his owne, to keepe and accomplish this agreement, and ioyntly the Lord President, the Marshall of the Campe, and the other of the Counsell of State, and the Earles of *Thomond* and *Clanrickard*, shall sweare and confirme the same in a seuerall writing.

I promise and sweare to accomplish and keep these articles of agreement, and promise the same likewise on the behalfe of his Maiestie the Catholique King my Master.

Don Iean de l' Aguila.

Geo. Carew, Clanrickard, Thomond, R. Wingfield, Geo. Beurcher, Ro. Gardner, Ric. Lewison,

The Date of this writing is after the new stile.

Don Iean de l' Aguila.

Fynes Moryson.

This agreement being asigned by hands, promised by honourable words, and confirmed by tolemne oathes on both parts, the Lord Deputie raised the siege vpon the ninth of Ianuarie, and his Lordship with *Don Iean de l' Aguila*, and some of the chiefe Spanish Captaines in his Company, rode that day to *Corke*, whether our Army marched the same day, the grosse of the Spaniards remaining at *Kinsale*. After the Lord Deputy dispersed the Army through the Townes of *Mounster* to be lodged, namely, at *Corke, Waterford, Youghall, Rosse, Callan, Cashell, Thomastowne, Kilkenny, Dungaruen, and Clonmell*. The tenth of Ianuary his Lordship gaue order to the victualer to provide a moneths Bisquit for three thousand five hundred Spaniards, after a pound and a halfe each day for a man, and to provide for them as much beefe and beare proportionably, as could be gotten with speede. His Lordship gaue order, that the shipping should bee vnladen in the Ports, and made ready to transport the Spaniards into *Spaine*. The eleuenth of Ianuary his Lordship receiued letters dated the two and twentieth of Nouember, from the Lords in *England*, aduertising that the Earle of *Desmond* was there lately dead, and therefore requiring that the Company of foote kept in his name, and for his maintenance, should be discharged, reseruing that part of intertainement, which out of the same was allotted to the Lord Bishop of *Cashell*, and to the reliefe of the Earle of *Desmonds* sisters. Further aduertising, that eightene hundred quarters of Oates were sent into *Mounster* for the horse troopes, which would, with the transportation cost her Maiesty fifteene shillings the quarter, and were to bee issued to the troopes at the same rate.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters, dated the foure and twentieth of December from the Lords in *England* as followeth.

After our right hearty commendations to your Lordship, we haue now at last (after long and great expectation) receiued your letters by Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, who arriued yesternight at the Court, by whom although her Maiestie hath not receiued so much satisfaction as was hoped for, vpon the former probabilities contained in

SC

your

The siege of
Kinsale raised.

your dispatches, yet his relation hath made a great alteration of that anxiety, in which her Maieſty remained, by thoſe reports which haue been brought to this place, to which in reſpect of your long and vneſpected ſilence (from thoſe parts) wee could no way giue contradiction, hauing not receiued (before now) any particular aduertisement, ſince the arrivall of Sir *Thomas Savage*, and therefore no way able to make any iudgement of your eſtate, which was thus deſcribed. Firſt, that the Irish rebels lodged cloſe by you; that your Campe was full of all miſery and penury (to the great ſlander of this Kingdome); laſtly, that there were ſix thouſand Spaniards landed, of which laſt particular my Lord of *Ormonds* man was the relator. For prevention of which vncertainty hereafter, we are commanded in her Maieſties name to require you, from hence forward to aduertise vs frequently from time to time of your proceedings, to the intent that her Maieſtie may ſtill haue meanes to provide for your ſupport, which you may not looke to receiue from hence in the time you ſhall vſe them, except wee may be daily informed before-hand from you, of all ſuch particular circumſtances as fall out in that place. To come therefore now to this preſent diſpatch, wee haue peruſed your Iournals, both of the ſeruices done, and of the difficulties which haue interrupted your proceedings hitherto, whereunto wee meane to make no other replie then this; That wee that know your iudgement and affection to her Maieſties ſervice, ſo well as we doe, muſt ſay thus much, that wee are no more doubtfull, that you haue done as much as you could, then you haue reaſon (we hope) by the courſe that is taken with you from hence, not to beleeue and know, that her Maieſty hath in no ſort neglected you. For demonstration whereof, you ſhall firſt vnderſtand, that before the arrivall of Sir *Oliver Saint Iohns*, her Maieſtie had given order for foure thouſand men to be ſent into *Mounſter*, with ſuch ſupplies of munition and victuals, as her Maieſtie thought fit prouiſionally to ſend, though (for lacke of aduertisement) wee could not make any other particular iudgement, what were too much, or too little. Only this we know, that if that body of Spaniſh forces (which are now in that Kingdome) ſhall not be defeated before the like body of an army (or a greater) arrive, her Maieſty ſhall be put to ſuch a warre in the end, as howſoeuer this State may vndergo the exceſſiue charges of continuall leauiſes and transportation (which you wil well conſider to be of intolerable burthen to this Kingdome, all circumſtances conſidered), yet ſuch will be the extreme difficulties to maintaine ſuch an Army in that Realme, where it muſt fight againſt forraigne Armies, and an vniuerſall rebellion, and in a climate full of contagion, and in a Kingdome vtterly waſted, as we do wel foreſee, that it wil draw with it more pernicious conſequents, then euer this State was ſubiect to. For whoſoeuer ſhall now behold the beginning of this malicious deſigne of the King of *Spaine*, muſt well conclude, although he hath now begun his action vpon a falſe ground, to find a powerfull party in that Kingdome at his firſt diſcent (wherin he hath bin in ſome meaſure deceiued), yet ſeeing he is now ſo deeply engaged, and ſo well findeth his error, that he will value his honour at too high a rate, to ſuffer ſuch a worke to diſſolve in the firſt foundation. In conſideration whereof her Maieſty like a prouident Prince, reſolueth preſently to ſend a ſtrong Fleet to his owne coaſt, to prevent his new reinforcement, not doubting, if ſuch a diſaſter ſhould happen, that theſe forces ſhould remaine ſo long vnremoued by you in *Ireland* (which we cannot beleeue) that her Maieſties Fleet ſhall yet be in great poſſibilitie to defeat the new ſupplies by the way; for which purpoſe her Maieſtie perceiving how dangerous a thing it is for the Fleet in *Ireland*, to lie off at Sea in this Winter weather (which they muſt doe, if it be intended that they ſhall hinder a deſcent), and how ſuperfluous a thing it is to maintaine ſuch a Fleet only to lie in Harbours, her Maieſtie is pleaſed to reuoke the greateſt part of her Royall ſhips hither, and to adde to them a great proportion, and ſend them all to the Coaſt of *Spaine*, leauing ſtill ſuch a competent number of ſhips there, as may ſufficiently blocke vp the Harbour, and giue ſecuritie and countenance to transportation. To which end we haue written a letter in her Maieſties name to reuoke Sir *Richard Leiſon*, and to leaue Sir *Amias Preſton* with the charge of thoſe ſhips contained in this note, to whom we haue giuen directions in all things to apply himſelfe to thoſe courſes which
you

you shall thinke most expedient for that seruice. You shall also vnderstand, that we haue now directed Sir *Henrie Dockwra* to send eight hundred men by pole to *Knockfergus* to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, and commanded him to make them vp one thousand; and so with all speede the said Sir *Arthur* himselfe to march vp with a thousand of the best men to your reinforcement in *Mounster*. And thus hauing for the present little else to write vnto you, till we heare further, we doe conclude, with our best wishes vnto you of all happy and speedy successe. And so remaine &c. at the Court at *Whitehall*, the foure and twentieth of December, 1601.

The same eleuenth day of Ianuary, his Lordship receiued other letters from the Lords, dated the seuen and twentieth of December, signifying, that whereas his Lordship had often moued on the behalfe of the Captaines, that they might receiue their full pay, without deduction of the souldiers apparrell, which they themselues would prouide, now her Maestie was pleased to condescend thereunto. I remember not whether his Lordship had moued this since, or before the new mixed coyne was currant, but sure this was great aduantage to her Maestie at this time, hauing paid siluer for the apparrell, and being to make the full pay in mixed money.

The same eleuenth day of Ianuary his Lordship receiued from the Lords in *England* letters dated the five and twentieth of Nouember, signifying, that a proportion of victuals was prouided at *Plimoth*, for which he should send foure Merchants ships of the Queenes Fleete at *Kinsale*. And requiring to bee aduertised vpon what termes the Spaniards had yeelded, which were then sent ouer for *England*, that they might be disposed accordingly.

By the old date of this letter and another aboue mentioned of the two and twentieth of Nouember, receiued all on the eleuenth of Ianuary, it may appeare how necessarie it is to haue the Magazins in *Ireland* well stored, and how dangerous it is, that the Army should depend on sudden prouisions.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, that her Maestie had made a leauy of foure thousand foote, whereof two thousand were now at the Ports to be imbarked for *Mounster*, namcly, one thousand one hundred committed to the charge of eleuen Captaines, and nine hundred vnder the conduct of some of the said Captaines left to his Lordships disposall.

The fourteenth his Lordship lying at the Bishop of *Corkes* house, receiued this following letter from *Don Iean*, lying in the Towne of *Corke*, translated out of Spanishe.

Most Excellent Lord;

Since they carried me to the Citie of *Corke*, certaine Merchants haue told me, they thinke they should find ships to carry me and my folke into *spaine*, if your excellency would giue them license and pasport, of which I humbly beseech your highnes; as also that of your great benignitie, your excellency will haue pitie of these his prisoners, who here do expect the great mercie, which so great a Prince as your Excellency, vseth towards his seruants and prisoners. These poore prisoners suffer extreme wants, both with hunger and cold; for there is no sustenance giuen them at all, nor find they any almes. I beseech your Excellency will bee pleased to haue compassion of them. There is one dead of hunger, and others are ready to die of it. God keepe your Excellency the yeeres which we his seruants wish his Excellency. From *Corke* the foure and twentieth of Ianuary 1602 (*stilo nouo* and as they write.)

Your Excellencies seruant

Don Iean de l' Aguila.

The Spanisb prisoners were these: Taken at *Rincorran* Castle, men and women, 90. Taken at Castle *Nyparke* 16. Taken in the sallye the second of December, 13. Taken at *Tyrones* ouerthrow the foure and twentieth of December, as well principall as ordinary men one and forty prisoners, in all one hundred sixtie; besides the runnawales during the siege were thirty, and these together with many of the said prisoners, had been sent into *England*, and the rest (of whom *Don Iean* writes) were still prisoners at *Corke*.

The foure and twentieth of Ianuary, the Lord Deputy and Councell here wrote to the Lords in *England* this letter following.

MAY it please your Lordships; wee haue receiued your letters of the foure and twentieth of December, the eleuenth of Ianuary, which were the first that wee receiued out of *England*, since the arriual of Sir *Richard Leuison* with our munition and supplies. And although we haue vpon euery important reuolution of our businesse, dispatched vnto your Lordships both our estate and desires, yet we humbly desire your Lordships pardon, for the omission of our dutie to enforme you more often of our present estate, the chiefe cause thereof being, the respect and feare wee haue to possesse you with such falsehoods, as it seemeth they doe, which vndertake more liberally to aduertise your Lordships of the estate of our affaires; for in no place doe all intelligences come apparrelled (euen to them that are neere vnto them) in more deceiueable mists, vntill time and great obseruation discovereth the truth. So that if we should write vnto your Lordships often, according to our best informations, wee should present to your Reuerent iudgements such ridiculous contrarieties, as would giue you occasion to confound your determinations, and to condemne vs. But in generall, we beseech your Lordships to remember, that as wee haue in all our dispatches declared our hopes to ouercome all difficulties, (out of the confidence of our good cause and alacritie to serue her Maiestie), so we haue continually propounded, how great and difficult a warre it was, in which we were ingaged, in that (without Gods miraculous preservation) the Army in a winters siege would so decay, as it must haue pleased your Lordships continually to supply it with men, victuals, and munition. Also we propounded, that we held it a matter of no small danger and great difficulty, to force such and so many men in a place of the least aduantage. That wee expected no lesse then a generall reuolt, and a powerfull combination of the Rebels against vs. Lastly againe we humbly desire your Lordships to remember, that we haue promised nothing but the vttermost of our faithfull Counsels and endeauours, to accomplish in that seruice her Maiesties purpose. And therefore we are most heartily sorry, that by our faithfull and sincere Counsels, and our extreame induring in the execution thereof (howsoeuer the event were not so speedily happy as we desired and laboured for), yet it was not our happinesse, that her Maiestie should receiue so much satisfaction by Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, as wee hoped to haue giuen her vpon the former probabilities. Yet when it shall please your Lordships throughly to consider our difficulties, by the true relation thereof, with all materiall circumstances, we presume it will appeare, that we could haue done no more, and we must only attribute it vnto God, that we haue done so much. By Sir *Henrie Dauers* your Lordships haue been acquainted at large with all our proceedings vntill that present. Since which time the effects of that victory (which it pleased God of his infinite goodnesse to giue vs against the traitors vpon *Christmas* Eue) haue appeared by great and vunexpected good thereof insuing: for the Rebels are broken and disperled; *O Donnel*, *Redmond Bourke*, and *Hugh Mostyon* (all Arch-rebels) haue imbarcked themselves with *Sirriago* for *Spaine*, and that without *Tyrones* knowledge, and contrary to his aduise and will, they hauing only left behind them in *Mounster* (with the Prouinciall Rebels) *Tyrrell* and a small force with him, being disperled by smal companies in *Carbery*, *Beere*, *Desmond*, *Kerry*, and the County of *Lymrick*. *Tyrone* in great feare, and with a speedy march hasted out of the Prouince of *Mounster*, loosing vpon euery Foard many of his Foote, but especially in passing the Riuer of *Broadwater*, of *May* in *Connolagh*, and at the Abbey *Owney*, in *O Mulryans* Country. At which Foards, the waters being high (as we are informed), he lost about two hundred men, and all the way as he went, the wearied foote cast away their Armes, which those of the Country gathered vp, and with all tooke some of their heads, but not so many as they might haue done, if they had regarded their duties as they ought. Their tired horses were slaine by their riders. Their hurt men which escaped at the ouerthrow, and were carried away vpon garrons, died vpon the way, and foure principall Gentlemen (whereof wee vnderstand *Tyrone* himselfe was one

one, and *Mac Mahown* another, the rest are not knowne yet) were caried in litters. Since his departure from *Omalryans* Country, we heare nothing of him, but we assure your Lordships, that the dismay in which they were and still are, is incredible. Vpon New-yeeres Eue, *Don Iean* sent a letter vnto me the Deputy, the copy whereof is here within sent vnto your Lordships. The next day *Sir William Godolphin* was sent with instructions, to receiue from *Don Iean* the points, whereof hee desired to treat, whose discrete carriage in so weighty a cause (wherein hee performed as much, as in discretion and iudgement could be required) was such, as (without doing the Gentleman wrong) we may not omit to recommend him to your honourable fauours, he being (as by experience we may truly report) wise, valiant, and of many extraordinary good parts. The copy of the articles agreed vpon betweene vs and *Don Iean*, subscribed by either part, your Lordships with these shall likewise receiue, hoping that in the same we haue done nothing, but that which shall be agreeable to your Lordships, and which (as we suppose) our present estate (duly considered) vehemently vrged vs to imbrace. Now our great care is to hasten these Spaniards away, who are (as *Don Iean* affirmes) no lesse by pole then three thousand five hundred. The defect of shipping is our chiefe want. They and wee are in equall paine, for they are no lesse desirous to bee gone, then we are to send them away. The contempt and scorne in which the Spaniards hold the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish haue of them, are not to bee beleeued by any, but those who are present to see their behauiours, and heare their speeches, insomuch as we may probably coniecture, that by such time as *Don Iean* with his forces is arriued in *Spaine*, it will be a difficult thing for the Irish hereafter to procure aides out of *Spaine*. The copy of the contract for the rates which *Don Iean* must pay for tunnage, and for victuals, for his men in their returne, your Lordships with these shall also receiue. The ninth of this moneth wee dissolved the Campe, and brought hither with vs *Don Iean*, who remaines hostage for the performance of the Couenants betweene vs.

The day following, Capt. *Roger Haruy* and Capt. *Flower* were dispatched Westward, to receiue from the Spaniards the Castles of *Castle-hauen*, of *Baltimore*, and of *Beere-hauen*. The winning of which places in our iudgements (although *Kinsale* had been taken by force) would haue been more difficult vnto vs then that of *Kinsale*, as well in respect of the incommodities which wee should haue found in keeping a strong and furnished Army in so remote places, as in respect of the naturall strength of those places, and especially of *Baltimore*, which with a little Art would bee made of great strength. Since our comming to *Corke*, I the Deputy, to ease her Maesties great and vnsupportable charger, haue discharged two thousand foote in List, wherein, without all respects of fauour, I cast those, who had the weakest Companies. And as soone as wee may bee better secured, that the Spaniards purpose to forbear any further attempt for this Realme (which in a few moneths will appeare) as many as possibly can be spared, shall bee in like sort cashiered. To suppress the present Rebellion in *Mounster*, I the Deputy haue designed foure thousand foot, and three hundred twenty five horse, which being layed in such conuenient places as wee intend to lay them, our hope is, that in short time this Rebellion will bee extinguished. But vntill wee bee better assured from the attempts of *Spaine* for this Kingdome, the remainder of the Armie is dispersed into the remote places of the Prouince Eastward of *Corke*, and I the Deputy doe purpose to remaine here, vntill I may be more secured, that there will be no cause to draw the Army backe into these parts. *Paul Iuie* the Inginer (with the best expedition that may be), shall bee sent to the parts of *Baltimore* and *Beer-hauen*, to chuse out fit grounds to fortifie. The like must be done at *Kinsale*, and for the better holding of the Cities of this Prouince in due obedience (of whose assurance, in case the Spaniards had preuailed, wee had cause to doubt) wee thinke it (vnder your Lordships reformation) very expedient, that in euery of them, Cittadels were raised, which guarded with a few men, and hauing some Pieces of Artillerie, will either haue power to command them. These places being thus strengthened, there is no Port forgotten, that may be fit for the Spaniards accomodating in any enterprise

from hence vpon *England*; for all which lie in *Desmond*, *Kerry*, or *Connaght*, haue too large a Sea to passe for *England*, which is subiect to infinite inconueniences. And as for the coast within *Saint Georges* Channell, the dangers of it are so infinite, as there is no feare of those Ports. Notwithstanding it hath pleased God to giue vs this happy successe, in freeing this Realme of the Spanish Army vnder *Don Iean*, yet fearing; that some seconds vnder another Commander may be employed hither, we humbly beseech your Lordships; that you will bee pleased to send the victuals for which wee wrote by *Sir Oliuer Saint Johns*. If the Spanish supplies come, we shall haue cause to expend them in this Prouince. If they come not, then our cares shall bee such, as they shall be preferred, and dispensed to the best vse for her Maiesties seruice. The like sute we make for the munitions for which wee then wrote. But for the supplies required of vs in the dispatch wee made by *Sir Henrie Dauers*, your Lordships may please to make stay of them, till a further occasion to use them. Onely of one thousand thereof we haue great neede, for the reinforcing of the Companies which are weake; and therefore we desire that five hundred of them may land here at *Cork*, and the other five hundred at *Waterford*, and that the rest may be in readinesse, if we haue any new occasion to send for them, till which time we are vnwilling to charge her Maiesty, or trouble your Lordships or to draw any new forces into these parts, which hath made vs giue direction, that *Sir Arthur Chichester* with the one thousand men which your Lordships haue commanded him to leade hither, shall stay about the *Newry*, and make the warre there, as well defending the Pale, as annoying *Tyrone*: for *Sir Arthur* being there, shall be neere enough to vs, if there should fall out any occasion to draw those men hither. *Sir Richard Moryson* is made the bearer of these our letters, whō we haue chosen to satisfie your Lordships in such things; wherein happily you may doubt. In particular, wee haue acquainted him with the dates of all our letters, which wee haue sent your Lordships since the landing of the Spaniards; so as hee can informe your Lordships of his owne knowledge, that we all or I the Deputy haue written thus often, namely, the three and twentieth of September, the first, third, and foure and twentieth of October; the seuenth, and the thirteenth of Nouember; the seuenth, twelfth, and seuen and twentieth of December, and this present dispatch by himself. If any of these haue miscaried, or found so slow passage, as your Lordships expectations were not satisfied in such time, as for the seruice had been fit, we beseech you be pleased to consider, that the like may happen to such of yours as are sent hither. And this may appeare by your Lordships letters which we last receiued. For the eleuenth of Ianuarie (as is noted in the beginning of this letter) we receiued your Lordships of the foure and twentieth of December, and with it another of the seuen and twentieth of that moneth touching the apparrell, a third of the two and twentieth of December, yea a fourth of the two and twentieth of Nouember. Wee haue licensed Captaine *Iosias Bodley* to passe into *England*, vpon some private businesse importing him, and haue addressed him to your Lordships, to receiue your pleasure. If you resolue vpon any fortifications in this Kingdome, the Gentleman is very well experienced, and practised in that Art, and one whom in all our workes wee haue principally employed; which he hath with great hazard, labour, and sufficiency discharged. We find all men here to imbrace with much gladnesse her Maiesties resolution, to leaue the apparrelling of the souldier, being much better contented to haue full pay, without detaining of any summes for their clothes, and we hope it will be a meane to make the Captains keepe their companies strong. And as your Lordships haue directed, vpon notice of the decease of the Earle of *Desmond*, the company allowed for him, is discharged, saue what hath pleased you to continue to his sister, to the Archbishop of *Cashell*, and *Io. Power*: Order is also taken that the Oates sent ouer hither, shall be issued at as high rates as we can, but it hath neuer bene hitherto seene, that the price exceeded ten shillings the quarter, and we thinke they cannot be issued at a higher rate, for the souldier cannot liue paying any more, but will rather suffer his horse to starue, which would be greater inconueniency to the seruice, then if the oates had not come at all, though that way also they must haue starued, if the siege had continued. The Spaniards shipped

ped from hence to *Plymoth*, where either such as had runne away from the Spaniards, or such as were in *Ryncorren* and *Castle Nyparke*, and yeelded vpon promise of their liues onely; and so much I the Deputy signified by my letters to the Gentlemen of the parts where they should land, of purpose to be made knowne to your Lordships, and that they might accordingly be suffered to passe into *France*, or some other Countrey, which was as much as they desired. And so, &c.

From *Cork* this foureteenth of January 1601.

The Lord President was desirous to goe ouer with this dispatch of pleasing newes to the Court, but the Lord Deputy was loth to spare him, till the Spaniards were gone, and because the relation of this businesse much concerned his Lordships honour, he thought it necessary to chuse a messenger, as in other parts fit for the businesse, so especially sound to him in affection. And for such he chose Sir *Richard Moryson*, who had bene very inward with him, till the death of the Earle of *Essex*, at which time his Lordship began to grow something strange towards him, in regard that Mr Secretary had conceiued some displeasure against him, about a passage of his dependancy on the said Earle; yet his Lordship euer professed to continue his loue to him, & promised at some fit time, to make his peace with Master Secretary. To which purpose his Lordship chose this occasion, concurring with his owne ends. Onely his Lordship aduised Sir *Richard Moryson*, to entreat the L. Presidents approbation of his carrying this packet, to the said end so much importing him, to which the Lord President very nobly gaue his consent, and so hee was dispatched with the Lord Deputies and the Lord Presidents letters to Master Secretary of especiall recommendations on his behalfe.

Among his instructions, he was directed, at his first arriual, to repaire to Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, to learne of him the present estate of the Lord Deputies affaires in Court, and that after, they both should communicate their proceeding one with the other. To an imaginary question, why there was no vse made of the first breach at the North East gate of *Kinsale*, hee was directed to answere, that the first battery was chiefly intended to annoy the Spaniards, by beating downe the houses, and to take from them the vse of some places, whence they might annoy vs. That when by beating downe the gate, we had made a breach, we found it not yet to be attempted, but made neerer approaches, whereupon the Spaniards made their strong salley, both vpon our approaches and vpon our Cannou, and the next day wee had intelligence that *Tyrone*, *Odonnell*, and all the Rebels, were encamped so neere vs, as if wee had ingaged our selues in that worke, and in the garding of our Cannon so far out of the Campe, they might in three houres haue fallen vpon vs on all sides, with great aduantage, which made vs draw the Cannon into the Campe, and to leaue that worke, chusing rather to inuest them close on the West side, which before lay open, so as they might easily that way receiue succours from the rebels, and ioine with their forces. Further the reasons were set downe, which moued the Lord Deputy and the Counsell, to make composition with *Don Iean*, namely, our weakenesse, and the enemies strength, since our Army by sickennesse, runawayes, and death, was fallen to be almost as weake, as at the first sitting downe, whereas the Spaniards were more now then three thousand men by Pole: the sufferings of a Winters siege, falling more vpon vs in the field, then vpon them in the Towne. Besides, if we had taken *Kinsale* by force, our Army could not possibly haue marched into the Western parts, possessed by other Spaniards, till it had bene refreshed, and till we had new supplies of victuals, and munition, which could not easily arriue, Easterly winds in Winter being very rare vpon this Coast. Besides that ere we could haue forced the Spaniards in the West, in all likelihood new spanish supplies would haue arriued, and the taking of those remote places, would haue bene more difficult and dangerous, then that of *Kinsale*, and the King of *Spaine* would haue bin ingaged in a long war, which by this composition is like to be ended. Besides our Army consisted much of Irish, vnfit for such seruice, as the entring of a breach, so as therein we must of necessity haue vsed our old English companies, wherein all probability we must haue lost great part, (they being esteemed by the Spaniards themselues as gal-

lant fellowes as euer they met, and such as in truth the losse of them would be for many yeeres vnrepairable). And if wee had beene repulſed with any blow giuen vs, we had reaſon to doubt, that all the Irith (yea thoſe of our Army) would haue turned their ſwords againſt vs; yea, if the breach had beene entered, the Towne of *Kinſale* being built all of ſtone, the Spaniards in the houſes would haue made vs new worke, no leſſe difficult then the former. Moreouer, fixe of our Peeces for battery were craſed, ſo as wee could not make any more then one breach, and the Spaniards hauing ſo many hands, and ſo large ſcope of ground within, might eaſily haue ſtopped one gap againſt vs. And if we could haue made diuers breaches, yet we had not powder and bullets ſufficient for that purpoſe, and for the ſmall ſhot: beſides that our men were ſo waſted, as they could not guard diuers batteries, neither had wee ſufficient inginers for that purpoſe: So that, howſoeuer we ſtood vpon tearmes, that *Don Iean* ſhould leaue his munitions and treaſure to her Maieſty, yet finding him make obſtinate oppoſition thereunto, we were forced for the aboue named reaſons, and many like, to make this preſent compoſition.

Likewiſe among the inſtructions, diuers reaſons were ſet downe, mouing *Don Iean* to make the ſaid compoſition, namely, the malice he and the Spaniards generally had conceiued againſt the Irith, in whoſe aid they too late diſcouered no confidence could iudicially bee placed. And for that they comming to ſuccour *Tyrone* and *Odonnell*, could neuer ſee any ſuch men, ſaying, that they were not *In rerum naturas*, (that is, exiſtent). Alſo for that *Don Iean*, hauing inſtructions to keepe the field, and not to defend *Kinſale*, now ſince the ouerthrow of the Irith, had no hope to be able to come in to the field. Moreouer, that his beſt men in this long ſiege were ſpent, in continuall watches, and his new men grew weake, with feeding onely vpon ruſke. Further his deſire to diſingage the King his Maſter, from a warre wherein he had little probability to preuaile, in reſpect of the ſmall or no aſſiſtance, which he conceiued might be expected from the Irith. Alſo for that the treaſure he brought, being at the firſt but one hundred thouſand duckets, was in great part exhausted, by paying the ſouldiers fixe pence *per diem*, and the Commanders their entertainements, ſo as by the remainder he had no hope to worke any reuolt among the Irith, or to giue ſatiſfaction to the couetous humours of thoſe already in rebellion.

The nine and twentieth of Ianuary, the Lord Depnty and Counſell here, wrote to the Lords in *England* this following letter.

MAy it pleaſe your Lordſhips. Since our laſt diſpatch by *Sir Richard Morryſon*, here hath no extraordinary matter happened, that might giue vs iuſt cauſe now ſo ſoone to write againe, were it not, that it pleaſed your Lordſhips in your laſt, to blame our ſlackneſſe, that of late we wrote too ſeldome, and to command from hence a more frequent aduertifement of our proceedings, which for your Lordſhips ſatiſfaction we are moſt carefull to performe. The chiefe point to which of late wee haue applied our ſelues, hath beene the diſpatching away of the Spaniards into their Countrey, becauſe till we haue freed the Countrey of them, we may not ſafely leaue this Prouince, to follow ſuch ſeruices in other parts, as we deſire next to vndertake, and we doe the more earneſtly labour to end this, for that wee more and more obſerue ſuch a ſetled hatred againſt this people, both in *Don Iean* and the Spaniſh in generall, as wee gather vpon many good grounds, that if they could be returned before any new ſupplies come from *Spaine*, the King would be eaſily induced to forbear any further to ingage himſelfe in this buſineſſe, and for that they wiſhall doe proteſt, to uſe their beſt endeauours to that effect, which we hold to be vnfained. But the winds continuing hitherto Weſterly, and for the moſt part ſomewhat to the ſouthward, and withall very much ſtormy, neither ſuch of them as had ſhipping, and for a good ſpace lay aboard to take the firſt occaſion to be gone, can by any meanes get out of the Harbour, nor ſuch ſhipping of ours as are to come from the Eaſterly parts, for transportation of the reſt, can find the meanes to come about hither, nor three other ſhips that haue beene long ready to goe to the Weſtward, to take in thoſe at *Caſtle Hauon*, *Baltimore*, and

Beere

Beerehaven, can by any industry worke thither for that purpose, though we know they haue with all care and earnestnesse endeouored it. So as now we grow more doubtfull then before, that other forces from *Spaine* will arriue here, ere these get home, and therefore cannot but wish, that for the preuention thereof, her Maiestie will bee pleased to continue her resolution, for the sending of her Fleet to Sea, with as much expedition as may be, and that the *Tramontana*, and the *Moone*, being ships of small burthen, and so fittest for the seruice on this coast, may presently bee sent hither, and the rather, for that here will bee none left but onely the *Swiftsure* vnder the command of Sir *Amias Preston* (the two Merchants ships, appointed by your Lordships to stay here, being, the one sent away with Sir *Richard Leuison*, and the other imployed for the transporting of these Spaniards, by reason we had not other ships for that purpose.) And vpon the same grounds, wee most humbly pray your Lordships, to send away the one thousand foote for supplies, and what else we desired in our former letters, that we may not bee vnprovided for the worst that may happen, although that wee are in good hope, ere it bee long, to haue good reason to ease her Maiesties charge in this Countrey, without any danger to her seruice here. We are further humbly to beseech your Lordships, to procure vs her Maiesties Warrant, to passe vnto *Neale Garue O Donnell* the Countrey of *Tyreconnell*, in such sort as we promised the same vnto him vnder our hands, now almost a yeere agoe, so warranted by direction from her Maiesty. He thinkes the time long till hee hath his grant, and in his late letter to me the Deputy, protests that he will doe no more seruice, vntill he haue seene me, or that his grant bee performed; for which though I haue blamed him, as I iustly might, that being an vnfit fashion of writing for any subiect, yet the rudenesse of his education, and his forwardnesse and abilitie to doe seruice considered, we cannot but acknowledge, that we hold it very meete, that we should performe vnto him what we promised, which to doe, we want warrant from her Maiesty; and therefore desire to haue it with your Lordships next dispatch, for we know he wil earnestly call vpon it. We doe not heare of any head of importance or strength, that remaines gathered together of the Rebels, so that we hope, that if no more Spanish succours doe arriue, their force will quickly come to nothing. But because we cannot assure the subiects, what further assistance the Rebels shall receiue out of *Spaine*, and for that if the King send any more, wee presume he will doe it in a farre greater measure then heretofore, as hauing experience not to trust in the force of the Rebels, and therefore reason to relie vpon his owne strength. Wee most humbly desire your Lordships for a while to continue your honourable cares of our affaires, and to enable vs to withstand whatsoeuer shall bee attempted by the forraigne enemy, and what you send, we will imploy with all sinceritie and our best endeauours, to the aduancement of the seruice which her Maiestie doth require and expect from vs. And so, &c.

The last of Ianuary, the Lord Deputie was aduertised by one comming out of the West parts, that he was at *Beerhaven* the thirteenth of that moneth, where the Spaniards were in number sixtie, and *Oswyllian* had some three hundred Irish, and the Spaniards not knowing of *Don Ieans* composition with his Lordship, did build a Fort there with trees and earth, neere the Castle, and planted three smal pieces of Ordinance therein, whereof the greatest carried nine pound of powder. That hee came from thence to *Baltimore*, where hee found one hundred Spaniards, which did not fortifie, but hearing of *Don Ieans* composition, and hauing two ships with them, had shipped their Ordinance, and were ready to goe to Sea.

About this time one *Richard Owen* came from *Tyrone*, to mediate with the Lord Deputy her Maiesties mercy towards him; whereupon his Lordship gaue leaue to a Gentleman in the Pale of *Tyrone*s old acquaintance, to parlee with him, according to the following instructions, dated the fourth of February.

When you speake with him, you shall tell him, that you vnderstand, that *Richard Owen* came from him to the Lord Deputy, with commission from him to tell his Lordship, that he desired to be receiued into the Queenes mercy, if his life might bee secured.

Whereupon

Whereupon you finding in him such conformity, (out of your ancient loue, which in former time you bare him), were glad of the alteration; and therefore, as his friend did now vndertake this long iourney, to perswade him to those courses, which might best answer his duty to his Prince, and repaire his estate, which in your opinion is desperate.

If you find him desirous to bee receiued to mercy, you shall giue him hope of it, and promise him furtherance for the effecting of it, vpon these conditions. That he shall in token of his penitency, and according to the duty of a Rebelle to his naturall Prince, first vnder his hand write a letter of submission to the Lord Deputy, humbly crauing in the same her Maiesties mercy, with promise to redeeme his errours past by his future seruice. That likewise hee shall write a publike submission to her Maiesty, imploring at her hands forgiuenesse of his faults, and likewise promise amendement of his life, with a willing desire to doe her some acceptable seruice, in recompence of his transgression, in the same protesting, to serue her Maiesty against all men, either of *Ireland*, or forraigners, that shall endeauour the disturbance of this Countrey.

That he shall put into her Maiesties hands his eldest sonne, for the assurance of his future loyalty, and foure principall gentlemen of his blood, as hee formerly promised.

That hee shall at his charge, find workemen to build such Forts in the County of *Tyrone*, and in such places, as the Lord Deputy shall thinke fit.

That he shall permit throughout *Tyrone* her Maiesties Officers of Iustice, as the Sheriffs, and others, to haue free liberty to execute their Offices, as is accustomed in other Prouinces and Counties of the Realme, and answere all other duties formerly agreed vpon.

That he shall onely vndertake for himselfe, and his pledges to lie for no more, then those that dwell vpon that land onely, that is contained in his Letters Pattents, not any way vndertaking for the rest of *Tyrone*, as *Turlough Brassiloe*s sonnes, *Mac Mahownd*, *O Cane*, *Macgenis*, *Macguire*, the two *Clandeboyes*, and all of the East side of the *Ban*. That if any of his neighbours shall continue in rebellion, none of their people shall be harboured in *Tyrone*, and likewise that none of *Tyrone* shall (by his consent or knowledge) succour any Rebelle, or giue assistance to them; and if any such offender shall happen to be discouered, either by himselfe, or any other her Maiesties Officers, vpon knowledge thereof, that hee shall doe his best endeouour to prosecute the parties offending, and either take them, whereby they may be tried by the lawes of the Realme, or kill them, if they may not otherwise bee had, and shall assist her Maiesties Officers, in taking to her vse the goods and chattels of the offenders and their retinues. That he shall not onely truely pay all her Maiesties rents and duties, from this time forward, due vnto her out of *Tyrone*, but also pay the arrerages, that for many yeeres haue beene by him detained.

That in respect of the great charges that he hath put her Maiesty vnto, (although it be not the thousand part of her disbursements), *In nomine pene* (which in all such great offences is accustomed) towards the victualing of her Maiesties garrisons, he shall pay two thousand Cowes within sixe moneths. That the County of *Tyrone* may bee limited, and no more by him to be possessed, then is contained in his Letters Pattents. That the territory of *Tyrone* may be diuided into shires, and haue gaoles as he hath formerly desired. That he put at liberty the sonnes of *Shane O Neale*, and all other prisoners English and Irish. These things you shall onely propound as from your selfe, yet as conceiuing that they will be demanded at his hands, if he be receiued, and to draw as large an ouerture from him, of what he will agree vnto, as you can perswade him, telling him, that the greater assurance he doth giue the state of his loyalty, the greater will be his safety, for we shall conser his good meaning by his free offer thereof, and after we shall haue the lesse reason to be iealous of him.

The fifteenth of February the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in *England* this following letter.

May

MAY it please your Lordships. The foureteenth of this last moneth we dispatched Sir Richard Moryson, with our letters to your Lordships from this place, and the nine and twentieth we wrote againe by Captaine Butler; yet to this day the wind hath continued still so Westerly, as since the departure of Sir Richard, no shipping is come to vs, either out of England from your Lordships, (as we desired) or from Waterford, Wexford, and those parts, (as we directed), to carry away the Spaniards hence; nor yet vntil Sunday the seuenh hereof, could those ships stirre, that lay ready at Kinsale, to be sent to Baltimore, Castle Hauon, and Beere Hauon: but now they are gone, we hope that the seruice to be done by them; (which is the possessing of the Castles, and sending away the Spaniards in them), will be presently accomplished, although the wind hath serued them so scantily; as wee feare they will hardly recouer all the places whereunto they are directed. There is onely one Scottish ship gone from Kinsale for Spaine, which carried one hundred sixety Spaniards with part of the Artillery, but there lies now ready at the Harbour for the first wind, so much shipping as will carry away one thousand five hundred more, so as there will bee yet remaining in Kinsale about one thousand Spaniards; which with the first shipping that comes from the other Ports, shall be imbarked. Don Iean staies to goe last: It appeareth by some letters intercepted, which wee send herewithall vnto your Lordships, that the King of Spaine purposeth to send a larger supply hither with all expedition. Don Iean assures vs to doe his best, to stay them; and if he arriue first in Spaine, he makes no doubt to dissuade their coming; but if they should come before his departure, he promiseth to returne them, according to his couenant in the contract, if they doe not come vnder the command of some other, that hath a commission a part from his from the King. The Irish haue of late receiued letters from Odonnell, to encourage the Rebels to perseuer in their rebellion; assuring them of present aide from Spaine, in the meane time, the best of them all doe but temporize, being ready to assist them; when they come, especially if they come in any strength, as it is to bee thought in all reason they will; hauing found their first error. Her Maiesty must therefore be pleased to be at some charge to erect fortifications at Beere Hauon, Kinsale, and this place, the commodities and weakenesse of these places, being as well knowne to the Spaniards as to vs, and further with all speed to erect Cittadels at Lymbrick, Corke, and Waterford, though it bee onely to assure the Townes from reuolt. It appeareth by the King of Spaines letter, (and so by the Duke of Lermaer), that his heart is very much set vpon the enterprize of Ireland, and therefore it is not vnlike, but that he may send more supplies, after or before Don Ieans arriual in Spaine, either vnder him or some other Commander, which if hee doe, it is also likely the same will be sent shortly. For preuention thereof (if in your Lordships wisdom it shall be thought meet), we doe humbly beseech, that the foure thousand supplies heretofore desired; and by your Lordships intended, may bee presently sent hither, whereof two thousand to be erected into companies, and their Captaines to be named here, and the other 2000 for supplies of the Army, which is exceeding weakes for our men die daily in greater numbers then they died in the camp, the infection being greater, and by some thought a kinde of plague, (for the people in the Townes die in farre greater numbers then the souldiers), though we hope the contrary: And wee doe further desire, that her Maiesty will be pleased to hasten her Fleete to the Coast of Spaine, which coming timely, will in our opinions hinder any enterprize for Ireland, but least that shoule faile, we renew our former motion, that the *Tramontana* and the *Moone*, may be returned to serue vpon the Coast of Mounster, that the proportions of munition and victuals desired in our former letters, may speedily be dispatched hither and that victualers without impediment may come from all places to relieue vs, for already a very great dearth is begun, and a famine must ensue, the rates of all things being incredible, and the new money much repined at, notwithstanding we do our vttermost endeours to aduance it. But in a matter of so great importance, we humbly desire your Lordships to giue vs leaue to deliuer our opinions freely, hauing so assured ground for it, that if the King of Spaine continue his war in this Country, it will be hard

hard to preferue her Maiesties army and Kingdom, without the altering of the currant mony, so general is the dislike therof, and so insolently do they begin already to refuse it: but if there come no forraine aide, her Maiesty (as we think) may securely continue it as it is; for all we that are of the Army, whom it most concerneth (in regard we liue wholly vpon our entertainment), will (God willing) indure it, for the aduancement of the seruice, though we are sensible of our losse, by the excessiue enbauncing of the prices of all things that wee are to liue vpon, which cannot bee holpen so long as this new coyne continues currant. Of *Tyrone* since his ouerthrow and departure, we herterto haue heard little, neither doe we thinke hee will be able to doe any great harme, without the aide of new supplies from *Spaine*. And so wee humbly take leaue, &c. From *Corke*, &c.

The same fifteenth day the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary in *England* this letter following.

Sir, this strange continuance of the windes in the West and the South, makes mee looke backe into the danger, that both her Maiesties Army and Kingdome haue passed: for if Sir *Richard Lewison* with her Maiesties Fleete had not taken the opportunitie of that winde, which did no more then bring him hether, and giue the rest of the supplies (with great difficultie) their passage from other ports to vs, no doubt by these contrary windes (from that time to this day continuing) all the affaires of her Maiestie here had been in an extreame hazard. And when I consider; first, that in all likelihood we could expect no lesse then a powerful supply out of *Spaine*, and that the greater, the more the King should find himself ingaged, and his Army stand in need of seconding, except he might be in time aduertised of this ouerture we haue made here, to disimbarke himself fairely of an enterprize, which I presume his Ministers here do beleue, and will perswade him to be vnfit any longer to imbrace. Then, that the winds haue been such, as haue onely serued to carry him the danger of his men here, and not the peace which they haue made (for since *Syriago* his departure, which was presently after the ouerthrow, *Don Iean de l'Aguylla* was neuer able to send away any dispatch, which we may hope to be arriued in *Spaine*.) And lastly, that we haue credible intelligence of the Kings resolution and forwardnesse, to send his men here strong and speedy succours. When I consider these things, I cannot but feare a heauy warre to bee towards vs, which (as I doe constantly beleue) had been preuented, if it had pleased God to send vs a winde in any time to haue sent away these Spaniards, or at the least the assured relation of their estates. Thus the continuance of contrary winds in these parts, doth make me apprehend the extreame perils, wherewith her Maiesty shall bee driuen to make the warre in this Country with extreame charge; if the Spaniards perseuer in their purpose: for without huge Magazins, great waste and continuall charge of shipping, and land carriages, such a warre cannot be made, and I am perswaded that her Maiesty were as good giue ouer at the first the defence of this country, as to intend a war, without making those prouisions for it. Now as my loue to her & to her seruice doth make me as sensible (I wil boldly protest), as any man liuing of whatsoeuer burthen the state doth feele, so the same loue shuld make me suffer with alacrity the waight of my vneasie charge, & the dangerous waies wherein I walke, if I did not perceiue the poore Asses to be the worse liked, that he doth carry so much treasure from her cofers, howsoeuer he doe vnwillingly beare it away, and feeleth nothing but the heauy burthen thereof. This, and some inclination that I haue found, to measure my labours by the successe, not by my endeauours, haue (I confesse) more discouraged me, then all the difficulties I euer passed, or may expect: And sauing the thankfulness, which I cannot chuse but yeeld vnto God, for the successe which it hath pleased him of late to giue me, I protest I was neuer accompanied with more vnquiet thoughts, then since my last comming to *Corke*, where I continue in a most noysome Towne, full of infection, seeing no end of my labours, nor finding any measure of them, and yet fearing that they are valued of so little merit, as they are rather likely to draw on dislike. Wherefore as in my owne heart I doe vtterly distaste this vnhappy profession, with no further

further ambition then to set downe in quietnesse vnder mine owne Vine, with the conscience of hauing beene no vnprofitable seruant to her Maiesty, so Sir (I vow before God) I will acknowledge it an euerlasting bond, if you will be a meane, to procure me that harmelesse fortune, that I may (as aboue all things I desire) serue her Maiesty henceforward, with as pure, as I will euer doe with faithfull deuotion, and make my selfe ready for another World, for I thanke God I doe hate this. Blame me not (I beseech you Sir) for apprehending my fortune with so much discomfort, since I doe not onely perceiue what enemies I haue, that are ingenious and industrious to vrge all my proceeding to my disaduantage, but find that their malice did take such effect with her Maiesty, as to moue her to be vnsatisfied with my endeouours, wherein my owne conscience cannot acknowledge any thing omitted within my power, or belonging to my duty, whatsoeuer the successe had beene. Sir as I neuer deserued any ill of them by deed, (except it be by doing her Maiesty better seruice then they can or will doe), nor by word, (for I doe not thinke or speake of them, but when these tokens of their good will doe force mee vnto it), so I protest, I doe as much scorne their malice, as the barking of so many whelpes, and would be little troubled with it. But when I thinke that their false euidence doth sway the opinion of my supream Iudge, in the title of her fauour and my desert, and doe remember how doubtfull the fortune of the warre is, I cannot but feare, that one disaster shall be put into the ballence against all my labours and endeauours; and therewithall conclude and confesse, that I couet no mortall fortune more, then to bee fairely rid of the part which I play on so dangerous a stage, before these serpents may find any aduantage to hisse at me. Whereas otherwise if I had beene secure of her Maiesties fauour against these Vipers tongues, I should with confidence and alacrity goe towards the greatest dangers that can rise against me: but as God hath hitherto stopped their mouths, so I hope, for her Maiesties good, (if not for mine) he will continue his fauour, who prosper me in all things, as I doe sincerely intend her seruice, &c.

The eighteenth day the Lord Deputy receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, signifying that besides the two thousand last sent, the greatest part vnder Captaines, the rest left to his Lordships disposall, now vpon a second leauy two thousand more were appointed to bee embarked the sixe and twentieth of the last moneth, all which were left to his Lordships disposall, excepting one Company giuen to Captaine *Thomas Dutton*, vpon his Lordships letters of speciall recommendation.

The same day his Lordship receiued from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and wellbeloued, we greet you well; The report which your letters by *Dauers* haue brought vs, of the successe it hath pleased God to giue you against our Rebels, and the Spaniards combined with them, was receiued by vs with such contentment, as so great & happy an accident could affoord: Wherefore although we (as euer we haue done in all other happinesse which hath befallen vs), ascribe the highest praise and thanks to his diuine Maiesty; yet forasmuch as wee doe accompt that they who are the seruants of our State in like actions, are made participant, (in a second degree) of his fauour bestowed vpon vs, by their vertue and industry, wee cannot but hold them worthy of thanks from vs, as they haue receiued honour from him. Among whom, you being there the chiefe, (not onely as chiefly put in trust by vs, but as we plainly perceiue, in vigilancy, in labour, and in valour, in this late action), wee could not forbear to let you see, how sensible we are of this your merit. It is true, that before this good successe vpon the Rebels, wee were in daily attention, to haue heard of some quicker attempt vpon the Towne (then any was made), both in respect that your owne Letters tended to such sence, and especially because protraction of time brought with it apparant dangers, as well of accessse of new supplies from our forraine enemies, as of defection of a people, so vnconstant of disposition, and so rebellious to gouernement, as those of that nation euer haue beene. But wee that time hauing vnderstood by those iournals (which were committed to *S^r Johns* and *Dauers*), some rea-

sons which haue moued you to the course you haue taken, rather then to haue vsed speed in attempting, seeing all assaults are accompanied with losse, and euery losse (in such a time) multiplied in rumour, and wholly conuerted by practise, to the preiudice of the cause in question, which is maintained (now as things doe stand), by the reputation of your army, wee doe now conceiue that all your workes haue had their foundation vpon such reasons as you thought most aduantageous for our seruice. It remaineth therefore now (and so we desire it may be made knowne to our Army, that haue serued vnder you, in such manner as you shall thinke best to expresse it), that as we doe know they haue indured many incommodities in this siege, (which wee would haue beene glad they could haue auoided, hauing made so good prooffe of their valour and loyalty, as they haue done at this time, so as we rather seeke to preferue them, as the best treasure of a Prince, then to suffer them to wast, if otherwise our Kingdome could haue beene kept from danger of forraigne conquest, and intestine rebellion), so we expect it at the hands of the better sort of our seruitors there, that it shall well be infused into the minds of the rest, that whatsoeuer either our owne directions or expending of treasure could doe, (for preuention of those difficulties, which follow all armies, and are inseperable where the warre is made in a climate so ill tempered for a winters siege) hath beene royally and prouidently afforded them. A matter of much more charge and vncertainty, because all our care and direction haue attended the winds and weathers curtesie. To conclude with answere to your demands for further supplies of men. Although wee hope that the time is so neere of the finall conclusion of your happy successe against the remnant of the strangers in that poore Towne, being pressed with so many wants, and with the dispaire which our late victory will adde herevnto, as that hardly any supplies sent from vs can come, before it haue taken effect; yet because you may perceiue how much wee attribute to your iudgement in any thing which for our affaires is there desired, we haue (as by our Counsell hath beene signified vnto you) giuen order for foure thousand men to be sent thither out of hand, with the full proportion of munition which you desire. In which kind of prouisions we find so great consumptions, as we must require you to take some better order with them that haue the distribution thereof. For if it bee obserued what quantities haue beene daily sent ouer, and yet what daily wants are pretended, the expence will bee found insupportable, and so much the rather, because all men know, that whatsoeuer the Irish Companies receiue, (except now in this action) is continually conuerted for money to the vse of the Rebels. Giuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace at *White-Hall*, the 44 yeere of our Raigne, the twelfth of *Ianuary* 1601.

In the beginning of this Letter, aboue the Queenes hand signed, these following words were ouerwritten by the Queenes owne hand, viz. Though for feare of worse end, you did desire (as we confesse we once thought to direct) to end this worke, before either Enemy or Rebelle could increase the perill of our honour, yet wee hope that no such aduenture shall bee more made, but that their confusion bee ere now lighted on their owne heads. And let *Clanrickard* and *Thomond* know, that we doe most thankfully accept their endeauours. For your selfe, we can but acknowledge your diligence, and dangerous aduenture, and cherish and iudge of you, as your carefull Soueraigne.

The twentieth of February, twenty Spanish Captaines with 1374 common Soldiers, being before imbarcked at *Kinsale*, in six English ships, sailed for *Spaine*. The seuen and twenty day the Lord Deputy and Counsell here, wrote to the Lords in *England* this following letter.

MAy it please your Loedships, since our last dispatch the fifteenth hereof, 1400 of the Spaniards, that had lien aboard their shipping in the Harbour of *Kinsale*, to take aduantage of the first fauourable wind for *Spaine*, found the meanes to set forth with a very scant wind vpon Sunday last, the twentieth of this present, so as now wee haue ridde our selues of aboute 1600 by Pole, reckonining those which wee sent from *Corke* into *England*, being some two hundred; and these last numbers were truly

truly mustered by one of our owne Commissioners. If our shipping could get about from *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and those Easterne Ports, (from whence onely two haue yet recovered *Kinsale*, though all the rest haue beene a good time ready, and some of them at Sea), we doubt not within foure or fide daies wee should be able to dispatch away all the rest, though there remaine yet as great a number. (the certainty whereof we doe not know). Captaine *Haruy*, who was sent into the Westerne parts to ship away the Spaniards that were there, and to take possession of the places, is for certaine possessed of *Castle Haven*, and vpon Friday last set forwards towards *Baltimore*, whereof by this time we make account he is possessed also, and that hee is busie sending away the Spaniards with the first wind, though we haue not yet heard from him since his being there. On Friday last being the eighteenth, we receiued two packets from your Lordships, the one of the twelfth, the other of the 16 of the last moneth, and at the same time there came into this Harbour, fide companies of foot, (whereof foure were vnder Captaines, namely, *Dauys*, *Holcroft*, *Bradbery*, and *Barker*, and the other one hundred vnder the conduct of the three last). Good store of shipping came likewise in with victuals that day and the next, and on Sunday there arriued at *Kinsale* (about the time that the Spaniards left that Port) two Barkes laden with munition and artillery, working tooles, and such other things as we had written for, and your Lordships most carefully had provided, so as we haue iust cause, with all thanketulnesse, to acknowledge that it hath pleased her Maiesty and your Lordships to supply vs as roially and plentifully as we desired; and that as your Lordships well note for our speciall comfort, your prouidence and care of vs was such, as things necessary were in readinesse for our supplies, before you had notice from vs that we had need of them: Wee are resolved, now that all those prouisions are come, to keepe a good force in the West parts of this Prouince, which will both settle those that hitherto haue stood waue-ring, and may besides prosecute those that haue shewed themselves worst affected; while such places as are needfull may be fortified: For since (as wee signified by our last, vpon the intercepting of certaine Spanish letters) there is great likelihood, that a new supply from *Spain* will come speedily & strongly, if at all, it behoueth vs to be in readinesse to intertaine them, by making the places knowne to them very strong, and to curbe the Townes by Cittadels, to be erected; otherwise they will revolt, and fall to the Spanish party, when they shall see them come strongly and well prepared. And for those foure thousand men which wee perceiue your Lordships had appointed for vs, we humbly leaue it to your Lordships consideration, vpon the sight of these letters out of *Spain* which we send, whether you shall thinke fit to send them to vs presently, or else haue them there in such readinesse, as if any further supplies should arriue out of *Spain*, we might in time make vse of them here. The Companies that are come, are men well chosen and well appointed, their Armes good, and for ought yet we find, the men neither changed, nor the armes or apparell embzelled, and yet they haue beene very strictly both viewed and mustered, before Commissioners specially appointed; and the like course we meane to take with the rest of them, if they doe come as your Lordships haue appointed, which yet wee leaue wholly to your Lordships, who can best iudge what number is meetest for vs, by the intelligence we send you, but especially by such as your Lordships receiue from *Spain*. And as for those that in the conduction of the other men, abused themselves to her Maiesties so great losse, we will doe the best to find out the truth and ground thereof, and informe you (as your Lordships haue directed), and further will most carefully performe what else your Lordships in these letters haue commanded. But where your Lordships conceiue an omission in me the Deputy, that so many armes are lost here, I humbly answere, that being not able to looke vnto these things my selfe, I gaue commission to Master Marshall, Sir *Robert Gardener*, and Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, to take the particular care and charge thereof, who being now not here, cannot relate what they haue done, onely we remember wee haue heard it alleadged, when the Captaines were charged with the Armes of their Companies, that their answere was; that some of the Souldiers ranne away with them, and some others assaying to make escape, were stripped both of their

apparel & armes (which our selues saw to be true in many that were found & returned naked to the Campe), and the truth is, such as were not lost that way, nor spoiled and broken in the seruice, (as it cannot be denied but some were), some part were put ouer with the supplies to other Companies, (which were very few), and the rest could not be recouered from the cashiered Captaines, who being in entertainment but a short time, had nothing due, whereout it might be defalked; but must answere it before your Lordships there in *England*, for from hence they went soone after they were discharged. The Captaines last come, (as others did before them), desire that their warrants of entry might beare date that day that your Lordships appointed them to be at the water side, to receiue their Companies; and we acknowledge, we thinke in reason, they are to haue it so, or else their imprest to be remitted, otherwise they haue nothing to beare the charge of themselves and Officers from that time to their landing here, which is often times fixe weekes, or a month, in which time their imprest is vsually spent; and if afterward it be defalked from them, they must all be so long without intertainment, and so vnable to liue. Wee humbly desire to know your Lordships pleasure herein, as we did formerly vpon the like occasion, but hitherto haue receiued no answer from your Lordships: We are further to signifie vnto your Lordships, that the Victualer issues (as he saith by direction); but one pound and a halfe of beefe *per diem*, to a souldier, which is too little for him to liue vpon, and yet the rate in the victualing nothing abated, which is intollerable for him to beare, and likewise the Victualer thinks that he may not issue the Oates at a lower rate then 15 s. the quarter, which is seuen shillings six pence the barrell, being so high a rate, as the Horseman out of his entertainment cannot allow so much for his horse, but by that meanes both the Horse will be starued, and the Oates will perish before they be spent. In time of plenty, the ordinary rate of Oates in *Ireland*, was but at twelue pence the barrell, yet they are now well content to pay six shillings a barrell, which is at the highest rate the Souldier can giue. Of these particulars wee humbly pray redresse from your Lordships. And so, &c. From *Corke*, &c.

The first of March the Lord Deputy by letters from the Lords in *England* was required, to send ouer a Lieftenant, being one of the late cast Companies, but still remaining in *Ireland*, to the end he might answer before their Lordships certaine complaints made against him: For whereas many Officers in the late leuies of men, had receiued in the Country able and sufficient men, as wel to serue vnder themselves, as to be conducted ouer to be disposed by the Lord Deputy, whereof they had for diuers sums of money dismissed many at the Sea side, pretending that they were lame, or sicke, and that they had taken better men in their place, neither of these pretences being true. Their Lordships purposed to inflict some exemplary punishment for this great offence, and therefore required this Lieftenant to be sent ouer, who was accused among and aboue the rest.

The eight of March Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, (who was sent into *England* from *Kinsale* with newes of the good successe in the taking of *Rincoran* and *Nyparke* Castles, and the happy repulse of the Spaniards sallying vpon our Cannon), returned backe to *Corke*, and brought from the Queene this following letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well. By the gentlemans relation whom last you sent vnto vs, and by your Letters, we receiued (with much contentment) the newes of the rendition of *Kinsale*, and other places held by the Spaniards in that Kingdome: wherein although by comparing the same with those reports which were brought vs by diuers, that they were not onely in misery for victuall, but in penury of men, as not being five hundred strong, we conceiued that you might haue giuen them stricter lawes in their composition, (and so doe now perceiue how easie a matter it is, for those that are neerer hand to the matters of warre then we are, to be mistaken), yet vpon those considerations which we haue obserued in your iournall last sent ouer,

con-

containing many important circumstances, which did leade you to that course, amongst which no one hath so much moued vs; as that assault would haue shed the blood of our subiects, which is dearer to vs then any reuenge or glory), we doe account it both in the successe, one of the most acceptable accidents that hath befallen vs, and in your carriage thereof discern it to haue beene guided with as many parts of an able and prouident Minister, as any we haue vsed in seruice of like nature. And therefore hold it both iust and necessary for vs to yeeld you this testimony of our gracious acceptation of your endeauours, which haue beene accompanied with so much paine and perill. It remaineth now, seeing the state of all things there, and your owne desires doe require it, that wee speake something of those things which are fit to be thought of for the time to come, whereof seeing this euent hath both already begun, and is very like to worke great alteration to our aduantage. That which we could wish you to aime at, is in sum (next to the safety of the Kingdome) to giue all possible ease to our State, by diminishing that great consumption of treasure, which of late yeeres wee haue sustained. And yet how to direct precisely by what meanes and parcels in euery particular the same is to be done, is very hard for vs at this present, especially vntill we shall receiue from you and our Counsell there further light, by the information of the state of all things now after these successes, together with your owne opinion thereupon, onely as it is apparant to vs already by your letter, that in your own iudgement, hauing due sence of the infinite inconueniencies which daily are multiplied vpon this Kingdome by that occasion, you did immediatly after the rendition, both cast some part of our Army there, and stay the supplies comming from hence, so in that course we doubt not, but you doe and will continue, as farre forth as things may beare it, in taking care that our Army be not weakened by holding more small garri- sons then are necessary. And this we may with very good reason say, out of obseruation of that which hath passed of latter yeeres, and agreeable to your owne opinion. That one charge there is very great to vs, and yet without any manner of ground of safety, if there were cause of aduenture, and that is the entertainment of great numbers of Irish, wherein we will note vnto you these two considerations: First that when things there, were at most hazard for vs, your owne spirit was doubtfull of the seruice which might be reaped by them. Secondly that heretofore, when they haue beene vsed, it hath not beene seene, that either they were entertained at the same rate of pay with our owne Nation, or so mixed in common with them in regiments, but euer kept more apart, both in companies seuerall, and vsed in places and in seruices proper for them, which course although this extraordinary danger of our Kingdome hath giuen occasion to dispence with, yet doubt we not but in your owne conceit you will thinke it meet, with all conuenient speed to reforme, and giue beginning to it, by such degrees of dimunition, and in such measure, as you shall find to be most for the good of our seruice.

For the matter which hath beene moued to you from the Arch-trairor, we commend your handling of the offer, in that you haue kept the dignity of the place you hold, and therein ours, and yet we doe not mislike, that you did not so desperately reject him, as to conclude him thereby from opening the further scope of his desires. And though till the next ouerture, we haue little more to write vnto you, yet we may say thus much in generality, that the monstrousnesse of his fact, stained with so many and deepe spots of offences of seuerall natures and degrees, (though none more odious then his ingratitude); and the quicke sence we haue alwaies of the blemishing of our honour, doth not permit vs to hold any other way with him, then the plaine way of perdition. And therefore doe aduise you to all courses, that may winne vs glory vpon him, and if our Armes must be accompanied with any part of mercy, rather to imploy the same in receiuing the secondary members and Vriaghts from him, by whom that life which is left him standeth, then to make so much account of so vile an head, as to thinke him worthy to be recovered; but rather that abandoned of God and men, he may be left to feele the iust reward of his foule demerits. Notwithstanding, we will not mislike to heare from you againe what you haue further discovered,

and guide our further resolution according to occasions. Hereupon we haue thought good to returne this gentleman Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* to you; with thus much of our mind vpon your late letters; and with such other matters as from our Counsell he may haue in charge to impart vnto you, being one, of whose good discretion and affection to our seruice we are very well perswaded, to the end that vpon his arriual, (by which time much will be seene of the euent of your late happy successe) you may enter into some solid consideration of the forme of gouernement hereafter to be held; of the proportions of our army to be continued; and of all things that may be likely to settle that State in safety from forraigne attempts; and in a better obedience to vs then heretofore. When you haue debated and resolved what seemeth good to you there, vpon all such points, we can be then contented that you send backe this gentleman hether againe, instructed therewith. And because it will be also needfull for the furtherance of our resolutions here, to haue good vnderstanding of the ciuill parts of that gouernement, as well as of the martiall, and that sute hath beene made vnto vs for Sir *Robert Gardener* our chiefe Iustice there; to be licensed to come hither, we shall like well that you send them both; to the end that vpon their report of your conceits there; we may enter into more particlular consideration of all things incident; which vpon their arriual we shall be better able to doe. Given vnder our Signet, at our Pallace of *Westminster*, the eight day of February 1601. in the foure and fortieth yeere of our raigne.

The same day Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* brought from the Lords in *England* this following letter to the Lord Deputy:

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we haue had (in most of our late dispatches) so little cause to fill our papers with any thing, but with commendations of your Lordships wise proceedings, and congratulations for her Maiesties happy successe vnder you, as at this time (if any other) we intended not to mixe this acknowledgement of our extraordinary contentment for your late victory against the Spaniards, with any other particular directions, especially seeing the change you haue made in that Countrey, by freeing the same from forraigne power, (howsoever infested still with an intestine rebellion), must (in all mens knowledge, that are acquainted with the affaires of State) haue brought so many changes, as we can hardly tell what aduice or direction to offer of new, vntill we may receiue from thence some further light of the present State of that Kingdome from you, whose owne eye and iudgement is neereft, and ablest to performe the same. In which consideration, seeing it hath pleased her Maiesty by her owne letters, not onely to giue you notice of her royall and gracious acceptation of your so noble endeouours, but to direct your Lordship also to send ouer hether Sir *Robert Gardener*, and this gentleman Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, with relation of all particulars fit for her knowledge, we will in expectation hereof forbear to enlarge our letter any further, then with our best wishes to your Lordship of all perfect health and happinesse, as those that will euer be found, &c.

The same eight day *Don Iean* and the remaine of the Spaniards at *Kinsale*, were all embarked ready to be gone. The next morning the Lord Deputy left *Corke*, and taking his iourney towards *Dublyn*, arriued that night at *Toghall*.

And because the stormy weather and contrary winds, kept the Spaniards still in the Port at *Kinsale*, his Lordship was forced to stay in that Towne some few daies, from whence he wrote to Master Secretary into *England*, vpon the twelfth of March, aduertising him thereof: And further giuing him notice, that the other Spaniards which were at *Beere-Hauen*, *Castle-Hauen*, and *Baltimore*, now were gone for *Spaine*. That *Don Iean* had sent to *Corke* the pledges promised in the eight article of the agreement. That fise English Companies were lately arriued at *Waterford*: And lastly, praying to be excused to the rest of the Lords of her Maiesties Counsell, that hee forbore to write vnto them, till he came to *Waterford*, where within few daies he hoped to meete the Earle of *Ormond*, and some other of the Counsell, and vpon conference with them, to bee better able to satishe their Lordships in some things concerning the present State

State of this Kingdome, according to her Maiesties pleasure lately signified to him by her letters. The pledges aboue mentioned were to lie for the safe returne of our ships, wherein the Spaniards were embarked.

These pledges were principall Commanders, and among them was one Captaine *Moryson*, (of whose bold seruice mention is made in the sally vpon the second of December). This gentleman was inuited by the Lord Deputy to accompany him to *Dublyn*, the rest of his fellowes still remaining at *Corke*, whether hee was to returne vnto them, and they together to be shipped for *Spaine*, vpon the safe returne of our ships. In which iourney to *Dublyn*, and during this Gentlemans aboad there, I had familiar conference with him for names sake, and vnderstood from him, that his Family in *Spaine* was descended of an English Gentleman, who followed the Emperour *Charles* the fifth in his warres, and after by his bounty was seated in *Spaine*; where at this day the chiefe of his name had good reuenues.

The Lord Deputy being come to *Waterford*, did write, together with the rest of the Counsell, vpon the eighteenth of March, this following letter to the Lords in *England*.

IT may please your Lordships: The eighth hereof, wee receiued by Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* at *Corke*, the dispatch which it pleased your Lordships to make by him, and may not omit with all humble thankfulness to acknowledge the great comfort and contentment we haue taken, in that it appeareth both thereby, and by the relation of Sir *Oliuer*, that her Maiesty and your Lordships haue most graciously and fauourably accepted and allowed our poore endeauours. We are most carefull (as you haue directed) to send Sir *Robert Gardener* and him vnto your Lordships, so soone as I the Deputy can get to *Dublyn*, where Sir *Robert Gardener* now is, and shall haue considered and debated with the Counsell there the businesse, wherein your Lordships looke to be thorowly informed. In the meane space, because that will aske some time, wee haue thought fit to acquaint your Lordships, how things stand here since our last dispatch. The Spaniards for certaine are all gone from *Beere-Hauen*, *Castle-Hauen*, & *Baltimore*, and that day that Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* did arriue at *Corke*, we heard that all the Spaniards at *Kinsale*, and last of all *Don Iean* himselfe, were shipped, and in readinesse to set saile, but since we heare that vntill Saturday the thirteenth hereof, they could not get forth the Harbour, and were that night beaten backe. On Sunday they were ready to set out againe, since which time we haue not heard from thence, more then that they lay aboard in the mouth of the Harbour, and our men were possessed of the Towne, and we haue obserued the wind since that time to be good for them, so as wee are in good hope they are all gone. The pledges, according to agreement were come to *Corke*, being three Captaines of long continuance, so as we haue cause to thinke *Don Iean* hath dealt sincerely with vs, and are not out of hope, to be no more troubled with any Spaniards: yet to be prouided for the worst that may happen, so long as the Spanish Cloud hangs ouer vs, wee haue deuised both the victuals and great part of the munition into sundry Harbours, along the Sea Coast of this Prouince, the more ready to answere all occasions, as may more fully appeare by the notes wee send herewithin: If by this meanes her Maiesties charge grow great, (as wee cannot but acknowledge it will), and the seruice North ward goe on slower then it would otherwise, if we might apply our selues wholly that way, we beseech your Lordships fauourably to consider the necessities that leade vs thereunto, least leauing any place vnprouided for, the facilitie should inuite a comming thither, and in that regard wee haue giuen out an intention, to fortifie in all the seuerall places of *Beer-hauen*, *Castle-hauen*, *Baltimore*, and the Creekes & passages along that Coast. Whereas these Spaniards being gone, as now God be thanked they are, we haue no meaning so to doe, in regard we haue no answere from your Lordships touching that point, and thereby conceiue, that her Maiesty wil not vndergo so great a charge, though we continue stil of this opinion, that it were the safest course to fortifie in those places: and if the Spaniards should come againe, without strong Forts and Cittadels vpon the chiefe townes, (whom our late experience shewed vs apparantly to be wauering), we can neither haue safetie for

retreate, if any diaſter ſhould befall vs, nor commoditie for victuals and munition, but that altogether would be in danger, & the whole hazarded or loſte at an inſtant; which point we hold our ſelues bound in dutie to provide for; and therefore if her Maieſtie do not like to make Cittadels in theſe Townes and Cities, which we noted to be fit in our former letters, we hold it of very great neceſſitie that the harbors of *Corke* & *Kinſale* be yet wel fortified, which we haue already begun to do at *Kinſale*, & haue viewed the mouth of the Harbour of *Corke*, where by railing one good Fort at the entry, and another vpon an Iland in that Riuer, the Harbour will very aptly be ſecured, and all victuals and munition for our uſe moſt commodiouſly defended againſt all enemies, which we hold a matter of very great importance. And if theſe workes ſhall be erected, ten Culuerings, and ten demy-culuerings of Iron, mounted vpon vnſhod wheelles, for platformes to bee placed in the Forts, to bee made in thoſe two Harbours, muſt forthwith be ſent (with bullets for them), either to *Corke*, or to *Kinſale*. Our whole ſtore of victuals being diuided into ſandry parts of this Prouince, (as by this note appeareth), we are in doubt wee ſhall want when wee enter into a proſecution Northward, velleſſe your Lordſhips be pleaſed to continue that courſe for our ſupplies, that we confeſſe you haue moſt prouidently hitherto afforded vs: for where ſome conceine, and (as it ſeemeth) haue informed, that we may be furniſhed here with victuals, it is to vs moſt ſtrange; and paſt all beleefe, and to make it more apparant vnto your Lordſhips, it may pleaſe you to conſider, that it is impoſſible to make an end of this warre without waſting and ſpoiling of the Countrey. This (as we muſt doe ſtill) wee haue of long time very earneſtly laboured, and effected in as great a meaſure as we can poſſibly deuife, and then how can it in reaſon be thought, that wee can ſtarue the Rebell, and yet preſerue victuals in the countrey for the ſouldier? ſo as we muſt conclude, that if we faile once of our victualing out of *England*, vpon hope to haue it found in this Realme, by any mans vnderſtanding, the Army will either be ſtarued, or driuent to breake vpon a ſudden, when it will not be in our power to helpe it, and this wee beſeech your Lordſhips to beleefe, if we haue made any uſe of our experience here. Yet if there be any poſſibilitie thereof, when wee haue conferred what may bee provided out of the Pale, and quieteſt parts of *Mounſter*, wee will further certifie your Lordſhips. And beſides we doe apparantly foreſee, now that the apparrelling of the ſouldier is left vnto the Captaine (which yet beſt contents all parties); that if the exchanging of the new coyne be not Royally kept vp, the ſouldier will be in worſe caſe then before. For all things here are already growne ſo deare and ſcarſe, ſince the new coine went currant, as clothes are both exceſſiuely deare here, and in any quantity not to be had for money, but muſt neceſſarily bee provided in *England*, and brought hither, which cannot be, if the exchange faile neuer ſo little; for then will the ſouldier be vn-clothed, which rather then he will indure, he will runne away, though he be ſure to be hanged, and this we feare will be likewise a meane for the breaking of the Army. The decays by ſickneſſe and otherwiſe are already ſo great, notwithstanding all that wee can doe (and yet we haue not been wanting in our prouidency), as wee moſt humbly craue to haue ſupplies ſent from time to time (till the rebellion be broken, which if no forraigne forces arriue, we hope will be in ſhort time), not vnder Captaines but Conductors, for we find by experience that the Captaines that are ſent hither with their Companies (conceiuing that they ſhall not ſtand long) either by negligence or corruption, looſe their men, ſo that when they are turned ouer to ſupply others, ſcarſe ten of a hundred can be had of them, where at the firſt coming ouer with the Conductors, we can better call them to a ſtrict account, and finde the men, to fill vp other Companies, by diſpoſing them to ſuch as we know will beſt preſerue them, ſo as they neede not reinforce their Companies with the Iriſh, as they will when they cannot come by Engliſh, by which meanes the Companies (wee confeſſe) are full of Iriſh, which till our ſupplies come cannot well be holpen. And whereas I the Deputie haue euer bin (as my dutie is) moſt deſirous to diminifh her Maieſties Lyſt, and to that end, not onely haue taken all occaſions by the death of Captaines to extinguiſh their entertainment, but alſo haue meerely diſcharged aboute ſiue thouſand ſince Nouember

ber 1600. Now the Captaines and men thus discharged, thinking their fortunes overthrowne by me, had neuer consideration of the necessitie imposed vpon me to do it, but onely looking vpon their owne losse, and (as they esteeme it) disgrace, they become so many enemies to me, & many of them clamorous against me & my proceedings And whereas by some of your L^{ps} letters it pleased you to let me know, that your lending many Captaines proceedeth from my recommending of many vnto you. I do humbly assure your L^{ps}, that almost all which came ouer were strangers to me; & if the rest haue had letters from me, I wrote them at their request, onely to testifie that they had behaued themselves no otherwise then honestly here, which was the least I could afford them, when I was forced to take away their Companies. But if her Maiestie expect an abatement of her Lyft, I beseech your L^{ps} to consider my hard condition. For if I discharge such as you send ouer, I doe not onely become odious vnto them, but offend many of your Lordships, by whose fauour they obtained that charge. And if I discharge such old Captaines as I found here, and of whose sufficiency I haue since had continuall experience, by their often aduenturing their bloud and liues, I should not onely returne vnto her Maiestie importunate suitors, armed with good iustice to craue reward, but my selfe should incurre the same and more iust dislike of them and their friends. But that which for her Maiesties seruice grieueth me most, is that I should thereby disinable my selfe, hereafter to doe her Maiestie that seruice, which heretofore I haue done, and next vnto God must attribute to their valour and sufficiency. For touching the Irish, by whose discharge I meane to make no small abatement, I haue heretofore laboured by vn sensible degrees to deminish that charge, and I will chuse a fit time fully to effect it, the sudden doing whereof might cause rather an increase then decrease of her Maiesties charge. We haue lately recommended some of the incorporate Townes here to your Lordships, and may happily haue occasion to doe the like, to draw them (if it might bee) to a more affectionate furtherance of the seruice, at the least to hold them with some contentment, though indeed they haue not afforded vs that helpe that they both might and ought. Yet our meaning was not thereby to presse your Lordships to any enlargement of their Franchises, for which happily they will thereupon be suitors; for we confesse truly to your Lordships, that we think these Corporate Townes in generall, haue already too great and too many priuiledges, and immunities, vnlesse they better knew (or would more readily endeavour) to deserue them, which we thought meete at this time to giue your Lordships a taste of, least they might otherwise make that vse of our letters that we intended not. Further, we desire that your Lordships will perswade her Maiestie to resolute presently to make Cittadels in the chiefe of these Townes, without which we shal neuer bring them to performe their duties. And so &c.

Don Iean (whether with or without authoritie giuen him from *Spaine*, I know not), had often discoursed with the Lord Deputy, during their abode together at *Corke*, that it was no vnlikely or difficult worke to make Peace betweene *England* and *Spaine*, yea, he went so farre, as to vrge the Lord Deputy to deale therein. But his Lordship onely made answere, that he knew her Maiestie to be graciously inclined, to hold good amity with all Christian Princes, yet as she was confident in her owne power, so she was in all things iealous of her Honor, and especially in that point, wherein her Royall meaning had not bin intertained with the like, by the State of *Spaine*, whence we had receiued such ill measure in all our late treaties to that purpose, as all men were discouraged to be any more made instruments therein. Whereupon *Don Iean* sware vnto his Lordship, that as he left the State of *Spaine* affected, vpon his knowledge it was then a thing easie to effect, and a thing much desired of them, to haue firme Peace betweene *England* and *Spaine*. And he further added, that if vpon his arriual in *Spaine*, finding things to stand in the same condition, he did (at the retarne of our ships thence) giue his Lordship any inckling thereof, then vpon his reputation his Lordship dealing with the State of *England* in that matter, should loose no honour thereby. The Lord Deputie hitherto had done no more then answere *Don Ieans* proposition in ciuill teatimes; wherein hee had spoken no more, then any priuate man might lawfully haue

haue done, if he had licence to confer with him; yet lest he might be thought to haue exceeded his Commission in this nice discourse, and hauing good reasons to imagine, that as God many times doth worke by vnlikely, yea, by contrary meanes, so hee and *Don Iean* out of their Commission to make warre one vpon the other, might proue Commissioners for making a Peace, his Lordship aduertised thus much to Master Secretary in *England*, praying to haue further warrant and instructions, if it were thought fitt hee should further proceede therein. But by *Don Ieans* silence from *Spaine*, this ouerture passed as a dreame, and tooke no effect as long as the Queene liued.

The foure and twentieth day of March, being the last day (after the English writing) of the yeere 1601, the Lord Deputie and Counsell being at *Kilkenny*, and intertained by the Earle of *Ormond* in his house, wrote this following letter to the Lords in *England*.

IT may please your Lordships, hauing certaine intelligence since our comming to this place, that *Don Iean* with all the rest of the Spaniards, departed from *Kinsale* on Tuesday the 16 hereof, and that the wind since that time hath serued them so well, as we assure our selues by this they are neere the Coast of *Spaine*, wee thought fit hereby to giue your Lordships notice therof, that you may know we are free now of them all. Since our being here, there hath been brought in a notorious rebell, one *William Mac Hubbard*, lately taken in *Vpperossery*, who of late hath done great spoiles and murders in these parts, more then any other, so as we haue caused him to bee executed in this Towne, to the great terror of many. About the same time that he was executed, a sonne of *Garret Mac Mortaghes*, named *Moris Mac Garret*, died of a hurt lately giuen him in fight, who was a most dangerous young man, like to trouble all the Countrey. The death of these two Rebels, as also of a notorious Rebell by birth of *Mounster*, lately slaine (called *Dermot Mac Amlye*, who was an inward man, and a great practising instrument with *Tyrone*) will greatly quiet all these parts, and your Lordships can hardly thinke what a great change wee finde already by their so happy and timely cutting off. And as for *Sir Fynneen O Dryscoll*, *O Donneuan*, and the two sonnes of *Sir Owen Mac Carty*, they and their followers since their comming in are growne very odious to the rebels of those parts, and are so well diuided in factions among themselves, as they are fallen to preying and killing one another, which we conceiue will much auaille to the quieting of these parts. I the Deputy am this day going towards *Dublin*, from whence your L^{ps} shall heare from me, according to the directions giuen me by your Lordships. And I the President am returning into *Mounster*, to attend my charge there. We haue been much importuned by the Army in generall, touching an abatement of halfe a pound of beefe vpon euery flesh day from euery particular souldier, and of two hearings euery fish fish day, and the horse troopes likewise find themselves grieued, that the victualer chargeth them with two shillings sixe pence increase in the issuing of euery barrell of Oates, without any other warrant then a priuat letter from *M. Wade* Clerke of the Counsel, which although we conceiue *M. Wade* hath signified ouer vpon some such purpose of your Lord^{ps}, or other good ground, yet in regard of the importunities of the Captaines, and to preuent a generall mutiny of the Army, in regard the souldiers are weak, and much infeeble by the late siege of *Kinsale*, and that the prizes of all things are increased aboue all measure, by reason of the new standard coyne, and that the Countrey is generally much harried and wasted, and thereby great scarcitie and wants grow here, wee hold it meete, and accordingly gaue direction to the Commissary of the victuals, to issue Oates (as formerly) at sixe shillings the barrell, and allow the souldier two pound of beefe, and eight hearings a day, according as it was formerly accustomed, till your Lordships resolution were returned in that behalfe, which we humbly pray and expect. And so hauing no other matter at this time worthy the presenting to your Lordships, wee most humbly take leave, &c.

The

The Lord President hauing accompanied the Lord Deputie to *Kilkenny*, did from thence returne to his charge in the Prouince of *Mounster*. At *Kilkenny* the Lord Deputie began to feele himselfe sickly, hauing formerly complained of some distemper (a likely effect of his watchings and cold taken, during the hard winter-siege at *Kinsale*), and his Lordships sicknesse so grew vpon him, as the next day he was carried in a Horse-litter, and so all the iourney, till he came to *Dublin*, where hee arriued the eight and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1602, and his distemper stil continuing, applied himselfe to take Physicke. I will conclude the Acts of the yeere past with this following abstract of her Maiesties charge in the Realme of *Ireland*, from the first of Aprill 1601, to the nine and twentieth of March, 1602.

The Totall of all charges aswell in the Establishment, as by other warrants extraordinary, two hundred eighty three thousand sixe hundred seuentie three pound nineteene shillings eleuen pence halfe farthing.

Viz. In the new coyne mixed ready money, two hundred fiftene thousand eight hundred fifty pound nineteene shillings foure pence halfe penny.

In apparrell for the souldiers, prouided in *England* with siluer money, sixtie seven thousand eight hundred twenty three pound sixe pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

Checqued by the Muster-Master, in money fiftene thousand one hundred fortie nine pound six shillings; in apparrell, twenty two thousand foure hundred fifty seven pound sixe shillings two pence halfe penny.

So her Maiesties whole charge is in the yeere 1601, two hundred fortie six thousand eightie seven pound seven shillings eight pence halfe penny halfe farthing.

Besides the concordatums, billes imprested vpon accounts here, the leauies and transporting of forces (paied in *England*), the paiment of works, and the charges of the Office of the Ordinance, for Powder, Bullets, &c,

The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the prosecution of the warre by the Lord Mountiory, Lord Deputy, against the rebels, in the yeere 1602.



IN the beginning of the yeere 1602 for the latter part of March, and good part of Aprill, the Lord Deputies indisposition of body aboue mentioned, did still continue, and his Lordship for a short time attended nothing, but the recovery of his health. Onely on the one and thirtieth of March, hee signified to the Lords in *England*, that from the sixteenth of March, when the Spaniards set sayle from *Kinsale*, the winde had continued so fauourable, as he nothing doubted but they were arriued in *Spaine*. And his Lordship aduertised the state of his weake health, and prayed to bee excused, that he could not as yet consider with the Counsell here, about the dispatch of Sir Robert Gardner, and Sir Oliuer S. Johns, with the relation of this Kingdomes present estate, according to the directions he had formerly receiued to that purpose, which he was carefull to do so soone as health would permit him. Adding that in the meane time the forces were so disposed, as they might bee most actiue in the prosecution of *Tyrone*, and his broken partakers. And the Lord Deputy hauing intelligence, that after

the knowledge of his and *Don Ieans* agreement, the preparations of seconds in *Spaine* were diuerted, and so not fearing any interruptions by forraigne forces, was bold to giue the Lords in *England* confidence of his future endeauours in his charge, whercof he hoped to giue her Maiestie a good account, God pleasing to restore his health, so as he might proceede with that speede and alacritie which he intended.

The third of Aprill his Lordship receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, signifying; That they concurred with him in griefe, that by contrarie windes staying the Spaniards transporting, his Lordship was forced to stay in *Mounster*, and slacke the opportunitie of prosecuting *Tyrone* at his first returne and flight out of *Mounster*, when he was in such plight, as hee could faine no hopes of safety to himselfe, lying in some fastnesse or other, and often changing his aboade, for feare of some attempt against his person set at a price, and still hauing neither Powder nor Leade, but making infinite meanes into *Scotland* to be furnished therewith, so as if the Northerne Garrisons were not weake for want of supplies, and if some forces could haue been spared to strengthen them, in all probability they might haue ruined *Tyrone* ere this. That our ships transporting the Spaniards, were well vsed in *Spaine*, and vpon their arriual, the ships prepared at the *Groyn*e for *Ireland* were presently vnfurnished, so as her Maiesties Fleete, and some ships of the Low Countries lying this Summer on the Coast of *Spaine*, they conceived all Spanish aides for *Ireland* would for the present be diuerted. That for Cittadels to be built in the Townes and Ports, her Maiesty in general allowed thereof, leauing the choise of most fit places, and the manner of building to his Lordship, as also to certifie an estimate of the charge, and the best meanes to raise it otherwise, then out of her Maiesties coffers. That her Maiestie commended the discrete intercepting of the Spanish letters, by which the Kings earnestnesse to follow that enterprise appeared, but no doubt by the English Fleete prepared for that coast would be diuerted. That no supplies should be expected out of *England*, where the leauyes had been so burthensome, as for the present it was fit to forbear them. That in all grants to the submitting rebels, they required his Lordship to haue care, that they were not so absolute, as they should not be in awe of the State, or bee able to tyrannise ouer their neighbours, and particularly that any treason of the Pattentees should forfeit all the grant. That Irish Companies should not bee employed neere their owne home, especially in any great numbers, neither should haue any pay for apparel, there being no reason that their pay should bee equall to that of the English. Lastly, to the end the Submitties might not abuse her Maiesties mercy to their temporising ends, as they had often done, by reuolts into rebellion after submissions and Protections, their Lordships required, that as euery chiefe rebell was taken in, so they should be disarmed.

But this last point was not effected for this consideration, that by that meanes euery chiefe Lord vpon submission should leaue his Country without defence, and open to be spoiled, both by neighbouring rebels, and the euish subiects. It is true, that after all the warre fully ended, a generall disarming had been requisite, but the euent will shew, how that was after neglected in the proper time (when the first act was, casting the English forces), which now was pressed, when there was no possibilitie to effect it.

The Lyst of the forces in Aprill, 1602.

Colonels of the Army, 14.

The Earle of *Clanrickard*. The Earle of *Thomond*. The Lord *Audley*. Sir *Henry Dockwra*. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*. Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*. Sir *Arthur Chichester*. Sir *Richard Moryson*. Sir *Charles Willmot*. Sir *Richard Percy*. Sir *Oliner Saint Iohn*. Sir *Henric Power*. Sir *Henry Follyot*. Sir *Beniamin Berry*.

The forces in *Mounster* of Horse.

The Lord President, 100. The Earle of *Thomond*, 100. Sir *Charles Willmott*, 25. Sir *Anthony Cooke*, 50. Captaine *Taffe*, 50. Horse 325.

Foote in Mounster.

The Lord President, 200. The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Barry, 100. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir Charles Willmott, 150. Sir George Cary, Treasurer, 100. Sir George Thorne-ton, 100. Sir Garret Harue, 150. Sir Richard Percy, 150. Sir Francis Barkely, 150. Sir John Dowdall, 100. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Anthony Cooke, 100. Sir Alexander Clifford, 100. Sir Arthur Sauage, 150. The Earle of Desmond, 100. The White Knight, 100. Captaine Roger Haruy, 150. Captaine Flower, 150. Captaine Saxey, 100. Captaine Slingsbye, 100. Captaine Skipwith, 100. Captaine Hobby, 100. Captaine Francis Kinsmell, 150. Captaine Power, 100. Captaine George Kinsmell, 100. Captaine Cullem, 100. Captaine Bastock, 100. Captaine Gaven Harue, 100. Captaine Coot, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine On-slye, 100. Captaine Blundell, 100. Captaine Dorrington, 100. Captaine Sidley, 100. Cap-taine Boys, 100. Captaine Holcroft, 100.

Foote, 4400.

Horse in Connaght.

The Earle of Clanricard, 50. Sir Oliuer Lambert, 25. Sir Oliuer Saint Johns, 25. Cap-taine Wayeman Marshall, 12.

Horse, 112.

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliuer Lambert Gouvernour, 150. Earle of Clanricard, 150. Sir Thomas Bourke, 150. Sir Oliuer Saint Johns, 200. Captaine Tibbot Bourke, called Tibot ne long, 100. Captaine Malby, 150. Captaine Thomas Bourke, 100. Captaine Ghest, 150. Captaine Rotheram, 150. Captaine May, 100. Voide for the Iudges pay, 100. Captaine Clare, 150.

Foote, 1650.

The forces lying Southward vpon Lemster in Garrisons.

Horse at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Master Marshall, 20. Captaine Piggot, 12. The Earle of Ormond, 50.

Horse, 119.

Foote at Ophaly Leax and Kilkenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 150. Sir George Boucher, 100. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Hen-rie Warren, 100. Captaine O Carroll, 100. Sir Henry Power, 150. Sir Francis Rush, 150. Sir Thomas Loftus, 100. The Earle of Ormond, 150.

Foote, 1100.

The forces lying Northward vpon Lemster in Garrisons.

Foote in West-Meath, Kelles, Liscanon in the Brenny, Dundalke, and Moyry.

Lord of Deluin, 150. Sir Francis Shane, 150. Captaine Thomas Roper, 150. The Lord Dunsany, 150. Captaine Esmond, 150. Sir William Warren, 100. Sir Henrie Harrington, 100. Captaine Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100.

Foote, 1200.

Horse in Kelles, and Liscanon in the Brenny.

The Earle of Kildare, 25. Sir Henry Harrington, 25. Lord Dunsany 50.

Horse, 100.

Out of Mounster forces were drawne into Connaght one thousand foote, and fiftie horse, and the abouesaid forces of Connaght are one hundred twelue horse, and one thousand six hundred fifty foote. Hereof were left to guard Galloway and Athlone, foote two hundred. Left in Garrison at the Abbey of Boyle one thousand foote, and sixtie two horse, which serued to further our new plantation at Ballisshannon, (for there a Garrison was newly planted, and Sir Henrie Follyot was made Gouvernour thereof.) The rest of the horse and foote were laid at the Annaly, and might fitly ioyne with the Garrisons disposed Southward and Northward vpon Lemster, vpon all occasions of seruice, as more especially they might concur in stopping the Rebels for passing either on the South or North-side into Lemster. As likewise the Garrisons Southward might answere one another, and these Northward answere one another, vpon all occasions of seruice.

*Garrisons in the North.**Foote at Mount Norreys.*

Hauing drawne out sixe hundred foote, and one hundred horse for the Army, left to keepe the Fort, Captaine *Atherion*, 150.

Foote at Armagh.

Hauing drawne out for the Army seuen hundred fifty foote, and one hundred twenty five horse, left to keepe the Abbey Sir *Henry Dalters* his Company 150, himselfe commanding the horse in the Army.

Foote at Blackwater.

Hauing drawne out for the Army one hundred foote, left to keepe the Fort Captaine *Thomas Williams*, 150.

Horse and Foote at the Newrie.

Hauing drawne out three hundred foote for the Army, left to keepe the Towne, Sir *Francis Stafford*, 50 horse. Sir *Francis Stafford*, 200 foote.

In Garrison Totall of Horse, 50. Foote, 650.

The Forces at Loughfoyle lay thus in Garrisons, out of which Sir Henrie Dockwra was to draw a competent force into the field, for the Summer service, and to meete the Lord Deputy in Tyrone.

Foote.

At Derry Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 200. Captaine *Orme*, 100. Captaine *Flood*, 150. At *Dunman*, Captaine *Atkinson*, 150. At *Dunalong*, Captaine *Bailby*, 150. At *Ainogh*, Captaine *Sidney*, 100. At *Culmore*, Captaine *Alford*, 100. At *Ramullan*, Captaine *Bingley*, 150. At *Bert*, Captaine *Winsore*, 150. At *Kilmatren*, Captaine *Vaughan*, 100. At *Cargan*, Captaine *Hart*, 100. At *Liffer*, Captaine *Willys*, 150. Captaine *Pinner*, 100. Captaine *Brookes*, 100. Captaine *Coach*, 150. Captaine *Leygh*, 100.

At Dnnagall, Asheraw, and Ballishannon.

Sir *Iohn Bolles*, 150. Captaine *Diggs*, 100. Captaine *Gore*, 150. Captaine *Stafford*, 100. Captaine *Wood*, 150. Captaine *Orell*, 150. Captaine *Basset*, 100. Captaine *Dutton*, 100.

In all 3000 Foote.

Horse at *Aynagh*, *Dunalong* and *Liffer*, Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 100. At *Ballishannon*, Sir *Iohn Bolles*, 50.

In all 150 Horse.

Besides Irish foote, 300; and Irish Horse, 100.

The Forces in Garrison at Carickfergus, out of which Sir Arthur Chichester was to draw a competent strength to come by water, and meete the Lord Deputie in Tyrone.

Foote.

Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Gouvernour, 200. Sir *Foulke Conway*, 150. Captaine *Sackfeild*, 100. Captaine *Norton*, 100. Captaine *Billings*, 150. Captaine *Phillips*, 150.

Foote 850.

Horse at Carickfergus.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* Gouvernour, 25. Captaine *Iohn Iephson*, 100.

Horse 125.

Foote in Lecale.

Sir *Richard Moryson* vnder his Lieutenant 150, himselfe commanding a Regiment in the Armie.

The Lord Deputies Army in the field for this Summers service.

Horse.

The Lord Deputie, 100. Sir *William Godolphin*, 50. Sir *Garret Moore*, 50. Sir *Richard Greame*,

Greame, 50. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50. Sir Henrie Dauers, 100. Master Marshall, 30. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 25. Sir Francis Rush, 12. Captaine Fleming, 25. Captaine George Greame, 14.

Horse in the Army, 506.

Foot.

Lord Deputies Guard, 200. Sir Iohn Barkeley, 200. Sir Benjamin Berry, 150. Sir Henry Folliot, 150. Sir William Fortescue, 150. Sir James Peirse, 150. Sir Garret Moore, 100. Sir Christopher S. Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Fitz Garret, 100. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Master Marshall, 150. Capt. Iosias Bodley, 150. Capt. Toby Gamfeild, 150. Captaine Richard Hansard, 100. Capt. Edward Blany, 150. Capt. Fran. Roe, 150. Capt. Ralph Counstable, 100. Capt. Fisher, 100. Captaine Iohn Roberts, 100. Capt. George Blount, 150. Captaine James Blount, 100. Captaine Hensto for pioners, 200. Captaine Master son, 150. Captaine Henrie Barkley, 150. Captaine Morrys, 100. Captaine Anthony Earsfeild, 100. Captaine Treuer, 100.

Foot in the Army, 3650.

: Totall of horse by the List, 1487. Foot by the List, 16950.

The forces being thus disposed for the Summers seruice, and the Lord Deputie hauing recouered his health, his first care was to obey her Maiesties directions, in dispatching for England Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Oliuer S. Iohns with a relation of the present state of this Kingdome. By them, besides instructions of the present state, his Lordship sent this following letter to the Lords in England, dated the fifth of May, 1602.

MAY it please your Lordships, although you haue good reason to guesse at the difficulties of the warre of Ireland, both by the long continuance, and the exceeding charge thereof before my time (vnder which the rebels strength did euer grow), as by the slow progresse (though still to the better) that it hath made (I must confesse) vnder my gouernement; yet since I doe conceiue, that none but we that are personall actors therein (especially in these times, wherein the fashion and force of this people is so much altered from that it was wont to bee), can thorowly apprehend with how many impediments, crosses and oppositions we vndertake and proceede in all things. I humbly desire your Lordships to giue mee leaue, for your satisfaction and the discharge of my duty, to open vnto you some of the causes (which I doe better feeble then I can expresse) that haue hindred so speedy a conclusion of this warre, as her Maiesty, out of her great prouidence, and large proportion of expence, might happily expect. At my first arriuall, I found the rebels more in number, then at any time they had bin since the conquest, and those so farre from being naked people, as before times, that they were generally better armed then we, knew better the vse of their weapons then our men, and euen exceeded vs in that discipline, which was fittest for the aduantage of the naturall strength of the Country, for that they, being very many, and expert shot, and excelling in footmanship all other Nations, did by that meanes make better vse of those strengths, both for offence and defence, then could haue bin made of any squadrons of pikes, or artificiall fortifications of Townes. In regard whereof, I presumed that mans wit could hardly find out any other course to ouercome them, but by famine; which was to be wrought by seuerall Garrisons planted in fit places, & altered vpon good occasions. These plantations could not be made but by Armies, which must first settle them, and after remoue them, as the strength of the enemy required; the time for those plantations (not only of most conueniency, but almost of necessity) was to be in the Summe, and that for many eminent reasons, but especially in that meanes might bee provided for horse to liue in the winter, without which those Garrisons would proue of little effect. Now I beseech your Lordships to remember, that I receiued this charge the eight and twentieth of February, in the yeere 1599, at which time I found the rebels in number, and Armes (as I haue said) growne to the very height of pride and confidence, by a continued line of their successe and our mis-

fortunes; of the subiects, the worst assisting them openly, and almost the best leaning to their fortune, out of a despaire of ours; the Army discouraged in themselves, and (beleeue mee my Lords, for you will hardly beleeue) much contemned by the Rebels. None of our Garrisons had stirred abroad, but they returned beaten, the enemy being so farre Master of the field, that *Tyrone* had measured the whole length of *Ireland*, and was comming backe vnfought with. And with mee they began the warre at the very suburbs of *Dublin*. At that time the choice of the whole Army, and euen of euerie Company (that was left behind) was drawne into *Mounster* by the Earle of *Ormond*; howbeit I being desirous to loose no time nor opportunitie, presently gathered together that poore remnant, being the refuse of the rest, with a purpose to haue fought with the Traitor in his returne, betwene *Fercale* and the *Ennye*: but hee hastening his iournies vpon some intelligence of my designe; and I being the longer staied (by the difference of the Counsell's opinion) from mine intent, it fell out, that I came too late to trie that faire fortune with him. The rest of the Spring I was enforced to attend the drawing of diuers Captaines and Companies from remote and diuided Garrisons, that were to be imploied for *Loughfoyle* and *Ballishannon*; for by your Lordships appointment, I was to send one thousand other souldiers from these parts, and to cast three thousand more, in consideration of so many sent thither out of *England*, and to reduce the List from sixteene thousand to fourteene thousand, which at that time was a proportion too little to vndertake the warre with all; I was further to victuall the Forts of *Leax* and *Ophalye*, in those times accounted great and dangerous seruices. And about the fifth of May, 1600, I drew towards the North, chiefly to diuert *Tyrone* and his Northerne forces, from giuing opposition to the Plantation at *Loughfoyle*, but withall purposing, if I found meanes for victuals and carriages, to haue left a Garrison at *Armagh*. The first I did thorowly effect, for I gaue way to those of *Loughfoyle* to land, and settle quietly, drew *Tyrone* with his chiefe forces vpon my selfe, and in all the fights I had with him, made him know, that his fortune began to turne, and brake those bounds of his circuit, whence hee was wont to affront our greatest Armies; for in that which was last before this called a Northerne iourney, when the Army consisted almost of double numbers of Horse and Foote, they were by the Traytor forced and arrested within the confines of the Pale. At my returne; I finding by obseruation in my iourney (wherewith the whole Counsell did concur in opinion), that the Garrison of *Loughfoyle* would doe little hurt to *Tyrone*, except there were forces left at, or about *Armagh*; since they might easily flie out of their reach, and should enioy betwene *Dungannon* and the Pale, one of the largest and most fertill Countries of *Ireland*, wee became tutors to your Lordships in Iune 1600, that with more men, and more provisions you would enable vs to that Plantation, and in the meane time I intended the seruice in *Ofalie* and *Leax*, the strength of the rebellion in *Lemster*, and most dangerous Rebels of *Ireland*. And whereas the last time the Army passed through *Leax* (being one of the greatest that hath been at any time together in this Kingdome), it was encountred and almost distressed by the onely Natiues of that Countrey, it pleased God, that in all our conflicts, which were many, we so preuailed against them, as though all the Rebels in *Lemster* were then gathered together, yet by killing *Owney mac Rory*, with many of the best men of both Countries, and by vtterly spoiling them (that were exceeding rich in all meanes for life), they haue neuer since been able to make head any otherwise, then to liue dispersed in little numbers as Woodkernes, and daily are consumed and weare away. And further, in that yeere we recovered all the Earle of *Ormonds* pledges. Vpon the arriual of the supplies sent by your Lordships, although the time of the yeere were farre spent, and indeede ouer-farre to plant Garrisons to any great purpose, for the next ensuing winter, and that, at that instant we were ill provided both of victuall and money, yet we set forward, and the fifteenth day of September came to *Dundalke*, and incamping two miles from thence, within halfe a mile of the entrance of the *Moyry*, we found that pace (by which we were to passe), being

ing naturally one of the most difficult passages of *Ireland*, fortified with good art, and with admirable industry, (the enemy having raised from mountaine to mountaine, from wood to wood, and from bogge to bogge, long trauerses, with huge and high Flanckers of great stones, mingled with Tuiffe, and staked on both sides with palkiades walled), and possessed with one of the greatest Armies that euer they were able to make. But that which was our maine impediment, was the extreimity of the weather, and great raine, which made the Riuer vnpassable, howbeit in the end the waters somewhat falling, after we had indured more then credible hardnesse, and giuen many, and those violent assaults on their trenches, we wanne our passage, and immediately planted a garrison within eight small miles of *Armagh*, now called *Mount Norreys*, for at *Armagh* the grasse was so consumed, that we could not haue liued there with our Horses, while the place should haue beene made tenable, and this other garrison was thought necessary to be possessed, though *Armagh* it selfe had beene planted, and in the meane time of little lesse effect. And so far did we stretch out our victuals, & improve our time, and all other prouisions, that hauing *Tyrone's* Army continually within little more then musket shot of vs, within two daies we made this Fort guardable, and left therein all our baggage, that with all our meanes for carriage, and euen with many of our owne Horses, wee might from the Newry conuay as much victuals thither, as might be, which we performed in so short a time, and yet in so good time, that wee were forced to fast two daies in our returne. This garrison could not bee to such effect as it should bee, because wee had not victuals enough to leaue a compitent proportion for a sufficient number of men, neither could there any Horse be left for want of meanes for them. Neuerthelesse, that Winter there was great good seruice done by those of that Fort, commanded by Captaine *Edward Blaney*, a very worthy and painefull Gentleman.

I doe not repeate the manner of our fights, nor the number of them, both before, and after in our returne, wherein the Rebelle seldome scaped without a blow; and namely in the pace of *Carlingford*, where hee received a notable overthrow: Neither set I downe any thing in this, to amplifie our owne doings or endeauours, but to giue your Lordships an account, how this season was lost, from making such plantations, as by taking their effect in the Winter, should in short time haue broken the heart of the Rebellion, and to let it appeare vnto your Lordships, by the many difficulties and oppositions wee found in onely bending this way, how vnpossible it had beene for vs at the same time, with the numbers we had, to haue planted in other places, which had beene as necessary as this, to haue made a sudden end of the warre. And among other considerations, your Lordships may bee pleased to conceiue, that albeit the Lyft of the Forces here in *Ireland*, being vnitedly considered, may appeare to bee sufficiently great, yet diuiding the same into his parts, as three thousand in *Mounster*, three thousand at *Loughfoyle*, one thousand for *Knockesfergus*, and almost two thousand in *Connaght*, the remainder (whereof I haue beene onely able to preuaile my selfe, and wherewith I haue sustained the burthen of the Warre, both in *Leinster* and the *North*), can hardly beare such deminution, as all Armies are subiect vnto, in their deficient men, with so many subdivisions, as I am necessarily constrained to make, for the guarding of important places (as with the Earle of *Ormond*, in *Leaxe*, *Ophalia*, and diuers other parts) to defend the subiect from the incursions of Rebels, and yet leaue me a competent Army to trie a fortune with all the Rebels of the North, which wee must bee prepared for, seeing no such diuersion can be expected from the foresaid Garrisons, as is able to hinder the light footed Kerne (hauing fled their Creaghts into their fastneses) from ioyning their vtmost strength from the remotest partes of their associates, in lesse then three daies warning. Whereas wee on the contrary, in case of present vse, can hope for no manner of assistance from our disioyned troopes, within the compass of as many weekes. And besides these impediments, and many other, I did neither then nor at any time since, meete with any more hurtfull to my proceedings, then

*Storrs History of the
Affairs in Ireland
p. 15 London 4^{to} 1693*

the restraint of our extraordinaries, and the want of al such kind of necessaries, as your Lordships were perswaded were onely fit for a more royall warre; whereas the substance of extraordinaries, growing chiefly by huge provisions of carriages, to convey victuals, and waste therein, by large proportions of Pyoners, and other Workemens tooles, with diuers other sorts of engins, and engineers, for fortification, and passages ouer Riuers, and other places otherwise vnpassable, by materials for the same, rewards for spials and other seruices, I will boldly affirme what I presume I can proue to your Lordships, that there is no warre in the World, that to be effectually followed, doth require a more liberall expence for prouision of all these things, then this, and of all other extraordinaries, sauing the charge of great Artillery, whereof also in some measure, though in a farre lesse then other places, we haue great vse. And of many (perchance more forcible) to present vnto your Lordships onely these two reasons: An Army is no where arrested with so many Riuers and vnpassable Marshes, as here: Secondly, where the warre is to be made to best effect, we find no means of victuals, or any other necessary prouision, but what we bring with vs. To redeeme the losse of this opportunity for plantation to so good effect as it should haue been, I vndertooke with an Army no greater then a reasonable garrison, to make the warre of *Lemster*, in the depth of Winter. And first I fell into the Glennes, the fastest Countrey of *Ireland*, and till now of all the parts of *Lemster*, onely vntouched, where I first spoiled all the Countrey, and made *Dannell Spanigah*, whom before I had receiued to her Maiesties mercy, to ioine with metherein, and after forced *Phelim Mac Feogh*, and all the *Tooles*, (the most pestilent infectors of the Pale) to submission, who haue since shewed more apparance of good subiects, then euer I knew or heard of any of these Rebels. After going vp and downe as farre as *Athlone*, I fell into *Fercule*, forced *Tyrrill* out of an exceeding great strength, and banished him, and in effect all the *Oconners*, out of *Ophaly* into the North. Returning towards the North, I spoiled all the *Ferny*, with a iourney where I was present, and wherein (besides many other) were killed two of *Euer Mac Cooleys* sonnes. I wasted the Fuse by *Sir Richard Moryson*, planted a garrison aboute twenty miles from the Pale in the Brenny by *Sir Oliuer Lambert*, and returning to *Drogheda*, by the generall aduice of the Counsell, I tooke in *Turlogh mac Henry*, Lord of the Fuse, and *Euer mac Cooly* Farmer of the *Ferny*, *Sir Oby Ohanlon* a Northerne Lord, and many of the *Macmahowns* and *Orellies*, who all besides their greatest oathes, gaue vs such as were thought their best pledges for their loyalty. And to loose no part of this beginning yeere 1601, hauing settled the new Submitties of *Lemster*, and the borders of the North, with as great assurance as I could, I drew againe into the North, before the generall hosting for that yeere could be in readinesse, and cleared and assured the passage of the Moyry, by cutting downe most part of the Woods, and building a Fort there: Then I went into *Lecayle*, wholly possessed by *Mac Gennis*, and tooke in all the Castles in those parts: From thence I went to *Armagh*, and there placed a garrison. And albeit at this time the continuall rumours wee heard of preparations in *Spaine*, made vs proceede somewhat more irresolutely in our maine course of plantation and making the warre in *Tyrone* it selfe, yet we went forward with an intent, to draw *Sir Arthur Chichester* by *Loughsidney* into *Tyrone*: to plant a garrison at the *Blackwater*: to force a passage somewhat beneath it to mee: him, and by building a Fort and Bridge vpon the passage, to haue made *Dungannon* it selfe the Center, whether without any great difficulty the Garrisons of *Loughfoyle*, *Armagh*, *Knockfergus*, *Mount Norreys*, and ell other of the North, might at all times meet together, to beate and absolutely to banish the Arch-traitor out of his owne Country: and in the performing thereof, to haue spoiled all the Rebels corne, sauing such as should be within the command of those Garrisons, whom (with the countenance of the Army in the Haruest time) wee resolved to enable to make large provisions thereof, for themselves and their horses. And so farre had wee proceeded in this course, that wee had forced *Tyrone* from the *Blackwater*, where hee lay with his Army, and had fortified and entrenched there with great art: we had cleared the passage intended to *Dungannon* (the making

making of the bridge onely excepted, which wee meant to supply with a floate), and spoiled most part of their standing Corne. About which time the assured newes was come vnto vs of the arriuing of the Spaniards, which first staying, and after cleane diuerting our course, we were driuen by their comming, to bend our counsels, to defend her Maiesties Kingdome from forraigne inuasion, that before were busie to recover it from inward rebellion, and to that end to breake off our worke, and to leaue the further prosecution of that businesse (the places already possessed onely preferred.) By this continued time, wherein the Army from the first was led on in action, induring all seasons, and more fights then (I thinke) euer Army did in so short time, your Lordships must not wonder, if to make head against the Spaniards, wee drew vp weake Companies: for besides deficient by sicknesse, and death, there were many Companies that had thirtie and fortie hurt men in them. Yet vpon any vncertainty (how probable soeuer), I was loth to loose to her Maiestie the chiefe benefit of one whole yeeres seruice, till I was fully assured of their landing, and therefore first drew my selfe onely with a few horse into *Mounster*, and neuer sent for the forces, till the very last pinch of necessitie. And thus haue your Lordships also the reasons, how this second ycere was lost, without laying the new foundation for rooting out of the Rebels, though God be thanked it was wonne in defending her Kingdome from a powerfull and ambitious Inuader, to his dishonour, and I hope also to the more sound and sudden subuersion of the Rebels. I will speake nothing of the seruice at *Kinsale*, since to my great comfort I doe finde her Maiestie and your Lordships so well satisfied therein, but so behoofefull for the publike good. I conceiued it, to make a cleane riddance of them out of this Countrie, and as much as I might to assure in them the performance of their departure, that it was necessarie to keepe the Army in those parts vntill we were quit of them. And to giue them the lesse aduantage, if they had purposed falsely, I presently conueyed the Cannon into an Iland that doth absolutely command the Hauens of *Kinsale*, with a sufficient guard, and beginning a fortification there at that instant to maintaine it, I tooke order they should haue no more victuals sold vnto them, then I presumed would but serue them from day to day, and for their prouision of bread, in effect they spent on their owne stoare. So that I could haue been able at any time to inuest them againe, on as ill or worse conditions then I left them. But before the wind and other prouisions serued for their departure, the Winter was so farre spent, that wee could not in the fittest time returne the Companies to their Garrisons, nor otherwise could wee haue done it, because the places were not stored with victuals, nor any prouision for horse. And yet those little remnants that were left to defend those places, did many excellent seruices, and now I hope your Lordships shall daily heare of more, the whole forces being returned. What course we haue thought on for this next Summer, I will not trouble your Lordships with the repetition thereof, being set downe and deliuered to Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*. Onely this I beseech your Lordships to giue me leaue to remember you of, out of a publike dutie how much soeuer it may seeme to taste of my priuate ends, that you continually enioyne me, and I as much endeouour, to decrease the List, yet you still send ouer new Captaines, and command me to bestow Companies on such, as giue them vp in *England*, to others recommended by them, vnto whome (to deale plainely) most of them doe sell them. And euen of late I haue receiued your Lordships letters for the increase of some particular mens Companies. When I cast the Captaines which your Lordships send ouer, I procure their hate, and many of your Lordships displeasures, besides their owne friends that fauour them. If I doe not increase such as you commend, I doe incurre the like. If I cast those Companies and Captaines, that in so many trials I doe know to bee best able to doe her Maiestie seruice heere, I shall dispaire, or at least bee diffident hereafter, of doing any good, and yet haue they most reason to condemne me of iniustice, and to importune your Lordships to be otherwise relieved, that haue spent most of them their blouds, and all of them their continuall labours, euen in mine eie for the reco-

uerie and defending of this Kingdome. I humbly desire your Lordships, since heretofore it was my fortune to be hated of few, that you will preserve mee from becomming odious, by doing that which is fittest for the service. For I haue alreadie tasted of their spleene, whom (God knoweth) against my will I haue been forced to catherine, though I haue delt more fauourably with some of them, whom being loth to harme, I haue rather commended, when my onely fault was, that I did not punish them. And since I hope, God will so blesse our worke, that ere it bee long, wee shall much diminish the number of our labourers, if in that great catherine, there be not meanes to preserve the best Captaines, I would bee loth to bee the man, that should undertake the conclusion of the warre. And now I doe humbly desire your Lordships to pardon mee, if out of my great care to satisfie you in all things, I haue troubled you with so long, and (I feare mee) so vnworthy a letter of your Lordships reading, &c.

Instructions being given to Sir *Robert Gardiner*, and Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns*, whereby they might satisfie her Maestie in all points, touching the present state of her affaires in this Kingdome. The Lord Deputie with some Commanders, diuers voluntarie Gentlemen, and his seruants attending him, rode to *Dundalke*. And whilst hee there attended the coming vp of the forces, and the arriving of victuals, with other necessities that might enable him to take the field, his Lordship on the thirtieth of May, receiued from her Maestie this letter following.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and welbeloued, Wee greet you well. Whereas the paiment of our Army in that Kingdome hath been of late yeeres made partly in money by certaine weekly lendings, and partly in apparrell, which course of paiment was instituted vpon good considerations, to prevent the fraud which diuers Captaines of euill disposition did exercise vpon their Companies. Notwithstanding we haue perceived by your letters, and by the reports of some persons (who haue had credence from you to deliuer the same to our Counsell here), that such manner of paiment hath not wrought that effect which was expected, in causing our Companies to bee kept fuller, and yet is, by reason of the late alteration of the standard of our monies there, more chargeable to Vs, then the paiment in readie monies would bee; Wee haue therefore thought good to cease that manner of payment from henceforth, and to reuiue the old manner of payment in money, after the rate of eight pence by the day of the new standard to each souldier, which course Our pleasure is, shall begin to take place from the first day of this moneth of *April*, and so to be continued by your Warrants to Our Treasurer directed; and shall be made from time to time by way of imprests to each Captaine for himselfe and his Companie, at your discretion, according to the state of their Companies, or to the necessitie of Our service, vntill the dayes of full payes, which Wee are pleased shall bee made twice in euery yeere, *viz.* at the Feasts of Saint *Michael* the Arch-Angell, and the Annuntiation of the Virgin *Marie*. At which times Our pleasure is, that all our Armie shall be fully and clearely paid of their whole wages, all defalcations due vpon them, being formerly deducted. And for that purpose Wee will provide, that against that time, there shall bee in Our Treasurers hands money sufficient to make full payes. And whereas by your latter letters, written since our Conncell signified vnto you, that Wee were pleased to restore this kinde of pay, you doe require, that for the establishing thereof with contentment of our Army, two things may bee chiefly obserued. The one, that Our Treasurer may haue money in his hands sufficient from time to time for performance of this payment. The other that the Exchange bee duely maintained on this side, without which

which you alleadge, that there will arise inconueniencies intollerable to the army; we are pleased for your satisfaction herein to assure you, that in both these points wee will take such order, that neither our Treasurer there shall want monies of the new standard for payments necessary in that Realme, nor the bankes here, sterling monies, to make good the exchange, according as it is established by our Proclamations. Although in this point we cannot omit to let you know, that we see no cause of such vehement complaints, as your letters doe import, of default in the exchange; for that vpon examination we doe find, that of three or foure and fifty thousand pounds returned in this last yeere, there is not vnpaid at this present aboue sixe thousand pounds, which considering our excessive charges in that yeere, ought not to giue to any much cause of offence. These two points like as we are pleased to obserue, in such manner as we haue written, to the end that thereby our Army and subiects may perceiue how great our care is, that they should receiue contentment in things due vnto them. So on the other side, for that a straight obseruation of the same on our part, without a good correspondency of yours and theirs, to remedy some inconueniencies which thereby may be cast vpon vs, may proue very burthensome to vs, wee are to admonish you of the obseruation of two other points necessary on your part and theirs to be obserued. The first is, that whereas heretofore, when this manner of payment in money onely, which now is receiued, was in vse, through the corrupt disposition of some Captaines, and for want of good discipline in our forces, great frauds were committed; as well to vs, in not keeping the full numbers by vs allowed, as also to the souldiers, in detaining their wages or part thereof from them, which deceits without good caution now to be vsed, may be againe renewed. Wee doe therefore expect, that you shall establish so good a course of discipline for the ordering of our Bands in this point, as that wee shall not be hereafter abused in decaies of our numbers, as heretofore we haue bene, which you shall neuer so well preuent nor alien mens minds from like frauds, as by inflicting notorious and exemplary punishments vpon Captaines and Officers when their faults in this kind shall appeare to be notorious, not onely by casting them out of our pay, but by degrading, and other notes of ignominy, which in military discipline are vsed to be iustly done to men, who by their shamelesse actions doe not onely bring shame to their profession, but to the publike seruices notable impediments, and in a manner an euident treachery. And as this first change of payment in apparell to be paid in money, had his first motion from you our Deputy, and the principall Captaines and Officers of the Army, in which you now note perill, if the exchange bee not maintained. As it is true that that must be supported by vs, and shall be, so we know none must preuent the Captaines taking of pay for their souldiers apparell, and not bestowing it, but your selfe, of whose care and iudgement we haue great reason to assure our selues, both for your loue to our seruice, and your own Honor. The second point which we recommend vnto you, is the due execution of our former Proclamations, touching this matter of the exchange, and the assistance of the Master of our exchange, and his Ministers therein, to the end that all frauds, discovered of late to haue beene vsed by Merchants, who abuse our Princely intention therein for their private gaine may be remedied, and therein chiefly that the vse of all monies descried may be taken away from the people of that Countrey, and withall sterling money, may bee brought into our Exchange, vpon such conditions as our Proclamations containe. For that wee doe find that our intent in the erection of this new Coyne, can no way so soone take place, as by withdrawing all other monies from them, whereby the Rebels may exercise trafficke with forraigne Nations, and by them be relieved, wherefore you may adde to the remedies in our said Proclamations mentioned, any other good meanes that in your iudgements shall be thought meete to be vsed, and publish the same by Proclamation in our name, or aduertise vs of your conceit, to the end you may haue warrant frō vs, to do that which we shal think meet to be done therein. Further we haue thought good to admonish you, that forasmuch as the winter apparell already deliuered to the souldier, wil not bee run out vntill the
four

fourteenth day of May (inclusive). And that it is likely, seeing you know already that we purposed to take away the deliery of apparell, you haue furnished the Companies in *Lieu* thereof with some money by way of imprests, whereby it may fall out, that we shall be double charged. Therefore you our Deputy shall take order with our Treasurer, that vpon the halfe yeeres full pay, to be ended at Michaelmas next, defalcation be made of so much, as any Companies shall haue receiued betweene the first of Aprill and the fifteenth of May about their weekly lendings, if so much shall be then ouer paid to any Company. Giuen vnder our signet, at our Mannor of *Greenwich*, the eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

The Lord
Deputy en-
ters into
Tyrone.

See *Storrs History of the Affairs of Ireland* page 59. and his *Continuation of the Wars in Ireland* p. 9 a plan of *Charlemont* London. 4^{to} 1693.

In the beginning of Iune, the Lord Deputy hauing gathered the forces together, tooke the field, and marched vp to *Blackwater*, to the passage, which he had the last yeere discovered to be most conuenient to carry her Maiesties Forces that way into the heart of *Tyrone*. At this passage, lying some five miles Eastward from the fort of *Blackwater*, his Lordship incamped on the South side of the Riuer, hauing a small pace or skirt of wood betweene him and the Riuer, of which pace he had the yeere before cut downe many trees, so as at this time the passage was soone cleered. Hence his Lordship sent *Sir Richard Morryson* with his Regiment, to possesse the North side of the Riuer, for securing of the Armies passage against any attempt of the Rebels. Thus the Queenes forces being entered into *Tyrone*, there incamped, and his Lordship spent some time in causing a bridge to be built ouer the Riuer, and a fort adioining, to guard the passage, which of his owne Christian name was called *Charlemont*, and left Captaine *Toby Cawfield*, (with his Company being one hundred and fifty) to command the same. From the Campe the Countrey was plaine and open to *Dungannon*, being distant some sixe miles, and while these workes were in hand, we might see the Towne of *Dungannon* and *Tyrone*s chiefe House there seated, to be set on fier, whereby it was apparant, that *Tyrone* with his forces meant to flie and quit those parts: So as the Lord Deputy sent *Sir Richard Morryson* with his regiment to possesse *Dungannon*, whether his Lordship soone after marched with the rest of the forces.

By this time *Sir Henry Dockwra* Gouvernour of the Forces about *Loughfoyle*, hauing planted many garrisons in those parts, had lately planted a garrison at *Omy*, (being some twelue miles distant from *Dungannon*), whence he came with his forces, and met the Lord Deputy at *Dungannon*. Thus the Lord Deputy hauing driuen the Archtraitor out of his owne Countrey, as high as the Castle *Rom* vpon the *Ban*, sent out some parties to spoile and prey the Countrey as farre as *Eniskillin* vpon *Lough Erne*. Then he tooke some of *Tyrone*s strongest Ilands, namely, one wherein he had a strong Fort, where we recouered three peeces of her Maiesties artillery, and another Iland called *Magherlowni*, which next *Dungannon* was the chiefe place of his abode, and *Magazines* for his warre.

From *Dungannon* the Lord Deputy sent *Sir Richard Morryson* with five hundred foot, to meet *Sir Arthur Chichester*, who came with his forces from *Carickfergus*, and was to passe *Loughsidney*, and land within few miles of *Dungannon*, where they being met, did according to the Lord Deputies direction, begin to raise a Fort. In the meane time the Lord Deputy hauing vtterly banished all *Tyrone*s partakers out of those parts, marched five miles from *Dungannon* to *Loughsidney*, where *Sir Arthur Chichester* lay with his forces, and his Lordship encamped there, till he had made the Fort defencible to containe about one thousand foot, and one hundred horse, which were to be victualled from *Carickfergus* by the way of the said *Lough*. This Fort of his Lordships Barony, he called *Mountioy*, and made *Sir Benjamin Berry* (his Lieftenant, and now one of the Colonels of the Army) Gouvernour of the same for the present seruice, which being done, the command of the Fort was left to Captaine *Francis Roe*. Likewise for the present seruice *Sir Arthur Chichester* commanded in chiefe the forces to be left there, which he might draw out vpon all occasions of seruice, as out of all other garrisons in those parts towards *Carickfergus*.

While his Lordship encamped here vpon *Loughsidney*, hee receiued the eighth of July.

Iuly letters from her Maieſty, ſignifying by her owne hand, that ſhee was glad of his recovery of that ſickenefſe which did ſurprize him, after his many cares and labours both of body and mind in the ſiege of *Kinfale*, commending much his providence, that notwithstanding his owne ſtate of body, he did ſet on foot ſuch preparations for the ſummers proſecution, as nothing ſhould be wanting when the time ſhould ſerve. That howſoeuer her ſenſible feeling of her ſubiects burthens, cauſed her daily to call vpon him and all other Miniſters for the ſpeedy and carefull eaſing thereof, yet hee ſhould wrong both her and himſelfe in beleeuing, that thereby any errours were imputed to himſelfe, whoſe endeauours in that Kingdome had much improved her opinion of him, and ſhould rather conceiue that thereby ſhee would giue him more occaſion to call all others to a ſeuere accompt, who in places vnder him neglected her ſeruiſe, and for priuate gaine ſought to prolong the warre, all other iudgement of her valuation of his ſeruices making him guilty of his owne griefe, and being farre from her diſpoſition towards him. That ſince this Summer, hee meant to lay the Axe to the roote of the tree, by proſecuting the Arch-traitor, who had nothing to beare him vp but falſe rumours of Spaniſh aides: This Summer (if euer any) was the time to end the warre, ſince by ſupplies ſent to the States, ſhee had ſtopped the currant of the Spaniards progreſſe in the ſiege of *Oſtend*, and had alſo ſet a chargeable Fleet to Sea, to attend vpon the Coaſt of *Spaine*, and prevent the arriual of any his forces in *Ireland*. That the reducing the Arch-traitor by her Sword, being the onely agreeable ſatiffaction ſhee could receiue for the miſchiefes fallen vpon her louing ſubiects, by his iniquities, ſhee conceiued the moſt ready meanes for effecting the ſame, was to draw from him the chiefe Captaines of Countries. To which purpoſe her pleaſure was, that the Lord Deputy ſhould receiue to her mercy ſuch of them, as truly and humbly ſought it, wherein without preſcribing him any particular courſe, who beſt knew all circumſtances, onely ſhee gaue this caution, to provide againſt former miſchiefes, that whereas commonly the Rebels, fearing to be ſpoiled, were wont to contract vnder-hand with the Arch traitor, to ſubmit themſelues, thereby for the preſent to ſaue their Countrey, and to giue ſuccours to the Rebels Creaghts vnder hand, and after the returne of the Army to reuolt againe; now hee ſhould conſider the inward motiues of their crauing mercy, and where hee could not ruine them without ſpending more time and charge, then the maine action would permit, there to deale with them in a more eaſie manner, otherwiſe to giue more ſharpe impositions in the conditions of their ſubmiſſions, and by waſting their goods, to make their obedience more durable. That ſhee iudged one condition neceſſarie, not to pardon any, but vpon ſeruice done, not onely vpon thoſe whom particularly they hated, but vpon any other as they ſhould bee directed. That as an argument of her confidence in him, ſhe gaue him power of warre and peace; onely one thing ſhe profeſſed to ſee no cauſe to leaue vnexempted, namely, the pardoning of the Arch Traitor, a Monſter of ingratitude to her, and the roote of miſerie to her people, thinking all other mercy then the proſcription of him, to all manner of proſecution, meerly incompatible with her iuſtice, and therefore comanding not to receiue him vpon any conditions, but vpon ſimple ſubmiſſion to mercy for al things (life only excepted), & to make this her pleaſure known to all his complices, perſwaded by him that hee may bee pardoned at his pleaſure, & ſo fearing to leaue him, leaſt after they ſhould bee left to his ſuperioritie & reuenge.

Concerning fortifications againſt forraigne inuaſion, her Maieſty gaue allowance to repaire the Fort at *Waterferd*, and to build Forts in the Harbours of *Corke* and *Kinſle*, and to build a Fort at *Galloway*, and at *Carlingford*, (but this laſt was not effected, his Lordſhip leſſe fearing the diſcent of forraigne forces within *Saint Georges Channel*); and further to build ſuch ſmall fortifications, as hee the Lord Deputy ſhould thinke meete, as well for the preſent planting of Garrifons in *Tyrone*, as otherwhere, imploying therein Captaine *Bodley*, or Captaine *Hanſard*, being with the Army, or *Paul Yuy*, being in *Moanſter*, or any whom his Lordſhip knew fit to ouerſee and contriue theſe works. Concerning *Neale Garue*, who held part of *Odonnell*s Country, as yet by a cuſtome her Maieſtie gaue warrant to paſſe the ſame to him by letters Patents; yet in regard

reguard of his tickle disposition, to make such restrictions therein, as hee the Lord Deputy and the Counsell here should thinke meete, and to pretend the same to bee done by her Maiesties speciall direction.

The Lord of *Deluin*, vpon succours giuen to the Rebels, and conferences had with *Tyrone*, at his comming out of the North into *Mounster*, in the doubtfull time of the siege of *Kinsale*, had since been imprisoned in the Castle of *Dublin*, and now her Maiesties pleasure was, that hee should bee called to his triall before some of the Counsell (tho it came to no effect, he dying in prison before the time prefixed for his calling to answer), there being matter enough to charge him with vnderhand fauouring the rebels, howsoeuer peraduenture there would be found no plaine matter to question him for his life (wherein her Maiestie professed no Prince on earth lesse allowed any proceeding, where the proofes were not more cleare then day light) and so her Maiestie, howsoeuer being disposed to forbear severity, yet resolving to vse correction of so ill an instrument.

The same eight day of Iuly the Lord Deputie receiued letters from the Lords in *England*, wherein after congratulating his Lordships recouery, as one to whom (both in respect of her Maiesties seruice, wherein almighty God had extraordinarily blessed him, and for their own particular affection) they wished both health and honor. Their Lordships at large signified, that the grounds, of the Summer seruice were so well laid, as no man could disallow them. That supplies of men were sent, and those without Captaines. That for the victuals required, her Maiestie thought it an vnsupportable charge to prouide one yeeres victual for fourteene thousand men, yet they had so reconciled the demaund and the prouision, as the demaund being for one yeere, and the whole numbers by pole, the prouision was answerable to the numbers, but not for the whole time, experience teaching, that the defects in the numbers would supply the abridgement in the time, besides the help of many garrisons taking half victuals and halfe money, and that Beeces might be bought in euery Country with mixed money (whereas the victuals in *England* were prouided with sterling money.) That concerning fortifications he knew her Maiesties pleasure, praying him to commit that worke to such discrete and honest persons, as her Maiestie might neither bee put to vnecessary charges, nor deceived in the disbursements. That more then fortie thousand pounds had beene paid to Merchants in *London* for billes of exchange, granted by the Treasurer to Irish Merchants, for satisfying their debts due in *London* before the alteration of the standard, which absurd course hee could neuer haue held, if hee had giuen no Merchant any bill of exchange for any more money then hee could bring good prooffe to haue disbursed, or to owe for Merchandize brought into the Kingdome. That whereas vpon his Lordships motion, and the Captaines good liking, her Maiesty had beene pleased to commit the apparelling of the souldier to them, against which resolution now many reasons were produced, their Lordships found further impediment, in that three hundred pound imprest to each Captaine before hand was required, and their sufficiency for the greater part to answere such a summe, was so doubted, as it was thought her Maiesties monny should runne a hazard, whereas formerly the Contractors gaue her Maiesty time, and besides put in good sureties to answere all defects. Besides that, it was feared the Captaines would either let the Souldier goe naked, or fill their Companies with Irish, who would require no apparell; requiring to know his Lordships iudgement, whether the old course were fitter to be continued then this. Lastly, that they conceiued the King of *Spaine*, had not fully abandoned his purposes for *Ireland*, yet were aduertised that her Maiesties Fleet lying vpon that Coast, made him for the present rather apply his Counsell to stand vpon defence, esteeming it dangerous to put to Sea while her Maiesties ships were so ready to attend him: so as they hoped his Lordship should not be interrupted by any forraigne power, although no certainty could be giuen of such actions of Princes, who hauing many designes, and for them many preparations, may change minds at their pleasures.

In the same Campe, and the same eighth of Iuly, the Lord Deputy receiued the following

lowing letter from Master Secretary *Cecyll*, betweene whom a firme combination of loue (or at least) so firme as to such great persons is incident, had long beene practised, and now within few moneths had beene finally confirmed.

MY Lord, if I were now to beginne the frame of our friendship, I should be curious to fasten it with all the ten nailes that belong to Architecture, because in the beginning men are curious to obserue *Minutissima*: but I that know how straight the knots are tied of our affections, by the mutuall offices of loue and confidence, doe not tie my selfe to these complements, which are held of great consequence, but in vulgar and light friendships. Let that argument serue therefore for excuse of my long silence, because I iudge you by my own affections. To speak of the subiect of the general dispatch in this my priuate letter, were but impertinent, seeing I haue ioined in the same, & yet seeing I write there as a Counsellour, and here as a friend, that hath bound himselfe by election, and not by compulsion, I will tell you my opinion sincerely of those things which are most material in the same: first my Lord I do assure you, that it is not in the compasse of my iudgement how to maintaine that Army, at that height it is at, longer then the time of prosecution, without extreame preiudice of this estate, whereof though you are not the efficient cause, or *Sine qua non*, yet I must confesse, I had rather that lot might light vpon any other then vpon you, because I would be loth your returne should not succeed a diminution thereof, whereby you might receiue the thanks for that effect, by which this State feeleth victory more then by any other consequence whatsoeuer. For this purpose, I must confesse, I haue endeaoured to prepare her Maiesties mind to giue you the power of compounding with Rebels, both because you draw the Sword which would best cut out the conditions of submission, and because for a while they shall rather hope for, then feele any forraigne succours: For the Traitor himselfe, what you haue you see, and therefore I know that must be your warrant; yet will I priuately say this vnto you, that if her Maiesty had not the preiudice in her owne thoughts, that he will insult when it comes to the vpshot, and so her opening her selfe in offer of a pardon, would returne vnto her a double scorne, I am confidently perswaded, that when you haue made triall, and shall make it appeare, that there is no other impediment, then her Maiesties acceptation, you shall receiue sufficient warrant for conclusion. In the meane time, lest you should say, you are put to doe that which is tender to handle, because my word can be no warrant, or for that which is impossible to effect, (which is, that he will trust his life in your hands by a personall submission), first you haue warrant to trie it for receiuing him vpon condition of his life, so as therein you may fashion your owne course as you list. Secondly, for the point of his not daring to trust the State for his personall comming in, all other things but that may be digested, and that doubt sent ouer hither, whereby her Maiesty shall yet haue the honour of refusall, (if God doe so dispose her heart), and not he, which her Maiesty seeketh to auoid. For the preparation in *Spaine*, I can say no more then I haue done, in the ioint dispatch, onely the continuance of her Maiesties Fleete vpon the Coast; and this breaking out of *Byrones* conspiracy, in which *Spaine* hath giuen the French King occasion of offence, may hinder any present inualions, and so giue you more time, then when *Don Iean* arriued it was resolved. And thus haue I now of the publike affaires deliuered you as much, as I know to be worthy of aduertisement. My Lord, being somewhat troubled with a paine in my eies, I presumed to write the ordinary matters of my letter in a borrowed hand, reseruing that which was of more priuatenesse to my owne selfe. To assure you of the Queenes acceptation of your seruices, and of the abolition of her former exceptions, I vow before God, that my heart doth giue me that warrant, out of my poore iudgement of her disposition, (more then vpon sudden speeches sometime when the first apparition of new charge and likelihood to continue doth present it selfe), that I might say, *Dormito securus*: When I can by any occasion, I bring Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohns* to her Maiesty, because hee may see how her Maiesties affections moue, to whose report of her language now, to him I doe referre mee. But to come to the point, my Lord this I say, the way to doe your Lordship good, is to increase your

merit, and that cannot be done without increasing your meanes. For the supplies of meanes therefore to prosecute, I labour (as far as I haue credit) to procure you them. For the way to make an end by peace, I think no man seekes more then my selfe to inable you, by perswading her Maiesty to giue you that power; wherein when lack of arguments happens, to worke her Maiesties mind (which in her Princely indignation against that Arch traytor is full of obstruction), I doe fall to the binding argument (which of all things most concludeth), and that is this: That in short time the sword cannot end the warre, and long time the State of *England* can not wel indure it. What in the first is granted, I leaue to the things themselves. But for the second kind, I confesse that in *Tirones* case you haue nothing that can produce good effect, except there be more mortar sent you to fasten the foundation, which is yet to bee laid vpon drie stone. For although I know that by this warrant you may safely giue care, and can cause him to be delt with; yet that which you can doe for him by this way, will bee by him contemned. In which respect, as I know your Lordship hath wildome enough to conceale the latitude of your Commission, so belecue me (out of my iudgement) that if the *Queene* may once perceiue, that it is only in her, that he comes not to reasonable conditions, and if shee were sure that shee should not be scorned, by offering that which he would not accept, then such is her Princely iudgement, and such are the minds of vs all, that are sworne to giue her Maiestie true Counsell, as I doubt not, but by our humble importunitie vpon your aduertisements what you find would bee accepted, her Maiestie would bee readily induced to doe that, which is so much for her Maiesties seruice, being a matter, which if my prayers to God could haue otherwise brought to passe in her mind at this time, I know full well how much it had bin more aduantageous, then to haue it sent after occasion, and fittest opportunitie. And so much (my Lord) for my Comment vpon the text of her Maiesties owne letter. For your returne therefore I remaine as I was, that it could bee, of no other consequence to her Maiestie, then for the greatest good of her seruice, and to your selfe infinite comfort and honour. Of which it is superfluous to speake, till time giue mee more light, and giue you more opportunitie in this present action, to send mee more grounds. Then will I not faile to speake like an honest man, that will neither halt nor practise with you. In confidence whereof, worthy Lord, belecue me, that I can be to any subiect living, I will bee to you, in which I must confesse I am more fixed, because I see your moderation, which all that follow you there haue not; and therefore in all great things belecue mee by my selfe, as I will doe you. For if you had not the facultie of distinction of every ones humour, that together with their generall and honest affections to you, haue also (as most flesh and bloud hath) their owne priuate ends (in which they are not euer so iudicious as to consider, whether all that is good for them, be good *final* & *semper* for you), I should bee often ialous, that they would shew mee to you in many colours of opennesse or priuacy, as their appetite serues more or lesse. Of our French newes, I haue intreated Sir *Oliuer Saint Iohn* to bee my Referendary, being of opinion, that *Byrone* and *Auuergne* are both executed by this time, though I know it not. Their practise doubtlesse was to haue ioyned with *Spaine* by *Sauoy*, for some greatnesse not fit for subiects, but whether so farre as to execute any thing against the Kings person (as *ad faciendum populum* it is diuulged), I cannot confidently speake as yet, because mee thinkes his owne creature could not bee such a monster in that kind.

For *Spaine* I must still say, that I conclude they will assaile *Ireland* againe, and that they would haue beene there ere this time, but for her Maiesties Fleete, which shee hath now returned to tarrie out till October. To say where they will land, were a strange speculation: but I doe assure you for my owne part, that I cannot bee diuerted from my opinion, that they will againe come into *Mounster*. I send you not the newes of Sir *Richard Leuions* taking of the Carricke at *Lisbone*, because it came but to day by *France*, but surely I hope it is true, and the Flemmings haue surely taken one. God send you all happinesse and long life to doe her Maiestie seruice; of whom I aske no more requirall then

then that if you out-live me, you remember, that *Will Cecyll* was sonneto a father and mother that loved you. The chiefe cause why the Queene is so peremptory towards the Traitor, is that she hath heard, that after *Blount* went to him, he bragged that he was wooed. Now I know not how true that was, but *Sir Robert Gardner* seemed to thinke, that the Traitor in that point was belied. *Sir Oliver S. Iohn* is very discrete, and worthy your extraordinary favours; he knowes well what is fit for every man.

Your affectionate friend to doe you service
Ro. Cecyll.

After the building of *Mountioy* Fort, the Lord Deputy purposed to follow *Tyrone* through his greatest Fastnesse, till he should utterly ruine him, or drive him that way to the Sea: but by reason this degree of prosecution required long time, and already the victuals were wasted, which his Lordship could with any conveniency bring with him, and because the further the Traitor should be followed, his Lordship should bee the further from any meanes to relieue his Forces, he was enforced to alter his resolution, and embrace the following course of it selfe as good as the former. First, he dismissed *Sir Henry Dockwra*, to gather and provide for some good numbers of men at the *Omy*, and to prepare within twenty daies, to draw as farre as *Dungenen* in *Ocanes* countrie, sufficiently inabled with meanes to prosecute, and fall vpon *Tyrone* that way. Secondly, his L^p gave order to *Sir Arthur Chichester*, to doe the like by *Toome*. And lastly he himselfe purposed to returne within 20 daies limited, to make the warre vpon *Tyrone* by the way of *Killetra*, lying next vpon the border of *Tyrone*s Countrie. In the meane time, on all sides they put vp as much victuals as they could, to such places as were most fit for the subsisting of these severall forces, during this prosecution. His L^p was confident, that the Garrison of the *Omy* vnder *Sir Henrie Dockwra*, and the Garrison of *Mountioy* vpon *Loughsidney*, (where were left 850 foot, and 100 horse) vnder *Sir Arthur Chichester*s command, would restraine *Tyrone* from the Plaines into the Fastnesses (where now he was) for the twenty daies above limited. In the meane time, his Lordship with the Army intended to lie in such places, as without great conuoyes he might put vp victuals for this purpose, meaning to imploy the time in assuring or wasting all the Countries betwixt *Blackwater* and the Pale. And with this purpose he marched back towards *Monaghan*, and in the way taking some Ilands and strong places, though in those and all the former services we had not lost five men of the Armie, yet we had the disaster, by a casuall shot out of one of the Ilands, to leese *Sir Iohn Barkley*, a worthy Gentleman, and Serieant Maior of the Army, and in another slight skirmish to leese Capt. *Willis*. Vpon the death of *Sir Iohn Barkley*, his L^p made *Sir Henry Davers* Serieant Maior in his place, and comming into *Monaghan*, his L^p on the 19 of Iuly, advertised the Lords in *England* of the former services, as also that hee had directed *Sir Henry Dockwra*, and *Sir Arthur Chichester*, that in case any new Spanish forces should land in *Ireland*, they should draw vnto him with their principall forces, yet leaue the Garrisons defensible, as bridles to the submitted late rebels, and a diversion to the rest remaining in rebellion. That howsoever the numbers of those Garrisons seemed to threaten the continuance of her Maiesties charge, yet it was the most sure way to lessen the Army, and end the warre in short time, which onely forraigne invasion could hinder, in which case, it would be no longer the warre of *Ireland*, but the warre of *England* in *Ireland*, and would require as royall supplies, as if a part of *England* were invaded by so mighty a Prince. That the Garrisons vpon *Tyrone* were left so strong in numbers, as that every of them a part, might without apparant hazard, not onely withstand all the Force, wherewith *Tyrone* was able in any one place to make head against them, but bee stirring with some parties to seeke out him and his Creaghts in their Fastnesses, and to keepe them from feeding, or stirring vpon the Plaine, which must necessarily vndoe the rebels, and this effect of the Summers service would appeare in the next winter. For if in the meane time it were not his Lordships hap, according to his earnest endeouour, to get *Tyrone*s head, which was a worke of difficultie, not to be hoped in so short a time, yet he was confident to cut off

so many of his members, as he should not bee able to continue in any one place; but should bee forced to flie from bush to bush like a Wood-kerne, as now hee did, so long as the Army kept the field, which being dissolued, hee would soone grow to strength againe, except the Garrisons were kept strong, so as he might not dare to appeare himselfe, or to feede his Creaghts vpon the Plaine, which could not be performed without hauing great store of victuals to maintaine the Garrisons. That for the matter of fortifications, whereas their Lordships noted the summes demanded to bee excessive, this demand proceeded from a zeale to secure the Kingdome speedily, and by entring into a Royall charge at once, to cut off her Maiesties continuing charge, which being now about three hundred thousand pound yeerely, it seemed good husbandry, if by bestowing one hundred thousand pound at once, especially in the new mixed coyne, her Maiesty might both secure the Kingdome against forraigne inuasion, and so bridle the Townes and Countrie, as halfe the said yeerely charge might be presently saued, and yet the Army might be drawne stronger into the field, then now it could bee: for it would be lesse charge to her Maiestie, to keepe twenty men in a Castle costing five hundred pound the building, then to keepe one hundred men in a Fort built for one hundred pound, yet that hee would conforme himselfe to her Maiesties pleasure in that point, imploying the money allowed to the best he possibly could. That whereas hee the Deputie had moued, that the Captaines might prouide clothes for their companies, now vpon better consideration hee thought the old course of clothing them by the Merchants was of necessitie to be continued. That touching *Neale Garue*, his Lordship found him to bee of nature fierie and violent, and with all extremely both proud and couetous; and as *Sir Henrie Dockwra* had very well described him to their Lordships, to bee in his desires and demands most vnreasonable, and almost intollerable, so as he that must containe him within any fitting bounds, especially whē he shuld be denied any thing that he affects; or be enioyned to do any thing that he did not like, must be of an infinite patience; for at such times he vsed to breake out in a fashion most hardly to bee indured, although his Lordship professed, that he tooke it rather to bee want of breeding, and of knowledge to discerne, when he hath good vsage and when hard (for through that defect he still thought himselfe wronged, and out of that conceit grew to that distemper), then any want of good affection to the State. For *Sir Henry Dockwra* did acknowledge, that vpon all occasions of seruice, that had not appeared euidently to preiudice him in his particular, he shewed himselfe forward, and very ready to the hazarding of his owne person very often. In which respect his Lordship holding him worth the cherishing, (being besides well followed by all his Country, so as her Maiesties seruice receiued very great furtherance both by him and them), was therefore resolved, according to her Maiesties warrant lately receiued, to passe him the grant of his Country.

His Lordship further wrote, that he receiued many aduertisements, that the Spaniards were ready to retorne into *Ireland*, which though he for his part beleued not in regard their Lordships thought the contrary, yet the people here by many letters from their friends in *Spaine* were made confident, that they would make a new and strong inuasion, before *Michaels* day at the furthest. That in this regard he made haste to draw the warre to some good end, no way so well to bee done, as by planting strong Garrisons vpon *Tirone*, and by drawing from him his strongest partakers, to which purpose he had sent *Sir Henrie Folliot* to gouerne the Garrison lately planted at *Ballishannon*, who had instructions to receiue *Mac Guyre* to mercy, vpon condition he would be content to haue his Country diuided betweene *O Connor Roe* and himselfe, and would deliuer to her Maiesties vse the Castle of *Eniskillin* with the Ordinance therein. His L^d further signified, that when the Garrison of *Ballishannon* had effected the intended seruice, he would leaue it as a Warde, this same and all other fortifications being so made, as one final Fort of very good strength was first framed guardable by a few, to which was added a greater Fort of lesse strength & charge, like to a bawne or yard, wherein many vpon occasion might be lodged, so as if at any time one Company were found sufficient, the rest being drawne away, the losse of the bigger Fort, (being commanded by the lesser) would be of little moment, and yet might bee kept

13
*Henry's History of
 the Affairs of
 Ireland page 60
 London 4^{to} 1693*

kept fit to receiue greater numbers, if it were thought fit to send them againe at any time. Adding that if the Queene would be pleased to build a little Castle in euery one of the lesser Forts, it would greatly lessen her Maiesties charge in the numbers of men, and yet be sufficient perpetually to bridle the Irish.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, the Lord Deputie being in *Monaghan*, receiued letters from Sir *George Carew*, Lord President of *Mounster*, by the hands of Sir *Samuel Bagnol* whom the Lord Deputie had sent into *Mounster* to bring from thence fiftene hundred foote, which accordingly hee had performed. These letters aduertised certaine expectation of the Spaniards present inuading *Mounster*, with great forces able to keepe the field, without any support from the Irish Rebels, which expectation was grounded vpon the confessions of many coming out of *Spaine*, and by diuers letters sent from thence by the Irish, but especially was confirmed by the arriual of a Spanish ship at *Ardea*, bringing a good proportion of munition to *Oswillynan Beare*, Captaine *Tyrrell*, and other Rebels in *Mounster*, together with a good summe of money, to be distributed among them, for their incouragement to hold out in rebellion, till the Spanish succours should arriue. And the Lord President signified his feare of a generall defection, vpon the Spaniards first arriual, which hee gathered from the confidence of all the Rebels in that Prouince, who hauing before sought for mercy in all humbleness, and with promise to merit it by seruice, now since the Spanish ship arriued, were growne proud (calling the King of *Spaine* their King, and their ceasing from rebellion, to be the betraying of their King and of the Catholike cause), yea, fell nothing from this insolency, though they had bin some times beaten by him, many of their chiefe men killed, and had lost the strong Castle of *Dunboy*. And the twentieth of Iuly, the Lord President aduertised new intelligences of Spanish forces in great numbers, lying ready at the *Groyne* either to bee sent for *Ireland*, or the Low Countries, whereof 2000 being horse, there was no probabilitie that they should bee sent by sea for the Low Countries, since they might more conueniently bee raised in those parts. Wherefore hee resolutely beleeuing they were intended for *Ireland*, desired that for speede of intelligences, a running Post might againe be established betwene *Corke* and *Dublin*.

The Lord Deputie by this time had planted a Garrison in *Monaghan*, wherein hee left for the present Sir *Christopher S. Laurence* with his 25 horse, and 150 foote, and vnder him Captaine *Esmond* with his foote one hundred fifty. This Garrison lay fitly to secure the Pale from Northerne incursions, and to prosecute those Rebels which were like to stand out longest. This done, his Lordship tooke, burned, and spoiled all the Islands in those parts of greatest strength, placing wards in some of them. And finding *Mac Mahown* chiefe of *Monaghan* to stand ypod proud termes (though otherwise making sute to bee receiued to mercy), his Lordship spoiled and ransacked all that Countrey, and by example thereof, brought many Chieffes of adioyning Countries to submit to mercy, with as good shew of dutie and obedience as could bee desired, and more strict othes and pledges then had formerly been required. So as now, from the *Bann* to the *Dartry* (including all *Tyrone*) and from thence to *Dublin*, the whole Countrey was cleared, and the chiefe Lords more assured, then they were euer before. His Lordship placed *Connor Roe Mac Guyre* (to whom her Maiesty had lately giuen the Chieffery of *Fermannagh*) in the principall house of *Mac Mahown*, Chiefe of *Monaghan*, lying within two miles of *Fermannagh*, so as he might from thence easily plant and settle himselfe in his owne Countrey, and so bee able to doe her Maiesty many good seruices in those parts.

This done his Lordship returned to the *Newry*, meaning there for a short time to refresh his wearied forces. The 29 of Iuly, his Lordship and the Counsell with him, made to the Lords in *England* a relation of the past seruices (which for breuity I omit), and wrote further as followeth. Vpon such bruite as we heare of a new inuasion out of *Spaine*, (the L. President in a manner assuring vs that they will in that Prouince invade presently with a strong Army of 15000 foot and 2000 horse) we are much distracted what next to do, for if we should draw that way, to prouide to entertaine them,

wee should loose the aduantage of this prosecution, and spend another yecre vnprofitably, which wee grieue to thinke vpon, and yet perhaps misse of their place of landing. If we proceede, as we yet intend, to draw this warre to a speedy end (which is that which we acknowledge we do most affect), we shall bee the lesse able to make that defensue stoppe to their inuasion, that wee might, if we attended that businesse onely. VVe do therefore most humbly and earnestly desire to be directed from your Lordships (who in likelihood best know the Spaniards intentions) which of these courses we should most apply our selues vnto, otherwise we are resolued, whatsoeuer befall, to prosecute the warre Northward with all earnestnesse, out of the desire wee haue to draw the warre to an end, and ease her Maiestie of that excessive charge, which to our exceeding grieve we obserue her to be at, which we doubt not to effect to her great contentment, and ease her Maiestie speedily of a great part of her charge, if we be not interrupted by the Spaniard; for besides the good hold we haue gotten of those, that haue already submitted themselves, which by all arguments of sound and sincere meaning in them, we tooke to be better and more assured then any that was taken heretofore, since her Maiestie and her Ancesters enioyed this Kingdome, especially with the holds that we haue planted among them, wee haue set downe such a plot for the prosecution of the rest, vpon all hands at one instant, so soone as wee take the field next, which is agreed vpon the tenth of the next moneth, (till which time wee haue thought fit to refresh this Army ouertoiled & wearied out with continuall working vpon the Forts, that we haue made, and with exceeding great marches, which we were driuen to, for lacke of meanes to carrie victuals with vs for a longer time), as we are very confident we shall in short time ruine or subdue all these rebels. For we haue left no man in all the North that is able to make any very great resistance, or that hath not made meanes to bee receiued to mercy, *O Rourke* onely excepted, who hitherto hath been furthest off from feeling the furie of our prosecution. *Tyrone* is already beaten out of his Countrie, and liues in a part of *O Canes*, a place of incredible fastnesse, where though it be impossible to doe him any great hurt, so long as hee shall bee able to keepe any force about him, the waies to him, being vnaccessible with an Army, yet by lying about him, as we meane to doe, we shall in short time put him to his vttermost extremitie, and if not light vpon his person, yet force him to flie the Kingdome. In the meane time we can assure your Lordships thus much, that from *O Canes* Countrie, where now he liueth, which is to the Northward of his owne Countrie of *Tyrone*, we haue left none to giue vs opposition, nor of late haue scene any but dead carcases, meerey starued for want of meate, of which kinde wee found many in diuers places as wee passed. The forces which last wee drew out of *Mounster*, being fiftene hundred foote, about the *Mounster* Lyft, (which the Lord President desired to retaine there onely till hee had ended his businesse at *Donboy*) are now vnder the command of Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, (presently vpon their arriual to the borders) directed by the Annely to prosecute *O Rourke*, where most fitly he may ioyne with the forces of *Connaght*, and shall bee met withall by those of *Ballishannon*, commanded by Sir *Henric Folliot*. All those will helpe vs greatly to pen vp the Northerne Rebels on that side, when wee next attempt them (as by the tenth of August wee meane to doe) from *Loughfoyle* and *Carickfergus*, which Sir *Arthur Chichester* from thence is now very well enabled for, by the meanes of the Garrisons we last planted at *Toome*, and vpon *Lough Sidney*, both being on that side of the *Lough*, that lies next vpon *Tyrone*. And as those forces on *Connaght* side, lie very fitly to assist vs, for the speedie dispatch of the worke, so are they very ready to intertaine the Spaniards, if they should land in *Connaght*, and not much vnfit for *Mounster*, if they should arriue there. Wee haue directed them therefore severally to applie and bend their endeavours to answere these sundrie occasions. And this in our prouidence is the best course that we can thinke vpon; for by the same, if Spaniards come not, wee shall goe on verie roundly with our businesse, and wee hope (by the grace of God) performe it to your great contentment, and if they come (which is the worst), they will be able to make some good defensue warre, till wee with the rest shall draw

vnto them, and then we cannot hope to doe any more, vntill your Lordships supply vs royally out of *England*. For if the Spaniard come so strong in horse and foote, as is reported, and as it must needs be thought he will, (finding the errour that the last time he committed), it may not be expected at our hands with all the Forces wee can draw to head, leauing some Forts guarded, (as we must needs doe, to bridle and keepe in awe the Countrey, and to keep our former labours from being vtterly ouerthrowne); that wee shall be able of our selues to put them from any place that they haue a minde to hold, but must rather giue them way, till we be better furnished. Wee are therefore humbly to desire your Lordships, if the Spaniards arriue, or if you expect them certainly, then to thinke vpon vs fauourably, and to supply our wants, and that speedily, especially men, munition, and victuals, for this Kingdome will not be able to afford vs any thing for such a warre, as then wee must make, which your Lordships cannot but know farre better then wee can expresse, for as wee haue noted heretofore (which we beseech you giue vs leaue still to remember you of), it will not then be any longer the warre of *Ireland*, but the warre of *England* in *Ireland*, to the infinite danger and comber of them both, though for our parts wee will most cheerefully vndergoe the toyle and hazard thereof, as it becommeth vs. To conclude, wee must acquaint your Lordships with a very great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victuals, which doth maruellously preiudice her Maiesties seruice here: Wee can neuer know from any of them when the victuals arriue in any part, whether it be part of an old contract, or of a new, nor indeed whether it be for her Maiesty or for them selues: by that meanes we can neuer find how we are provided for, nor what we may further expect, and that which worse is, the Rebels get of the best victuall that is sent hither, and yet wee cannot call the victualer to account thereof, for he affirms stiffely, that he is warranted by your Lordships to sell it for his benefit, and so as hee sell it to the subiect, (how ill affected soeuer), it is no fault of his, if the Rebelle afterward get it. It is in vaine for vs by our extreame toile to spoile the Rebels corne, and wast their Countrey, (the best way yet found to bring them to obedience), if they can get that English victuals for their money, which we verily thinke was provided for those that serue her Maiesty here, and the best of it too, when the poore souldier hath that which is not worth the eating. Thus much wee haue of late discovered, which wee leaue to your Lordships consideration, not doubting, but it will please you to provide remedy, and so, &c.

The Victualers aboue mentioned, had obtained of the Lords liberty to sell some victuals, vpon pretence (as it seemes) that the same would grow musty, and must either be sold or lost but they abused this liberty so farre, as the best victuals were sold to the Irish Subiects, and by them, to those that were in actuall rebellion, while they made bold to vtter their musty prouisions to the Queenes Army.

The seuenth of August the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Arthur Chichester* as likewise to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, to make all things in readines against his taking the field, which he purposed to doe within three daies, and his Lordship projected with them, in case *Tyrone* should goe into *Fermanagh*, how to turne their faces vpon him that way, or otherwise to draw into *Cormacke mac Barons* Countrey, for since her Maiesty would not be induced to shew any mercy to *Tyrone* himselfe, the onely way to end the warre was to force *Cormacke*, either presently by feare of his Countreys spoiling, or in short time by planting a garrison at the Cloher, to submit himselfe. Some few daies after his Lordship receiued from her Maiesty this following Letter.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and wellbeloued, We greet you well. Although We haue heard nothing from you directly since Our last dispatch, yet We impute it to no neglect of yours, hauing so great cause to iudge the best of your actions, when euery dispatch from other parts of Our Kingdome, reports of great honour in the successe of Our Army vnder you, a matter specially appearing by those letters, which We haue scene

directed to our Treasurer at Warres in *Ireland*, containing the discourse of your Marches, and abiding in the heart of *Tyrone*, and the recovery of that Iland, and that Ordinance of Ours, which had beene foully lost before. In which respect Wee value the same so much the more acceptably. We haue also thought good at this time to adde this further, that We are glad to find that you are ioined with *Dockwra* and *Chichester*, because that is the thing which hath beene long wished, often attempted, but neuer before effected, (being indeed the true consequence of Our Plantation, with great expence both at *Loughfoyle* and in other parts of *Ulster*). So as when Wee perceiue that now the time is come, when you may make an vniuersall prosecution, and when We find that your owne words giue such hope, that this vngateful Traitor shall neuer be able to hold vp his head againe, if the Spaniard doe not arriue, Wee thought it fit to touch these two things following. First to assure you, that Wee haue sent a Fleece to the Coast of *Spaine*, notwithstanding Our former Fleet returned with the Caricke, there to attend his Coast, and all such Fleeces as shall be prepared to annoy Vs. Next Wee doe require you, euen whilst the Iron is hot, so to strike, as this may not onely proue a good Summers iourney, but may deserue the title of that action, which is the warres conclusion. For furtherance whereof, We haue spared no charge, euen now againe to send a Magazine of victuall, and other necessities, to those places, by which you may best maintaine those garrisons, with which you resolute to bridle those Rebels. We haue heard likewise from *Carew* our President of *Mounster*, that he hath taken the Castle was held by the Rebels at *Beere-Hauen*, and defended with the Spanishe Ordinance. In that Prouince Wee find by him, that there is constant expectation of Spanishe succours, for which reason, and considering what promises the King of *Spaine* doth make them, and with what importunity they begge it at his hands, besides one other craft they vse, to hide from him all feare, which might diuert him from that enterprize, agreeing amongst themselves, how great soeuer their miseries be, to conceale the same from him and his Ministers, as appeareth well by a letter of *Odonnells* owne hand intercepted of late, by which he writes to a Rebelle called *O'Connor Kerry*, desiring him to aduertise him of the state of *Ireland*, but in no sort to deliuer any bad report of their losses, because he would be loth that the Spaniard should know it.

Wee doe require you very earnestly to be very wary in taking the submissions of these Rebels, who euer make profit of their comming in. Some let slip of purpose by the Archtraitor, others when they haue compounded for their owne peace, are notoriously knowne to fill their Countries with more Cattle then euer they had in seuen yeeres before, which is a matter that most notoriously discouereth, that the great bordering Traitors, (whose Countries are sought to be laied wast) doe find a safe protection for their goods vnder them. A matter whereof we speake in no other sort, then by way of caution, knowing that no rule is so generall, either to leaue or take, which may not change, in respect of circumstances. Giuen vnder our Signet. At our Man-
 nor of *Greenewich* the fifteenth day of Iuly, in the foure and fortieth of Our Raigne.

To this letter, in the Margent, were added these words in her Maiesties owne hand: We con you many laudes for hauing so neerely approached the villanous Rebelle, and see no reason why so great forces should not end his daies, whose wickednesse hath cut off so many, and should iudge my selfe mad, if we should not change your authority for his life, and so we doe by this. Since neither Spaniard, nor other accident, is like to alter this minde, as she that should blush to receiue such indignity after so royall prosecution. We haue forgotten to praise your humility, that after hauing beene a Queenes Kitchin maide, you haue not disdained to bee a Traitors skullion. God blesse you with perseuerance.

Your Soueraigne, E.R.

At the same time his Lordship receiued this following letter from Master Secretarie.

MY very good Lord; it must not seeme strange to you, to find this marginall continuation in her Maiesties letter, whereby the last authority (in pardoning *Tyrone*) is
 so

so absolutely retrenched. For first, as her Maieſty (in theſe caſes) may well (out of experience of gouernement) aſſume more to her royall prudence then any of her Counſell: ſo (God in Heauen doth know) that euen in theſe great cauſes, ſhee is pleaſed to proceed more abſolutely then euer, according as ſhee pleaſeth to approve her will, by the Rules of her owne Princely iudgement. So as if you conſider how little good the laſt authority (which was giuen you to pardon no more but his life) could haue effected, you will eaſily imagine that wee thought it to little purpoſe here, to offend by conteſtation againſt this letter; when in both the directions the difference was of ſo little conſequence. Laſtly, the change that is, proceeded meerely from the hopes which your owne letters to the Treafurer haue giuen, of our opinion ſo to ruine him as he ſhould neuer be able againe to ſtand; whereof it is true, that her Maieſty hath taken ſo good and comfortable hold, the ſame being ſo iuſt and agreeable to the difficulty of her owne nature to forgiue that offender, as although in effect ſhee had done little more then nothing before, yet ſhee thinkes any mercy to him to bee much. It remaineth therefore that I reſort to explaine my ſelfe in my former aduice, when I and ſome others wiſhed you, though you had warrant to conclude for no more then life onely, that you ſhould notwithstanding (ſeeing you had warrant ſufficient to heare from him), in no caſe forbear to diſcouer what were his higheſt, or what would be his loweſt; for this was our intent, as faithfull Counſellors, if you found the State to be ſuch, as (without his ſubmiſſion to be a Subiect) all others comming in would be idle, and that to offer him nothing but life, (which he hath already, and will keepe too long, I feare mee) were the way to lacke that good, which by yeelding to more, might haue been effected, that then and in ſuch caſe, you ſhould not foreſtall him ſo peremptorily in your dealing with him, as to repell thoſe ouertures which hee would make: for though you were not to conclude for more then you had warrant, yet when you might ſend ouer what it was, and what your opinion was thereupon, it might be, that when her Maieſty ſhould ſee what might haue come, ſhee would be content (for the good of her Kingdome) to deſcend from the greatneſſe of her owne heart, full of iuſt indignation againſt him. Theſe things I touched, out of the infinite caution, whereunto the experience of my miſfortune to be miſiudged preſſeth mee more violently, then any other, whereby I would ſecure my ſelfe againſt any doubts, that I would practice vpon you in any thing, for any reſpect whatſoeuer, which might be pernitiouſ to you, to whom I haue profeſſed all honeſt friendſhip. For I proteſt vnto you, howſoeuer it may be ſome mens Phyloſophy, to conclude that all priuate conſiderations muſt be extinguished, when there is queſtion of the good of a mans Countrey, (becauſe it challengeth a part, before Wife, Children, or Friends), yet doe I not thinke it intended by that great rule, that any honeſt man ought to betray an honeſt truſt of a worthy friend, for any reſpect whatſoeuer, vnleſſe he knew that friend who is confident in him, falſe or wicked to his Countrey, to which he owes ſo much duty. For that diſtinction makes great oddes in the queſtion: Of this letter therefore when you ſhall examine the circumſtances, you would quickly diſcerne, how little it ought to trouble you, for if you had already treated, you had warrant for it, if you haue concluded (according to the authority of that warrant), the new reſtraint comes too late, if not, then is your Lordſhip to obey this direction, and in obeying it, to content your Soueraigne, as then aduiſed, whereby you are iuſtified to the world whatſoeuer come, becauſe you haue obeyed, and if that ſucceſſe ſucceed not, which was hoped for by a moderate meaſure of grace (following an orderly and ſharpe proſecution, and neuer otherwiſe to be but at great length), you may then reſort to her Maieſties own ſelf, for as much as you ſhall come ſhort of that, to which you might haue arriued, if you had not bin reſtrained. For prooſe wherof it will be very fit, that you do write of the conditions particularly, which is all that either you or we can ſay, where we are all bound, firſt, to giue aduice according to our conſcience, and then to yeeld obedience. I do conclude, that it was (for his own particular) a good ſpeech of the Cardinal *Granuella*, who when he found the Emperour grow more reſolute daily againſt his Counſel, ſaid, He wiſhed that from thence forward his counſell might neuer bee followed; for ſaid he, if it bee

bad

bad and not receiued, I am glad for my Countrey, if good and not followed, yet it must value me to my Master. And so much for that matter: Only this I haue thought conuenient for both our particulars, seeing it is impossible that this dispatch can come so soone to you, as the Queene may expect, that the Secretary receiue it from me, and you from him, for our discharge, lest her Maiesty should suspect, that out of zeale to the cause, (howsoeuer we dare not contest), yet that I haue delaied to send it, or you pretend to haue beene longer without it; then you haue beene, to which purpose I haue written to him, to take care of the sending it to you with expedition, and to aduertise me both of his receipt from me; and yours from him. And thus for this time I commit your Lordship to Gods protection. From the Court at *Greenewich* this sixteenth of Iuly 1602.

Postscript. Pardon me for vsing another hand, which I hope you will beare with, being of no other subiect then an honest Secretary may set downe: because I am not sure whether you can perfectly reade her Maiesties hand, I send you the same in a copy, the latter part whereof, being suteable with the former stile of saucur, that was wont to passe betweene you, grew by the occasion of your owne Postscript, when you wrote to the Treasurer: that you had beene a good while in *Oneales* Kitchin, which you meant to warme so well, as he should keep the worse fiers euer after. God knowes I doe as much desire to heare of your successe, as euer I did to heare of any thing, because vpon it iudgement may be made, which is likely to follow, your comming or tarrying. In which bee assured that I will doe you all the right to which religion, honour, and affection can tie me. In the meane time take this comfort, that her Maiesty doth feelingly apprehend your vertue, and begins now to speake and write in her wonted stile, and therefore I grow daily more confident, that wee shall spend some yeeres together in her seruice. For my selfe I will now giue ouer professions, and so doe you, for neither of our hearts haue euer beene accusable for basenes to our friend, though in our kind we haue seuerall tastes of ingratitude, onely take this still for assurance, that I am your affectionate friend to command, *Robert Cecyll*.

Likewise at the same time the Lord Deputy receiued this following letter from the Lords in *England*.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. Although her Maiesty hath by her letter taken notice of your Lordships wise and happy proceedings, by a letter which hath beene sent from *Dublyn* by the Treasurer, vpon your taking of the Iland in *Tyrone*, yet wee are moued to expresse our sympathy with your good fortune, both out of duty to the publike, and particular affection to your selfe, whom God hath made so happy an instrument of her Maiesties seruice. Wee haue likewise heard from the President of *Mounster* of his taking in of *Beere Haven*, whereby we had well hoped that Prouince would haue proued lesse troublesome then yet we can hope, first because there are many prouinciall Rebels out, next because the hollownes of those that are reputed subiects, appeareth many waies, (though not so visible to all), which is onely maintained by the assurance they haue of succours from *Spaine*, whereof (as we haue often said) wee can make no other iudgement, then that what he is able to doe, he hath a will to doe, and what he hath not done, hath onely beene hindered by the remaining of her Maiesties Fleete vpon his Coast, and which sheweth to maintaine till Winter be well come on, so as: seeing here is done as much as her Maiesty can doe, and that many difficulties at home with himselfe, and actions of others abroad, may make suspention if not diuersion from that Spanish inuasion. We thinke your Lordship shall doe well, to take time while it serueth in *Ulster*, seeing we perceiue you haue now so ordred the matter, as if he should land in the North, you are neere him, & if in the South, you haue meanes now to draw most of the Forces of the Kingdome to make head against him. So as wee haue little else to say for the present, but to commend your proceedings, and expect the successe: Although we find your Lordship had very good reason to draw away Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* with those extraordinary Companies, which you were content to spare till the taking of the Castle of

of *Donboy*, yet we haue thought it very conuenient, because it is worth your Lordships knowledge, to let you vnderstand, that if the Spaniards shall attempt to land in *Ireland* with an Army, all our intelligences doe confirme, that it will be in *Mounster*, or vpon the neerer parts of *Connaght*, and if this Summer at all, it will be betweene this and Bartholmewtide. In which respect, we thought it good to remember your Lordship, to haue care for a moneth or two, to send some forces to strengthen that Province, about the Lyst, whereby at their first discent her Maiesties forces may keepe some such reputation, as the Prouincials, whose eye will onely be vpon the Army, may not grow too insolent, nor the Gouvernour there bee forced to leaue the field. For which purpose we thinke it not amisse, that you should presently send some horse, though you spare the fewer foote, considering the weakenesse of those numbers that are there, to answere any such occasion: For the North, although wee doubt not but *Odonnell* is fed with the same hope that the *Mounster* Rebels are, yet we doe not expect any great forces to land in those parts more Northerly then the Towne of *Galloyway* at the furthest. Wee haue now no more wherewith to hold you at this time, then with the recommendation of all your actions to Gods protection. From the Court at *Greenewich*, this eighteenth of Iuly 1602.

The Army being refreshed with these few daies rest, the Lord Deputy had determined to leaue the Newry, and take the field againe vpon the tenth of August: but vpon intelligence that *Tyrone* purposed to send *Brian mac Carty* backe into *Killultagh* to disturbe those parts, and so to diuert the prosecution of *Tyrone* as much as they could, his Lordship directed Sir *Arthur Chichester* from *Masserine*, and Sir *Henry Dauers* from the Newry, to draw part of the forces into that Countrey, and there to inuest the Fort of *Enishlaghlin*, being the onely hold the Rebels had in those parts, in which (for the strength thereof), all the goods of such as were fled into *Tyrone*, were left.

This resolution the Lord Deputy signified to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, who expected to meete his Lordship in *Tyrone* about this time, according to their former purpose. And withall aduertised him, that he had sent such a part of the Army to *Charlemount*, and the other Forts neere to the *Blackewater*, as would be (in a manner) to as good purpose, for any seruice Sir *Henry Dockwra* should thinke fit to attempt vpon *Tyrone*, or for the stopping of him from passing with his Creaghts from the fastnesse wherein he now lay, as if his Lordship were there present with the whole forces. For his Lordships troope of horse, being lodged at *Charlemount*, with more then a thousand foote in Lyst, and Sir *Henry Dauers* his troope of horse, being lodged at *Armagh*, with some seuen hundred foote more in the Forts adioyning, a party of two hundred horse, and a thousand foure hundred foote might be drawne by Sir *Henry Dockwra* from thence, vpon any sudden occasion, and these forces, together with the Companies at *Mount Norreys*, and at *Mountjoy* Forts, were able to doe great matters vpon *Tyrone*, if hee could discouer his purposes by any good espiall: yet his Lordship offered himselfe with those forces he had left, to draw presently vp into *Tyrone*, if Sir *Henry Dockwra* thought it needfull, rather then any thing fit for the seruice should bee omitted. And whereas Sir *Henry Dockwra* seemed to doubt of *Henry Oge* his second, his Lordship was so confident of his sound meaning, as he gaue assurance on his part, that hee would not onely not doe any thing to giue the State offence, but would aduertise any thing he could learne to further the seruice, and rather then faile, would draw his whole force vpon *Tyrone*, to which also his Lordship had by his letters earnestly perswaded him. And touching *Ocanes* submission, his Lordship wrote to Sir *H. Dockwra*, that he would be glad to see him, when he came into *Tyrone*, which should be presently after the businesse at *Enishlaghlan* was dispatched, and then he would be willing to giue him all reasonable contentment. Lastly, his Lordship aduised Sir *Henry Dockwra*, so to carry his businesse, as hee might be ready to performe his directions, if the Spaniards should againe land in *Ireland*, as a strong rumour went, that they shortly intended.

The

The tenth of August the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to Master Secretary Cecyll.

p. 251.
126.

SIR I vnderstand from Sir *Oliver Lambert*, that the fortification at *Galloway* is almost finished, and that there will be needfull for that place, to haue foure Demy-Cannons, and foure whole Culuerings, (but I thinke it will be well, if they be all Culuerings, and of Iron), which he thinkes will make it of very great vse against the Spaniards, if they happen to land there; as he suspecteth: For that and other such great workes; I thinke we must necessarily haue some good great Ordinance, and therefore beseech you Sir to be a meane, that wee may be speedily supplied with a score of Iron Peeeces well furnished, and fitted to be placed there, and elsewhere in *Mounster*, to the most aduantage of the seruice, whereby I am very confident that this whole Countrey will much the better be secured, and her Maiesty greatly eased in her continuing charge; though her present charge seemes thereby much increased. I protest I doe apply with all carefulnesse my best endeauiours, so to husband this businesse, as her Maiesty in a very short time shall find abatement of her charge here, to her owne contentment, if I be not interrupted by the Spaniards; and if they doe come, I doubt not but these greater workes will keepe the Townes (neere which they stand) in so great awe, as they will not suddenly nor easily fall to their party, as otherwise in all likelihood they would, so as they shew themselues any thing strong before any of them, and then will it manifestly appeare, that this cost was bestowed to great good purpose: for the keeping of one Towne from reuolting, will very well counteruaile the whole charge, that her Maiesty shall bear, in planting of all those fortifications, and yet will they afterwards bee such bridles to the Countries all about them, as they shall neuer bee able to rebell againe. I conceiue that by the placing of a Constable and a conuenient Ward in such of them as shall be thought fittest to be maintained, her Maiesty shall be better and cheaper serued; then by laying of Companies or parts of Companies in them, that must vpon occasions be remoued: For when one man onely hath the charge thereof, who knowes that he must be accomptable for it, he will no doubt haue much the greater care, and may more commodiously be fitted with all things necessary: but then must I intreat you Sir, to take order that these places be not bestowed there at Court, vpon such as will be sutors for them, (of which kind I make accompt there will be many, since I partly know some of them already); for I shall thereby be disabled to doe her Maiesty the seruice I affect, and become meerely an vnprofitable Officer for her, in as much as it will be here soone obserued, that when these places are not left to my disposall, who should best know both how euery man deserues, and for what each mans seruing here is fittest, it will be to little purpose for any of them to make me an eye witnes of their well deseruing, when it is not in my power to reward them, but will rather vse meanes to her Maiesty, or the Lords, hoping to get that they aime at, by a much easier and shorter course, which I confesse to you Sir I doe with some greefe obserue, in the recommending of many hither for Captaines places, when some haue giuen ouer their charge here; by which meanes I can neither lessen the Queenes charge, as I would, by cashing of their Companies; nor preferre others thereunto, whom I see daily to haue very well deserued it, and by this meanes comes in, both selling of Companies, (a thing which I would otherwise neuer suffer), and the placing of such Captaines, as those which we found here at the beginning of this warre, whose insufficiency had almost lost this Kingdome. I beseech you Sir conceiue, that I haue iust cause to be greeued, that must draw vpon my selfe the hatred of a great many, that I should discharge in the great cash that I intend; who will euer hold me the ouerthrow of them, and all their fortunes, especially if I be not able to bestow vpon some of the worthiest of them, such other places in this Kingdome, as haue fallen within the gift of my Predecessors here. Although (God is my witnes) this doth nothing so much greeue mee, as that I shall thereby bee disabled to serue her Maiesty as I would, to make a speedy end of the warre, that might be both safe and durable, by leauing such in all places, as I know to be best able to serue her, and
such

such as if they did not imploy their time in her continuall seruice, might more iustly then any other, with their presence importune her for rewards of their former seruices. And so Sir, &c.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to her Maiestie.

May it please your Sacred Maiestie,

I Haue receiued to my inestimable comfort, your gracious letters of the fifteenth of Iuly, for none of my indeuours doe satisfie mee in doing you seruice, vntill I finde them approued by your Maiestie; and when I haue done all that I can, the vttermost effects of my labours doe appeare so little to my owne zeale to doe more, that I am often ashamed to present them vnto your faire and royall eyes, which is the onely cause that I doe not more often presume to present your Maiestie with the account of my proceedings, led on with a hope and restless desire, to improue them vnto some such degree, as might bee more worthy of your knowledge. And whereas it pleaseth your Maiestie to restraime mee from hearkening vnto the Arch-Traitor *Tyrone*, were it not in respect of my desire to cut off suddenly the chargeable thread of this warre, there could nothing come more welcome vnto me, then to bee his continuall Scourge, and as (by the fauour of God) he is already brought to a verie low ebbe, so vtterly to cut him off, or cast him out of this Countrey. And although I haue great reason to presume, that if hee bee not assisted by any forraigne power, the ruine of his estate is certaine, yet how, as a Vagabond Woodkerne, hee may preserue his life, and how long, I know not; and yet therein I humbly desire your Maiestie to beleue, that I will omit nothing, that is possible to be compassed. And for the caution your Maiesty doth vouchsafe to giue mee, about taking in submitties to their aduantage, and to the abuse of your mercy, I beseech your Maiestie to thinke, that in a matter of so great importance, my affection will not suffer me to commit so grosse a fault against your seruice, as to doe any thing, for the which I am not able to giue you a very good account, the which aboue all things, I desire to doe at your owne royall feete, and that your seruice here, may giue me leaue to fill my eyes with their onely deare and desired obiekt. I beseech God confound all your enemies, and vnfaithfull subiects, and make my hand as happy, as my heart is zealous, to doe you seruice.

Your Maiesties truest seruant

Mountioy.

The Fort of *Enishlanghen* aboue mentioned, (the inuesting whereof made the Lord Deputie deferre the taking of the feild), was seated in the midst of a great Bogge, and no way accessable, but through thicke Woods, very hardly passable. It had about it two deepe Ditches, both compassed with strong Pallisadoes, a verie high and thicke rampeire of earth, and timber, and well flanked with Bulworkes. For defence of the place fortie two Musketeres, and some twentie sword-men, were lodged in it. But after that our Forces, with very good industry had made their approches to the first ditch, the besieged did yeeld the place to the Queene and themselves absolutely to her mercy. So a ward of English was left in the Castle, after the spoile thereof was taken, wherein were great store of plate and the chiefe goods of the best men in the Countrey, being all fled to *Tyrone*, and the men there taken were brought bound to the *Newry*, and presented vpon the nineteenth of August to the Lord Deputy.

The same day his Lordship wrote this letter following to Master Secretarie *Cecyll*.

SIR, I haue lately written to you at large, and I haue now no more matter of importance, to trouble you with; onely since my last, we haue taken *Enishlanghen*, a place of great importance, and the strongest that I haue heard of, to bee held by any

Y y

Rebell

Rebell in Ireland. *Henrie Oneale*, the eldest sonne of *Shane Oneale*, is broken out of prison, as his brother did the like long before; and because they doe cast themselves (without all conditions) into her Maiesties protection, I cannot but vse them well: but as things stand now; I doe not see any great vse to be made of them; and I feare I shall be more troubled with them, then if they were still where they were. To morrow (by the grace of God) I am againe going into the field, as neere as I can vtterlie to waste the Countrie of *Tyrone*, and to preuaile the Garrisons there of some Corne, to keepe their horses in the Winter, which being done, I will leaue the Garrisons to take their effect; which when they are well provided, and aswell placed; will doe more then an Armie. And Sir, except things fall out much contrarie to that, which wee haue good reason to expect, I presume, that if the Queene keepe these Garrisons strong, and well provided all this Winter; shee may before the next Spring send into this Kingdome Sir *Robert Gardner*, with some other good Common-wealthsmen, with her pleasure how much, and how euery man shall hold his land, and what lawes shee will haue current here; and I am confident it will bee obeyed. Neither is the reducing of this Province to bee too little regarded; for ill inhabited as it was, with no industrie, and most part wasted, I can assure you, the Earle of *Tyrone* in the time of these warres, did raise vpon *Ulster* aboue foute score thousand pounds by the yeere, and to fall from that excesse, I thinke they might bee brought to yeeld the Queene willingly, much more then ever she expected presently, and in time more then I dare now promise. And after this Winter, I thinke she may withdraw her Garrisons, onely leauing Wardes in the places, and if I bee not much deceived, you shall find, that these men will bee the last of all Ireland, that will forsake the Queenes party, and I presume after this Winter doe the Queene good seruice against the Spaniards, if they come: but if they come before, I cannot tell what I may build on: but I perceiue by your last letter, they are not likely to bee many, and then, although it may stoppe, yet I hope it shall not ouerthrow our worke. If there bee no inuasion here, if I doe not too much deceiue my selfe, I should doe the Queene in her seruice of this Countrie more aduantage, by my coming ouer after Michaelmas, then I can doe here. This Gentleman Sir *Richard Treuer* I perceiue will settle himselfe in these parts, by the which hee may doe her Maiestie good seruice; for it is vnfit such land as hee hath giuen him, should lie waste, and it will bee much better to bee ordered by men of his worth and qualitie. And so Sir I beseech God prosper all the Queenes affaires, and make vs able to doe her the seruice, that her Maiestie doth expect.

Yours Sir to doe you seruice

Mountioy.

The next day, being the twentieth of August, the Lord Deputie tooke the field, and incamped in the midde way betweene the *Newrie* and *Armagh*, and there vnderstanding that *Tyrone* was fled into *Fermanagh*, and thereupon conceiuing that the warre was then chiefly to bee made that way, his Lordship resolved, first, to spoile all the Countrie of *Tyrone*, and to banish all the inhabitants from thence, inioyning such of them as would become subiects, to liue on the South-side of *Blackwater*, so that if *Tyrone* returned, hee should finde nothing in the Countrie but the Queenes Garrisons. Further to preuent his returne, and to make the warre more conueniently vpon him, and the remnant of the Rebels, his Lordship reloued to plant a Garrison at the *Agher*, being *Cormocks* chiefe house, seated neere *Fermanagh*, and neere *Monaghan*, whither Sir *Henrie Dockwra* might draw the greatest part of his forces, and whether in one dayes march (as the passages were now made) most of the forces in the Northerne Garrisons might

might be drawne together. The nine and twentieth day of August his Lordship passed the bridge at *Charle-mount*, ouer the *Blackwater*, and that night encamped by *Dungannon* which his Lordship made defensible, leauing a Ward to keepe the place, to bee a retreat for our men, going out vpon seruice, and to preserue the Oates growing there abouts for our horses in the winter.

There his Lordship receiued this following letter from Master Secretarie.

MY very good Lord, your Packets of the nineteenth and nine and twentieth of Iuly, were yesterday deliuered me, and withall your priuate letter to her Maicstie, dated the tenth of August, all which were very well allowed of, as hereafter more particularly you shall be aduertised, this being rather to aduertise you of their receipt, then that there is left any extraordinary matter for me to write vnto you, which is not contained in the last dispatches from hence, whereof at the writing of your owne, I know you could not aduertise the receipt. One great cause of my writing this priuate letter, is this, that where I see how much it doth distract your minde, to thinke of *Spaine* behind you, and of the North before you, fearing to bee diuerted from the conclusion of your labours, you may perceiue in what estate the preparations of *Spaine* are now, as I am certainly aduertised by one of my owne, who is newly arriued from the Ports of *Lisbone*, where he tooke shipping the one and twentieth of Iuly last (*stilo veteri*.) There are two great ships, each of one thousand tuns, one called the *Saint Andrew*, and the other (which shall be the Vice-admirall) the name forgotten, besides there are but twelue shippes of two hundred tunnes, and downewards, in which it was resolved to send some fiftene hundred men, to haue relieved the siege at *Beere hauen*, the newes of the taking whereof was first knowne there the tenth of Iuly, being written from *Waterford* to *Lisbone*, and not before. Of these fiftene hundred men, eight hundred came from the *Groyn*, being part of those that were transported out of *Ireland*. In the *Groyn* remaineth *Odonnell*, and there is onely the great *Saint Phillip* with ten small barkes, with which he mightily importuned to be sent into the North. If these had been sent into *Beere hauen* in *Mounster*, hoping vpon his arriual with some one thousand or fiftene hundred men, to haue raised the siege, possessed some parts, and made a beginning of a Plantation, hercof great benefit must needes haue growne to the Rebels; for as those small numbers which should haue been landed in *Mounster*, with the bruite of the rest to follow (which is alwaies multiplied), would haue made a distraction of the *Wlster* prosecution, so any petty descent with him in *Wlster*, would haue raised the new hopes of all those Northerne Rebels. And truly (my Lord) when it is considered, how great a benefit it is to the King of *Spaine* to consume the Queene with charge in *Ireland*, by his bestowing onely (once a yeere) some such forlorne Companies, besides that hee thereby keepeth vp some kind of reputation in *Europe*, in following on his first designe, by sending, though a few, which (being added to that which same spreadeth of great numbers) filleth the world with continuall rumour of his vndertaking humour, I cannot be secured, but that he wil stil feede that fier with fewel, although I know it a vanitie to beleue those other fond reports of such mightie preparations, and such Armies, as he is no way able to imbrace: for your Lordship may bee assured, whatsoeuer you heare of gathering of numbers by land to this place or that, they haue been onely for defence against such attempts, as they did ignorantly suspect from the Queene, and the Low-Countries, and to continue obedience within his Kingdom in the South parts, where the Mores haue bin very apt to take armes. And for the Gallies wherof we haue heard so many to be brought out of *Italy*, they were intended for some enterprise vpon *Larache*, so as the bruite that they should haue come for *Ireland* was idle. Only it is true, that Sir *Ri. Leuison* defeated those 8 Gallies, which were come as far to the Norward as *Lisbone*, vnder the conduct of *Spinola*, who vndertook to bring them into the Low-countries for *Sluse*, but of those eight two being sunk, a third spoiled, & neuer able to go to sea, the other 5 were likewise so torne, and the slaues so mangled, as wee look not to heare of the in these quarters this summer, so as I assure you, though our carick proue

nothing so much as we expected, hauing been much pillaged, and many of the goods taken wet, yet hath Sir *Richard Lenison* in this seruice deserued an extraordinary reputation. Thus haue I now deliuered, rather (out of my priuate affection) my priuate opinion, that no great Army is intended, then that I meane to contest against the contrarie opinions (which are here continually multiplied from thence, of the great Armies the King of *Spaine* amasseth), to hinder any preparations which may come from hence, whereby that Kingdome may receiue any comfort: First, because I know the very bruite of Leuies here, must needes giue helpe to your proceedings; next because I know what a folly it is, in cases which concerne a Kingdome, to disswade any manner of supplies, wherof the lacke may proue perillous, especially in this State, which is so exhausted (by that warre of *Ireland* onely) as it is an easie worke to diuert all actions of charge, especially whensoever they may thinke to secure their opinions, by maintaining those grounds to which I should incline, to whose place it principally belongeth to giue best iudgement of forraigne intelligences. I will onely therefore conclude with this, I am sorry to finde my Soueraignes heart so great and magnanimous (though I must confesse she hath very iust cause), as not to be contented to haue made vertue of necessity, and by her pardon of the greatest Rebell, to haue dissolued the strength of the combination, which being still vniited with mindes of dispaire, will multiplie still alienation, wherof so potent an enemy as is the King of *Spaine*, will euer make his benefit; where I am of opinion, that if hee were sure to bee pardoned, and liue in any securitie, with the qualitie of any greatnesse, such is his wearinesse of his miserie (and so of all the rest), as hee would bee made one of the best instruments in that Kingdome. But I haue now gone on too farre, sauing that I am apt to take all occasions to exchange my thoughts with you by letters, praying Almighty God so to blesse your endeouours, as we may more enioy each others company, for the good of her Maiesties seruice. And so I commit you to Gods protection. From the Court at *Hicham* this seuenth of August, 1602.

Your Lordships louing and assured friend to command

Ro. Cecyll.

The Lord Deputie spent some five dayes about *Tullough Oge*, where the *Oneales* were of old custome created, and there he spoiled the Corne of all the Countrie, and *Tyrone*s owne Corne, and brake downe the chaire wherein the *Oneales* were wont to be created, being of stone, planted in the open field. Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, onely with some horse with him, did meete the Lord Deputy here, vpon the thirtieth of August, and brought with him *Ocane*, a late Submittie, hauing left the English foote at the *Omy*, where in like sort were the most part of *O Canes* and young *O Donnell*s horse and foote, victualed at their owne charge, and ready to attend any seruice the Lord Deputy should command them. The same day his Lordship vnderstood, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* was comming towards him by *Killetro*, and that *Randoll Mac Sorley* had offered him to serue the Queene in that iourney with five hundred foote, and fortie horse vpon his owne charge.

Whereupon the Lord Deputie resolved to march with the Army to *Dannamore*, and thence to the *Agher*, and in the second daies march vpon the sixth of September, his Lordship receiued letters from the Lord President of *Mounster*, that foure and twentie Spanish ships were bruite to be arriued at *Beere-hauen*, which newes, though his L^d kept secret, yet the whole Countrie was presently ful of it, and from all parts he receiued the like alarums, insomuch as amongst the Irish it was constantly beleued, that some Spanish ships were arriued at *Carlingford*. Notwithstanding, his Lordship left a Garison at the *Agher*, being a Castle seated in an Island, and he intrenched a large piece of ground for greater forces, when Sir *Henrie Dockwra* should draw them thither vpon any seruice, and from that Castle his Lordship brought away two brasse pieces.

Tyrone.

* See *Martins Western Islands of Scotland*. p. 102. 241. Lond: 8^{vo} 1716.
Borlases Antiq. of Cornwall. p. 205. Lond: fol: 1769.
Coxes Trav: Daire Sea, Sweden & Danemark. 1743. 3. p. 215.
Ledwich & Antiquities Ireland. p. 149. Dublin. 4^{to} 1790.
2^d B. of Kings. Ch: 11. v. 14. Ch: 23. v. 3.

Tyrone, *Brian Mac Art*, *Mac Mahonnd*, and *Cormack Mac Barron*, were fled into the bottome of a great Fastnesse, towards the end of *Lough Erne*, whom his Lordship followed as farre as hee could possibly carry the Army, yet came not within twelue miles of them, besides, they had a way from thence into *Orurkes* Country, to which the Army could not passe. *Mac Guyre* had lately left them, and receiued the Queenes protection from Sir *Henrie Folliott*, vpon condition to put in good pledges for his loyalty, and to giue *Oconnor Roe Mac Guyre* the land belonging to him, and to build vp the Castle of *Eniskellin*, which he lately brake downe, deliuering the same built at his owne charge into the Queenes possession: and *Tyrone* and his abouenamed confederates were all poore, and all the Rebels following them, were not aboue fixe hundred foote, and sixtie horse.

Vpon the seuenth of September, his Lordship vnderstood by letters from Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, that he was called back from the prosecution of *Orurke*, by like newes of the Spaniards arriual.

The same day his Lordship sent backe Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, and directed him to draw most of his forces (with as much victuals as he could put vp) to the *Omy*, and from thence to the *Agher*, being twelue miles distant & faire way, there to be resident, and to make the warre till haruest were past, being alwaies ready to follow his Lordships further directions vpon any landing of Spaniards. Likewise the next day his Lordship sent backe Sir *Arthur Chichester*, directing him to lie at *Mountain* Garrison, clearing the Country of *Tyrone* of all inhabitants, and to spoile all the Corne which he could not preferue for the Garrisons, and to deface al the Islands formerly taken, being ready to draw vpon the Rebels, if they should make any head; yet with aduise to bee likewise readie to answer any new directions, if the Spaniards should arriue.

So his Lordship marched backe with his Army, and vpon the ninth of September diuided all the waste land on the Southside of *Blackwater* towards the *Newry*, betweene *Hen. Mac Shane* and *Con Mac Shane*, sons to *Shane O Neale*, only with leaue to liue there with their Creaghts, and such followers as should come vnto them, till her Maesties pleasure were further knowne, and inioyning them to sow their Corne for the next yeere vpon the Plaines.

Thus his Lordship bringing backe with him into the Pale fourteene Companies of foote, and one hundred horse, came to the *Newry* the eleuenth of September, and the next day in his and the Counsels letters to the Lords in *England*, after the relation of the former seruices, wrote as followeth.

We haue taken the best pledges we could of such as are become subiects, al of them haue assisted vs with Cowes, most of them with carriages, with men, and with their owne presence, so as if forraigne forces doe not arriue, we make no doubt of them, nor to bring the rest to what termes shall bee fittest for her Maesties Honour and profit. Wee haue thought fit to suffer most of the Natives of *Tyrone*, (the rest being put ouer the River of the *Bann*), to follow *Henry* and *Con Mac Shane*, and perchance many of them wil not quit them, though the Traitor should returne and grow strong. But for all euents, we haue spoiled and meane to spoile their Corne, & in respect of the garrisons, and of the *Blackwater*, their Creaghts can hardly returne, but they wil be still at our command. If they should proue false, we haue good bridles vpon them, and at any time their followers, vpon leaue to dwell in *Tyrone*, will easily forsake them. These followers seeme to desire nothing more, then to hold their land of the Queene without any dependancy vpon the *Oneales*. Howsoeuer, for the present, wee thinke good to hold them thus together, partly for the good of the seruice, and to giue these two young men some livelyhood, who (with the rest) being vnterly reiecte, might by some desperate course much prolong the warre; and partly (wee must confesse freely) out of humane commiseration, hauing with our eyes daily seene the lamentable estate of that Countrey, wherein wee found euerie where men dead of famine; in so much, that *Ohagan* protested vnto vs, that betweene

Tillogh Oge and *Toome* there lay vnburied a thousand dead, and that since our first drawing this yeere to *Blackwater*, there were aboue three thousand starued in *Tyrone*. And sute the poore people of those parts neuer yet had the meanes to know God, or to acknowledge any other Soueraigne then the *O Neales*, which makes mee more commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter. When wee haue conferred with the rest of the Countell at *Dublin*, and are better informed of the state of those parts, we will againe presume to write to your Lordships. In the meane time we hasten thither, finding here all, both subiects and others, as fully possessed of the Spaniards coming, as if they were already arrived. The like opinion (as we heare) is generally ouer all *Ireland*, vpon what ground we know not, for we haue not heard any such substantiall intelligence, excepting the brute aduertised by the Lord President, and a generall brute brought hither by all shipping, of huge preparations in *Spaine*, and whether it be desire or feare that makes this report beleued, it is strange to see how generally and strongly it is apprehended: Wee must renew our former motion to your Lordships, that if the Spaniards doe land here, wee may speedily bee supplied with munition, artillery, and all things else that wee haue written for, or that your Lordships in your wisdomes shall finde to be needfull for vs, who can best iudge what will be fit for an action of so great consequence. And for that we shall be necessarily enforced, where soeuer they happen to arrive, to draw all the forces of the Kingdome together, to make head against them, by which meanes these Northerne parts (specially) being left bare, such as haue most readily; and with best arguments of sincere meaning submitted themselves to her Maiesties mercy; with intent to liue duritully as becommeth subiects, will be left againe to the tyranny of the Arch-Rebell, for want of defence. We beseech your Lordships to consider, whether it were not more profitable for her Maiestie (though for the present somewhat the more chargeable) to inable vs to make the warre vpon the Spaniards, and yet to go on too with this prosecution in some measure, then for lacke of a conuenient force to be kept on foote, to loose the benefit of our trauell all this Summer, and the charge her Maiestie hath been at in planting Garrisons, which being kept, would so bridle all these Countries, as they should neither haue any benefit of the Spaniards landing, nor the Spaniards any vse of them, nor of their victuals, all their Countries being commanded by some of the Garrisons that would keepe them from stirring to ioyne with others, for feare of losing all their owne at home. It is true, that by the putting of new men hither when we shall haue drawne out the old against the Spanish Army (which will be a worke of most necessitie), it cannot be expected, that the seruice of those new men will worke such effect, as the old Bands would; yet may it be hoped, the effect will bee sufficient to keepe the Irish from ioyning with the Spaniard, seeing for the most part they shall liue in Garrisons and shall not neede to bee drawne into the field, vnlesse onely for some short iourney, which will not last aboue two or three daies at a time. And if her Maiestie be not pleased to like of this motion, or seeme vnwilling to disfurnish her selfe of so many men and Armes, we humbly leaue it to your Lordships to consider, whether it would not bee fit for that purpose, to entertaine two or three thousand Scots, which we thinke might readily be sent ouer to *Loughfoyle* or *Carickfergus*, and being inland Scots, and not Irish Scots, and good securitie had to serue her Maiestie faithfully, they would in all likelihood better endure the winters hardnesse, and happily be found fitter for any seruice, then such new men as come vsually from *England*, which yet we moue no further, then as a remembrance, because we perceiued the last yeere such a matter was thought vpon. If the Spaniards come not, we doubt not but to giue your Lordships a very good account of all things here, to her Maiesties liking, yet must we desire the speedie sending ouer of the victuals contracted for, that should haue come in Iuly and August last, but no part yet landed that we heare of; for without those victuals these Garrisons will be vnfurnished, which depend wholly thereupon. And we are further to moue your Lordships, to cause to be sent ouer a very great proportion of salt and bread; for by prey-beeues gotten from the Rebels, and good numbers had of the protectees, whom we haue caused to furnish vs for our mony, we

haue

haue vsed a great kind of sparing of the victuals in the store, excepting bread onely. And we doubt not but many of the Garrisons will be able to helpe themselves many times with beeuies, so as they may haue salt to powder them, while the season lasts, and will not neede to take from the victualers any thing but bread, which now they will not deliuer them alone, vnlesse they be so directed from your Lordships.

The same twelth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the *Newry* this following letter to Master Secretary in *England*.

SIR, you will vnderstand by our letters to my Lords, how hitherto wee haue bestowed our time. Being returned backe to the *Newry*, I find all the world strangely possessed of the coming of the Spaniards, although I cannot learne of any assured ground they haue therof. Vpon the general concurrence from al parts of such bruite, I did imploy two as likely instruments as any are, to know the truth, and to learne what assurance *Tyrone* himselfe had from *Spaine*. They vndertooke vpon their liues, that all the intelligence he hath receiued of succours, is onely by letters out of the Pale. *Tyrone* hath many waies made importunate meanes to be receiued to mercy: but I did still reiect him, and published it, that her Maiesty had commanded me not to hearken vnto him, yet still he continued to vrge me to become a suter to the Queene for him. It is true, I haue been euer loth to negotiate with him any other wise then with my sword, because I find it dangerous for my selfe, considering the Queenes resolution: but vpon the receipt of my Lord Presidents letter of a new Spanish inuasion, I adu ventured thus farre to entertaine his motions, that if he would sweare to submit himselfe absolutely to her Maiesties mercy (if it should please her to receiue him), whatsoever succour he should receiue in the meane time, I would onely vndertake to become an humble sutor vnto her Maiestie for him, so that notwithstanding till I knew her pleasure, I would not delist in my prosecution. This day he sent one to me, agreeing to so much, but with all propounding certaine Articles that he desired should bee granted: whereupon misliking that he should in any wise capitulate, I commanded his messenger presently to depart, and forbad him to send any more to me, and to cut off all hope to his party, I haue directed all the Garrisons anew to proclame his head, and the like to be done in the Creaghtes of such as are become subiects. In the meane time *N. N.* out of his owne head, and by that general authorie that is giuen to al Commanders to parley with Rebels, hath spoken with *Tyrone*, to the effect of his owne letter, which euen now I receiued, and such as it is I send it you. I protest before the eternall God it was without my priuie: but I must beare with him for greater faults then this; for he and all the Irish are very irregular, though he be fit enough for the charge. I haue giuen him, which is onely of Irish Companies, in a Garrison which of all other I can worst victuall, and they will make best shift for themselves, and greatest spoile vpon the enemy. I haue commanded him to meddle no more with *Tyrone*; for if I should thinke it fit, I would imploy one better instructed for that purpose. It is true Sir, that for many respects I haue been fearefull to deliuer freely my opinion, what course I thinke fit to be taken with *Tyrone*, and so am I now: but if it shall please her Maiestie to trust me with the authoritie to hearken vnto him, I would neuer vse it, but when I should bee sure to giue her a very good account of my proceedings therein; for the lower he is brought, the more it will be for the Queenes honour to shew him mercie, and it is thought he might bee made an excellent instrument, if *Spaine* continue their purposes for this Kingdome. If the Queene bee resolved neuer to receiue him, it is most necessary that *Ulster* should presently be made a Prouinciall Gouvernement; for this people seeme to thirst for iustice, and by that meanes the dependancy vpon the *Oncles* will be soone extinguished. If the Queene be loth to augment her charge. I thinke it were much better that the institution of *Connaght*, were discontinued, and the like Officers to be transferred hither. It is true, that in all *Ireland*, for the good of the generall seruice, there is no place so fit for the Deputy to be resident, as at *Athlone*, and if he were there, *Connaght* would little neede a Gouvernour. I haue here but little time, and much to doe, and therefore I cannot write to you of all things so largely as I

would, the which I purpose to doe when I come to *Dablyn*, onely of this I pray you Sir resolue me by your next: We haue here the worst intelligence, of any Instruments that any Prince in Christendome doth imploy in so waighy a bulinesse; I doe know some; that I doe thinke were fit to be imployed both in *Spaine* and about the Traitor here, yet though I know my selfe to be honest, they may proue knaues. If the Queene be so confident of my faith, that shee will be pleased to make the best interpretations of what I shall doe therein, I should be able to doe her perchance some good seruice, and giue my selfe greater light of all things, then now I haue, but if shee mislike it, I will onely lay about me with my Sword, though it be in the darke. It is not a Letter, nor a reasonable Booke, that can deliuer all such conceits of mine, as I thinke necessary to let you know of this Kingdome, wherefore I dispaire to docit, till I may haue the happinesse to see you. If I had any certainty that the feare of *Spaine* were past, I would make a great diminution of the Lyft, wherefore I pray you Sir, if you haue in *England* any assurance thereof, let me know it as soone as you can, but here we looke for them euery hower, and (they say) in the Pale it is held as sure, as if they were already come. If you shew the inclosed Letter, I pray you put your finger on the latter part, or blot it out; and yet if I thought the Queene would not bee angry, I would giue the Lady leaue to come to her Brother, for I am loth to make warre with Weomen, especially since shee is now great with child.

The same twelfth day of September, his Lordship wrote from the *Newry* to Sir *Oliuer Lambert* Gouvernour of *Connaght* this following letter.

Sir yesterday at my comming to this Towne, your messenger deliuered mee your Letters, containing a relation of your proceedings, since your going to the Abby of *Boyle*, where and in your returne thence, I perceiue you haue had some knocking on both sides, and the Rebels being so many as you note, I haue good cause to bee glad you sped so wel, and parted with so good reputation to our side, and so little losse withall, which I doubt not proceeded chiefly from your good command and managing of that bulinesse, for which I may not omit to yeeld you many thanks, neither will I be sparing to testifie so much, where it may most redound to your due and well deserved commendation. Yet must I withall note, that it somewhat grieues me, to obserue so great an alteration in those that of late seemed desirous (or at least not vnwilling) to receiue her Maiesties mercy, for that I haue some reason to bee doubtfull, that this sudden change proceedeth not altogether out of a certaine expectation of Spanish succours, but out of some opinion they haue conceiued, of a purpose you haue to dispossesse the principall men of their lands and liuings, and to get the same into her Maiesties hands, by indictments and Offices to be found thereof; and if they once entertaine such a conceit, they will assuredly put vp all to any hazard, and to their vttermost means shun to be reclaimed, which I must acknowledge to you, I do the rather doubt, in that *Tybot ne long* hath grievously complained to me, of the committall of his Cousen *Dauye Bourke*, and some hard vsage towards himselfe, for which he seemes fearefull to come to you, and therefore desires my license to go for *England*, which I haue now sent him, with this purpose, to giue him contentment as much as may bee, and yet when he comes to mee, I meane to schoole him, and so I hope to hold him in good termes, for so at this time especially it doth behoue vs, to bring our great worke to the better conclusion. I make no question, but that both he, and *O Connor Sligo*, and the rest of them, doe all somewhat iuggle and play on both hands, to serue their owne turnes, and therefore truly deserue the lesse fauour, for they so doe here for the most part, and yet I winke at it.

But since it behoueth vs so greatly to draw the warre to an end, to ease her Maiestie of that exceeding charge and consumption of men and Armes, which her Maiestie and the State of *England* are growne verie wearie of, and indeed vnwilling to continue much longer. Wee that are here imployed as chiefe instruments, to effect what so earnestly is desired, must beare more for our Countries good, then our owne natures can

can well endure, and therefore let mee aduise you, with much earnestnesse to apply your selfe vnto it, as the onely and sole meanes to make our doings acceptable in *England*, where we must be censured, and by your next let me know certainly I pray you, whether you haue done any thing already for the intituling of her Maiesty to any of their lands in that Prouince, or whether you haue any way attempted it, or giuen them cause to suspect it. I shall be well satisfied with your answer, presuming that you will doe it sincerely, yet if any such thing be, I pray you proceed no further in it, but labour by all meanes to winne them, both because I know it to be her Maiesties pleasure, and that the multitude of Subiects is the glory of a Prince, and so euery way it is fittest to reclaime rather then destroy them, if by any good meanes it might be wrought. *O Connor Sligo* (as you know) was restrained of his liberty by the Rebels, and that (I thinke) vpon a letter I sent vnto him, so that hee hath a iust pretence for his standing out so long, and for any action into which he shall enter, neither shall we be able to disproue his allegations, though perhaps himselfe be not innocent, neither at the beginning, nor now. You must therefore be content to thinke, that what he doth, is by compulsion, though indeed you doe not thinke so for some reasons apparant to your selfe: Your stone worke at *Galloway* about the Bulworkes will I feare proue chargeable, and very long; yet can I doe no more then recommend it to your good husbandry and discretion, who may best iudge what is fittest. *Tyrone* is not yet gone ouer the *Earne*, but lies betwene that and *Ruske*, where I haue planted a garrison, and another at the *Agber*, hard by the *Clogher*, which lie both very fitly to doe seruice vpon him. To the former all the Garrisons neere the *Blackewater*, and that at *Mountioy* and *Monaghan* may fitly draw vpon all occasions, and so I haue lefe order with Sir *Arthur Chichester*, who hath the chiefe care of all: And to the latter and to *Omy*, (which is but twelue miles from it) Sir *Henry Dockwra* hath promised me to put vp most of the Forces of *Loughfoyle*, and to liethereabout himselfe. To *Eniskillie* or there about, Sir *Henry Follyot* hath direction to draw his whole Force, leauing a Ward onely at *Ballishannon* and *Beleeke*, which is already done, but hee hath not his boates yet from you, which is a great hinderance vnto him, and therefore I pray you send them with all speed possible, if they be not gone already. Touching your motion for Master Atturney, I now returne to *Dnblyn*, where if he cause it to be moued at the Table, I will with the rest yeeld to any thing that is fit. In the meane time you may vse the chiefe Iustice in those busineses, who hath allowance for his diet, and is of great experience and continuance in that Prouince, so as thereby hee may best know euery mans disposition. I pray you let me heare from you againe with as much speed as you can, touching the state of that Prouince vnder your gouernement. And so hoping, for all these late brutes, that we shall not this yeere be troubled by the Spaniards, or if we be, that their number shall be small, (for so Master Secretary hath confidently written to me out of *England*), I commend me right heartily to you. From the *Nemry* this twelfth of *September* 1602.

The Lord Deputy being arriued at *Dnblyn*, and this Summers seruice ended, since the composing of the Irish troubles was henceforward to bee wrought by the garrisons planted in all parts vpon the Rebels, and the settling of the State to be managed by Counsellors, Sir *Henry Dauers* Serieant Maior of the Armie, was the rather induced by the necessity of his priuate affaires, to discontinue his seruice in *Ireland*. Whereupon his place of Serieant Maior being void, was conferred vpon Sir *Arthur Chichester*. And because Sir *Richard Moryson* had a pretence to the place by former hopes giuen him from the Lord Deputy, his Lordship to giue him contentment, raised his Company of foote, reduced lately in a generall cash to 150, to the former number of two hundred.

The seuen and twenty of *September* the Lord Deputy at *Dnblyn* receiued from the Lords in *England* this following letter, directed to his Lordship and the Counsell of *Ireland*.

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell there. Whereas your Lordship in your late letters of the twenty nine

of

of the last Iuly doth aduertise vs of a great abuse crept in amongst the Ministers of the victuals in that Realme, namely that you cannot know from any of them, when the victuals arriue in any Port, nor whether it be of an old contract or a new, nor whether it be for her Maiesty or themselves, and by that meanes you can neuer find how you are provided for, nor what you may further expect, and (which is worse) that the Rebels doe get of the best victuals that are sent thither, and you cannot call the Victualer to account thereof, because he affirmes stiffly that he is warranted by vs to sell it for his benefit, and so as he sell it to the subiect (how ill soeuer affected) it is no fault of his, if the Rebels afterwards get it. Vpon this information from your Lordship, we haue not onely called all the Victualers to account how this great abuse is committed, but haue perused our former order taken this time 2 yeeres, when we contracted with them to appoint commissaries there, for the keeping & issuing of victuals, by whose default (being their Ministers) it should seeme these lewd parts are plaied. Therefore for your Lordships satisfaction in the first point, the answer of *tolles* and *Cockaine* will suffice, who doe absolutely affirme, that they sent no other victuals thither then such as by contract they were tied to send. And though they send often a greater proportion then will serue to furnish any contract, yet that doth alwaies appeare vnto vs vpon the certificates of the Inuoyes, and wee that vndergoe the principall care of those matters here, haue inioined them to haue alwaies a good proportion in store to serue vpon all occasions, whereof they send (as they find conuenient shipping) often times a large quantity before hand, more then by contract they are bound vnto. For if they should not make prouision before wee contract with them, it would be hard for them to performe the same in so short a time, and by such daies as we must of necessity limit vnto them, vpon diuersity of accidents and demands from you, and the ouerplus doth alwaies passe into the next contract: But in that your Lordship doth find fault, that you can neuer be informed vpon what contract the victuals are provided, which doe arriue there, we must remember vnto you the order we haue alwaies obserued here, which will easily reconcile the difficulties in this matter. First therefore your Lordship is to call to minde, that wee here for the most part, in the making of our contracts, both for the quantity of the victuals, the time to haue it there, and the places of vnlading the same, are directed by such letters as wee receiue from your Lordship and you of the Counsell, and by such certificats as are sent vs from the Surueyor of the victuals from thence, which Surueyor ordinarily hath certified vnto vs the quantities that arriue there. Then so soone as any contract is made with the vndertakers, wee send an abstract thereof vnto your Lordship, both of the seuerall kinds, and for how many men, and for what time the same is provided, and to what place the same is to bee transported. By which your Lordship may know what you are to expect, and for more assurance, wee haue required of your Lordship by diuers letters to appoint certaine discreet persons at the Ports, where the same is to bee landed and vnladen, to see and visit those victuals, and to take knowledge both of the quantities, kinds, and goodnes, and that (with good vsage) the same is likely to continue the space of fife moneths from the landing thereof, which direction if it were duly obserued and performed, your Lordship needed no other certificat to satsfie you in all respects. And wee haue vsually receiued from Master *Newcomen* the Surueyor of the victuals, very exact certificats of the quantities of victuals that arriue there, as also of the goodnesse, and vpon what contract they were sent: For vntill the contract be full, all the victuals sent thither are to satsfie the same, and if there be any ouerplus, it is reserved for the next contract. For the vndertakers absolutely denie the sending of any victuals thither, but such as is to serue the Souldier, and to performe the Contracts, so as all the victuals are to be accompted for her Maiesties prouision. Therefore it were farre easier for your Lordship, to haue the like certificat there. Thus as wee haue remembered vnto you the directions we haue giuen vnto your Lordship: So wee haue thought good to acquaint you with the rest of the course we hold here, which you shal vnderstand to be in this manner: Vpon euery Contract we make, we giue the Victualers an imprest before hand, to provide those victuals they contract for: but the whole

whole summe that they are to haue by that agreement they neuer receiue vntill they doe produce true Certificates from the Officers of the Ports, that the full proportions which they are tied to contract and prouide, is laden on ship-board, and ready to be transported of good and wel conditioned victuals, according to the Contract. And therefore if your Lordship will bee as strict to call for the certificates of the vnlading there, as we doe cause the Inuoy to be perused, there can be no abuse in that case, considering all the victuals sent thither commeth to the Magazines, and how much soeuer it is, all is for the vse of the Souldier. For the other point your Lordship doth complaine of, that the Ministers there doe sell the victuals, and their peremptory vntue and respectlesse answeres vnto you: It is the desire of the victualers (as this information is generall) that your Lordship will not onely be informed of the particular abuses committed by any Officer or Commissary there, but to take a seuerer course to see them exemplarily punished. For we haue giuen no other licence for the selling of victuals, then your Lordship hath bene acquainted with all, in the contracts made with the Victualers in August was two yeeres, which was in these words: And because it is not possible in so great a masse of prouisions, with all the care that may be vsed, by reason of transporting and tossing them to and fro, but some will perish, and decay. In this case their Lordships are pleased, that the foresaid Commissaries deputed now by the Merchants, shall be permitted to vtter and sell to the poore in the market Townes where they reside, and neere vnto them, such victuals as are decaiable, and vnfit to be vttered to the souldier. And by the instructions giuen to the Commissaries, there is a clause, whereby they are restrained: That if there shall fall out any wast in the prouisions, either by leake, moisture, or other casualty and accident, by transportation by land or by Sea, or by any vnfit or inconuenient roomes to place or house the same victuals, then they are to acquaint the chiefe Commander, Colonell, or Counsell therewith, and procure some sufficient testimony for the manifesting of the truth, and of the quantity, that is decaied, surprized by any ambush of the Enemy, or by fier, or other ineuitable danger become vnfit to be vsed, that it may appeare, that happened not by their negligence and default, the which being certified, her Maiesty in that case to beare the losse and wast thereof. Therefore we maruell your Lordship would indure so insolent an answer, to be made by inferiour Officers, knowing wee alwaies doe send your Lordship the Coppies of those agreements and Articles wee make with any victualer. And in this Article this consideration onely did leade vs, that if by long keeping, often remouing, or other casualty, the victuals shall not be fit for the Souldier, then your Lordship or the prouinciall Gouvernour, or such as you shall appoint, being acquainted therewithall, we thought it more fit, (and now doe so, and not otherwise) that the same may be sold to the poore in the next markets, then that the losse should light on her Maiesty. Neuerthelesse in those cases, wee referre it to your Lordships iudgement and discretion, whom her Maiesty doth trust with so great a gouernement, to order them as you shall see cause. To conclude therefore, if that caution wee tooke for the good of the Souldier, (that no euill victuals should be thrust vpon him), shall be abused and peruered to supply the need of the Rebels, and the Souldier the worse serued, we thinke this matter worthy of strict examination and as seuerer punishment, as may be inflicted vpon offenders in so high a degree, which we earnestly require may be done, and that in all these and like cases, your Lordship will consider, that we of her Maiesties Counsell here, that are absent from thence, doe proceed generally in these matters, as reason doth direct vs, and as we receiue light from you and the Counsell there: but your Lordship, that doth know the state of the Kingdome, and see the particular course and disposition of things there, and what is fit and not fit, may easily reforme those inconueniences and abuses that happen, and are committed, and informe vs of those particulars that are not within our knowledge, that these matters may be carried with more perfect order and rule, for the good of the Souldier, whose wellfare is onely intended and sought herein, to her Maiesties excessive charge, and our great trouble. This is another great abuse, and
though

though it be not pertaining to this matter, yet by reason of late we haue discovered the same to be very common, we haue thought good to informe your Lordship thereof, and earnestly to pray you and the rest of the Counsell, to giue strict order it may be auoided. The matter is this, wee find by diuers examinations taken, that it is a common practice, that if any Seruing-man, Countrey-fellow, or labouring-man, happen to be maimed or grievously hurt, by any mischance or disorder, if he be in any of the Countries neere to the Sea-side, or any Port where shipping doth goe for *Ireland*, hee will find passage there, and follow the Army in some Company or other, and doe such seruices as he is able, and when he hath gotten some knowledge of the Countrey, and of the Captaines and chiefe Officers, then he procureth a passport from some Captaine or other, or else he getteth his name to be inserted in some generall passport, as a man (by reason of hurts receiued) vnfit for seruice, and so vpon his comming ouer hither againe, hee is recommended into the Countrey for a Pension, by which meanes the Countries are burthened with this kind of men, and the poore Souldier, that is indeed maimed in the warres, is disapointed and hindered of that pension he ought to haue. This is to be reformed by two meanes: First that order be taken no maimed men, that haue receiued their hurts in seruice, be sent away in a generall passe, because the Statute doth require a particular certificat from their Generall, certifying the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath receiued: Next the remedy is, that no such passports be giuen but by subscription of your Lordship, the prouinciall Gouvernours, or chiefe Colonels, vnder whom he doth serue, expressing the hurts and maimes the Souldier hath receiued, and in what seruice, and vnder what Captaine, and the office and place he held in that Company. This by generall direction being obserued, will auoid the number of counterfet Souldiers, and giue due way to the reliefe of the maimed Souldier, who indeed without such particular certificat, ought not by the Statute to be releued; and the want thereof hath beene great hinderance to many poore men. Therefore nothing doubting but your Lordship will take order herein accordingly, we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From the Court at *Oatlands*, the 29 of *August* 1602.

The eighth of October, the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President of *Mounster*, that howsoeuer by reason of *Cormacks* escape, he could not for the present spare the horse and the foote which were with him aboue the *Mounster* Lyft, vnder the command of Sir *Samuel Bagnoll*, yet hee would not faile to send fiftie horse presently into *Connaght*, whether hee purposed shortly to take his iourney, being now busie about preparation for the same. And further his Lordship prayed him, to send a good proportion of victuals from the store in *Limricke* by water to *Athlone*, without which the Forces could not be kept together in that Prouince, and accordingly his Lordship gaue order, that boats should be sent from *Athlone* to *Limrick*, to fetch the same. And wheras his Lordship had written to the Sheriffes in *Mounster*, to leauy certaine beeuies for the Army, he prayed the Lord President to giue them assistance, for taking them vp, and sending them into *Connaght* with all conuenient speede.

The fifteenth of October, the Lord Deputy was aduertised from the Lord President, that *Cormock Mac Dermott* lately escaped, had made sute to him to be reconciled to the State, and that vpon his answer, that if he would iustifie himselfe to be innocent, he should haue a iust triall, or if he would confesse his faults, then he would be a suter to the L. Deputie for his pardon, hee the said *Carmock* had made choise to sue for pardon, rather then to stand to his triall. And that in the meane time all the Castles in his Country were possessed for her Maiesty, & his followers disposed vnder other Lords vpon good assurance, beside the faction which was nourished against him among his neere Kinsmen, which things made him vnable to doe any hurt, so as if his Lordship had any occasion to imploy in *Connaght* the forces which were in *Mounster* aboue the Lift of the Prouince, his Lordship might dispose of them at his pleasure. Further, the Lord President aduertised, that he vnderstood by one *James Blacke*, lately come out of *Spaine*, that *O Donnell* was dead there, and that this newes was most certaine.

The

The twentieth of October, the Lord Deputy dispatched Captaine *Blany* from *Dublin* with Commission to gouerne the Garrisons of *Ruske* and *Monaghan*, (recalling Sir *Christopher S. Laurence* and Captaine *Esmond*, from that command, to repaire to *Dublin*, that his L^d might heare and compose the differences risen betweene them.) He had further order to leaue Captaine *Atherton*, to gouerne the Fort of *Mount Norreys*, whereof he had formerly the command; likewise to put vp good store of victuals from the *Newry*, to those Garrisons, and to deliuer letters to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, with whom he was to concur in the intended seruices for those parts. He was directed to know from *Mac Mahown* his resolute answer, whether he would submit himselfe vpon the conditions sent vnto him, and if he refused them, then to giue him no further time of protection, but to prosecute him presently by all meanes. To giue *O Gonnor Roe Mac Gnyre* his best assistance, to establissh him in his Countrey, and for the other *Mac Gnyre* in rebellion, not to accept any submission from him, except he vndertake some extraordinarie good seruice, because he had lately abused the fauour, offered him by Sir *Henrie Folliot*, Gouvernour of *Ballishannon*. Lastly, whereas some of *Tyrones* Captaines offered to come from him, to serue the Queene, he was directed to intertaine those offers, and either to draw them from him, or to make any vse of those offers, and treating with them, which he in his discretion should thinke fit.

The one and thirtieth of October, the Lord Deputy receiued from her Maiesty this following letter directed to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell here.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right Trusty and Welbeloued, and Trustie and Welbeloued, Wee greet you well. We haue been acquainted with your dispatches to our Counsel of the fourteenth, and to Our Secretary *Cecyll* of the thirteenth. In the first whereof We haue perceiued the successe of your last prosecution, wherein as We haue cause, so We doe blesse God, that he hath so prospered you & our forces vnder your charge, as Our enemies are not so hasty to attempt Vs anew, or Our rebels able to interrupt your proceedings; which letter being for the most part but a iournall, requireth no other answer but this, That We doe yeeld vnto your selfe, and to Our faithfull and louing subiects that haue assisted you, both praise and thanks for your good seruice. And now because We know your affection is so well mixed with vnderstanding of the state We stand in, both here and there, as you can well consider of what importance it is to Vs to ease our Kingdom of those great or rather infinite charges, which We haue thus long sustained, which stil continuing in that height, would take away the true feeling of our Victories, We haue thought good to deliuer you Our pleasure in that behalfe; for it were almost as good for Vs to lacke a great part of their reduction, as to be driuen to that charge in keeping them, which our Crowne of *England* cannot indure, without the extreme diminution of the greatnes and felicity thereof, and alienation of Our peoples minds from Vs, considering that for these only rebellions in *Ireland*, We haue bin forced to part with many of Our ancient possessions, which are part of Our flowers of our Crowne, and to draw from our subiects (a thing contrary to Our nature) those great paiments, which (but for the hope they had, that the same should serue to work their future ease and respiration) they would not so willingly haue borne, nor We so iustly could haue imposed vpon them. In al which considerations, though it is true, that the authoritie & direction may be expected from Vs, to whō almighty God hath only giuen the supream power, to warrant your proceedings in matters of such importance, yet because in this one point of abating of Our forces now, from the proportion whereat they stand, you had alwaies in your owne iudgement the certaine Idea thereof, as a thing that you resolved to doe, so soone as the expectation of the Spanish Army was passed ouer, Wee rather thinke (if you haue obserued the iudgement which you haue made by your last letter of the improbabilitie of their comming in those times with any power), that these Our letters shall serue more to approue your actions, or at the least your resolutions, to abridge all those charges, which were either meere raised in that only expectation,

Station, or were onely necessary to bee tollerated, vntill you had planted those Garrisons in this prosecution, then that you are now to begin it; which if it bee so, wee doe then command you to proceede with it with all possible speede, both because the preservation of our treasure, and the very true reasons of State doe require it, and for that there is neither appearance of any forraigne Army, neither are the Rebels (by your owne description) of any force to make any dangerous head against you. So as if now our charge should still continue, wee know not in what time it should be abated. To conclude therefore in that point, Wee do referre the numbers, the places, and persons, to be ordered by you wholly, and by the aduice of Our Counsell there. And Wee will for the present onely lay before you in generall, some things out of square in that Kingdome, which would bee looked vnto. First, Wee finde diuers Officers and Ministers intertained, with many other charges, which are superfluous, whereof the error growes vpon a conceit that our charges are casie, in respect of the mixed coine, whereof your owne iudgement can best informe you, all circumstances considered. Wee doe also find lacke in the managing of diuers possessions, which are wonne vnto vs, as well as in collecting and answering former duties, all which would both by your discretion and your authoritie be thought of, and distributed to persons, to order with time according to their seuerall offices, to the intent the World may see, the end of our prosecution is to reforme the Kingdome, to reuiue Iustice and order, and not still to suffer these licentious expences, or loose costs, in many things, by many inferior persons vnremedied, although while the Kingdome was inuaded by a powerfull enemy, and torne in pieces with a domesticall rebellion, wee know the time could not admit such reformatiōs, as may be vied in greater calmes. And wee must say to you our Treasurer, that when we remember your owne words, concerning the point of the exchange in the first alteration of our coine, how you told vs still, that in continuance of time euery second issue would so recompence the first returne, as the exchange might wel enough be borne, Wee little thought we should haue scene so many billes subscribed with your owne hand and your Ministers, to be paid here in sterling. For as it was not our meaning, nor euer shall be, whensoever in *verbo Regio* Wee publish any thing, to make it the instrument of deceit; so Wee euer reposed so much in your iudgement, as when you should see an abuse, or a plaine corrupt traffick made of that liberty of exchange, which we onely vouchsafed to erect for the vse of those, that should not make it a trade, then you would either haue found the meanes to discover their fraude, and so wholly haue reiected their billes, and punished the fault, or else (if you could not haue hit the very bird of their deceit in the eye) you would (taking it *pro concessio*, that a fault there was) haue taken some such exceptions against them, as might haue serued so to haue suspended your allowance, as they should not haue had from you so good warrant to demand that iustly of vs, which is so excessiue a burthen vnto vs, the rather seeing Merchants should by all constitutions bestow the money they receiue for wares vnto, in the naturall commodities of the Countrey, which imposition would haue bridled them very much, and is not vniust, seeing it cannot be denied, but that there are some commodities (as Hides, Tallow, Yarne, and many other things) whereon they might haue bestowed some money, and not haue made ouer such great summes. Where you may perceiue, that to all those which serued the Armie, and for the billes due to the officers and souldiers, wee haue made no difficultie, although we know (if it were examined) that in their exchanging ouer so much money as some doe, there is some indirect dealing: we would not haue you thinke (whom we know to be honest diligent and a sufficient seruant) that we doe touch you in the least degree with lacke of sinceritie, or desire to doe vs seruice (for of both these Wee haue great reason to take gracious recognition) but rather to let you to know how sensible Wee are of the clamour, how negligent your Deputies haue been in many places to charge Vs here: how great portion of treasures is due by your certificats, and how necessary it is (seeing but by this coine those expences cannot be borne) that all superfluous charge be cut off, and this matter of the exchange corrected in some degree or other, before (like a Canker) it consumes Our treasure, which is

the sinewes of our Crowne. We pray you therefore (as We doe meane here to doe with Our priuie Counsell), call to you some three or foure of that Counsell, of the best vnderstanding, and thinke among you of some better cautions for this matter of exchange; wherein, seeing We doe see the State of that Kingdome principally with your eyes, We shall be contented to incline most to those courses which you shall find conuenient. And because no day goeth ouer our head wherein we are sure there is not some increase to that load, Wee doe hereby giue you Our Deputie authoritie, without tarrying to aduertise Vs of your opinion one way or other, to publish a Proclamation or order, either for tolleration or explanation of the forme of Our former institutions, which shall seeme best to you, with consideration of all due circumstances, not doubting but you shall finde many things which were fit for Vs to suffer in the beginning, which by change of circumstances may now be altered. And because in these matters of paiments, which flow like bloud out of the vaines, time is pretious, if there be any thing which you and that Counsell shall find fit to be done for preuention of some part of this abundant consumption, growing by the freedome of all persons to haue the exchange, seeing the distance of place to be passed by sea is subiect to length and vncertaintie, We are content prouisionally to warrant your proceedings in any thinh you doe, or publish in Our name. It remaineth now that We doe satisfie you Our Deputie, of some other things contained in your priuate letters to the Secretary; First, for your doubt you may not vse your best meanes to explore the practices of *Spaine*, and the inward treasons of the Rebelle, because your Ministers may often prooue vn honest, Wee haue no more to say then this, That if you consider, that We haue trusted you as absolutely with that Kingdome, as euer We did Deputie, you neede make small doubt of any other interpretation of your actions in that point towards you; for when soeuer the greatest curiositie shall censure our actions, it shall neuer appeare (where Vve see faith and dutie onely intentionall *in origine*), that Wee would be willing to censure the actions of Our Ministers according to the successe. And therefore as Vve doe leaue liberty here in *England* to Our Secretary of State, to employ such persons as are likest to discouer practises (though Vve allow not any immediate treaties or correspondencies with subiects of other Prouinces, but where We are particularly acquainted with it), so doe Vve giue you warrant by such ordinarie meanes, as may bee taken by opportunity of persons to passe to and fro, vnder colours of trade or traffick to forraigne parts, to informe your selfe of the enemies preparations in such things as belongs thereunto, that you may be able from time to time to fashion your owne present proceedings according to such aduertisements as may be brought you, seeing you may sometimes receiue them with more expedition, and more freedome for things concerning that Realme, then they can bee vsually conuaid to our Ministers here, from those whom they imploy for our seruice, from whence you haue seene what iudgement We haue made all this yeere of their distraction and weakenesse, though Vve stick not (in some measure) to prouide for you, though farre short of that which Vve must haue done, if Vve had credited those bruite which were brought into that Kingdome, by such as Vve are perswaded (if it were wel obserued) came out of *Spaine* full of deuce and practice to blow that abroad, which they beleueed not.

Next concerning your opinion for the ordering of some prouinciall Governements, and making your residence at *Athlone*: for the place Vve know it is scituate very well, to answere all seruices, and (as things stand) *Ulster* hath neede of good distribution now, as much as *Connaght*, wherein as Vve can very well like that you doe prepare for residence in that place, whereby the limits of Our Pale may bee enlarged; so Vve wish you, that both in *Ulster* and in *Connaght*, you doe fashion the commandment in such sort, as one Gouvernour haue not too much Countrie to rule; for where men are more absolute then ordinary, they are commonly apt to vse things with lesse care and moderation, so as in that matter Vve confesse to you, that Vve had rather haue many good subiects imployed in many places, then any one to manage

too much. For the matter of charge of your residence (because we know not what charge belongs vnto it, to make the place capable, nor how it may stand with the State of the Towne of *Dublyn*, which is a Port, and not to be ouerthrowne, standing so commodiously for passage out of *England*), We would haue all circumstances well considered, and then you shall receiue more of Our direction.

Lastly for *Tyrone*, We doe so much mislike to giue him any grace; that hath beene the onely author of so much effusion of blood, and the most vngratefull Viper to Vs that raised him, and one that hath so often deceiued Vs, both when hee hath craued his pardon, and when he hath receiued it of Vs, as when VVee consider how much the VVorld will impute to Vs of weakenesse, to shew fauour to him now, as if without that we could not giue an ende to this Rebellion, VVee still remaine determined, not to giue him grace in any kinde. And seeing it is vn safe for any Prince to make all faults appeare veniall; because euery offender will thereby become insolent, and seeing in common reason the cutting off so many associates, must needs haue left him a bodie without limmes, and so not worthy Our respecting, VVee doe very well allow of your late reiecting him. For when VVee looke on his manner of seeking mercy at all times, VVee doe still certainly conclude, that it is done vpon some practise to serue some present turne, seeing one day hee onely desires simple mercy for his life, and another day falles to capitulate, neither can VVee see why so much depends vpon his reduction, when, for ought VVee know, no man can aduise vs, if hee should come in, and bee at libertie hereafter, out of Our hands, how VVee could bee so assured of him, but that still VVee must bee in doubt of him, and at the same charges VVee are at, to containe him and his, notwithstanding their former reduction; which, if VVee must account to bee at (whomsoever or whatsoever VVee recouer), VVee shall take small contentment in that victory, whereof the ende would bee worse then the beginning. And therefore mistake not this Our earnestnesse in this point, as if it proceeded from any opinion, that you haue demeaned your selfe otherwise, then became you in the charge committed to you: for VVee would haue you know for your comfort, that VVee approue all the courses you haue held, since you tooke the Sword in your whole Gouvernement, to haue been accompanied with diligence, wisdom, and good successes, and so VVee accept the same at your hands. For *N.N.* his proceedings with the Traitor, although VVee doe not allow of his boldnesse to doe such a thing without your direction, yet VVee haue so little reason, by the course of his seruice, to doubt of his affection, as VVee do dispence with that error, in which VVee assure our selues hee meant no harme. Given vnder Our Signet, at Our Mannor of *Richmond*, the ninth day of October, 1602; in the foure and fortieth yeere of our Raigne.

The first of Nouember, *Rory O Donnell* (brother to *O Donnell* lately dead in *Spaine*, whom in the Summer following you shall see created Earle of *Tercconnell*), hauing made humble sute to the Lord Deputy for her Maiesties mercy, and finding that his Lordship made doubt of his true meaning, did by his letters dated the first of Nouember earnestly protest, that hee did desire from his heart, and had long desired to become a subiect, though for the present he had the command of all his brothers forces, and had receiued promise of helpe to bee sent this next Summer from *Spaine* or *Rome*. And to obtaine this mercy he pleaded, that his brother went out vpon his private discontent against the will of his father and himselfe, being enabled by strangers to force them. That his Grandfather by *Henrie* the eighth for his good seruice to the Crowne was Knighted, and had his Countie given him and his heires by letters Pattents. That his predecessors had long serued the Crowne against the *O-neales*. That himselfe had often sought to become a subiect, and for the same had been imprisoned by his brother, with many dangers of his life. Lastly, that now, as soone as he had made himselfe master of his brothers forces, hee humbly offered to submit himselfe, and of late had suffered the *Gouernour of Connaght* to passe by him with the

the Queenes forces, lest by fighting with them, hee should incense the State against himselfe and his people. And touching *Neale Garue*, whereas he had a grant of part of his brothers lands, he offered to proue, that he had since that grant agreed with his brother, to ioyne with him against the English forces, as soone as the Spaniards should arrive in *Ireland*, and be able to keepe the field. Hereupon the Lord Deputy sent him her Maiesties protection by Captaine *Gore*, with direction to come vnto his Lordship, so soone as hee should be in *Connaght*, whether hee intended shortly to take his journey.

About this time the Lord Deputy imployed Sir *Garret Moore* (of English race) into the *Brenny*, where all the Rebels submitted, and gladly receiued her Maiesties protection: among them one of the *O Relyes* came with one hundred men, and *Mac Gaurons* sonnes with fiftie men, and some one thousand Cowes from *Ororke*, being the greatest strength hee had. And another of the *O Relyes*, being refused pardon, vnderooke to bring in *Mac Guyres* head, so he might haue her Maiesties pardon, which *Mac Guyre* had abused her Maiesties Protection, into which the Gouvernour of *Ballishannon* had formerly receiued him.

At the same time *Tyrone* sent to the Lord Deputie by Sir *Garret Moore*, an absolute submission to the Queenes mercie, and wrote to the Lord Deputy, that howsoeuer the shewing of this submission might hinder him from receiuing the aides hee expected out of *Spaine*, yet he had sent it, in confidence that his Lordship would deale honourably with him. This submission was in these words.

Right Honourable Lord, your worthy endeouours in her Maiesties seruice, and pro-
 cesse of time, haue sufficiently taught me, how improuidently I haue perseuered in
 action, wheras heretofore vpon my submission I might haue hoped, her Maiesty would
 haue receiued me to her mercy, vnto which action I was enforced for saueguard of my
 life only, which was indirectly sought for by her Maiesties officers, as is known to sun-
 dry persons of credit here, & her subiects; & that before I was proclaimed traitor, I ne-
 uer sent letters into *Spaine*, or receiued any fro thence, though afterwards I was anima-
 ted to continue in Action vpon hope of Spanish aide, and promise of many confede-
 rates, of both which being disappointed, my estate is greatly decreased, and though I
 might perhaps be able to hold out for a time, yet am I weary of the course I held, and
 do much repent me of the same, most humbly and with a penitent heart desiring and
 wishing to bee reconciled to my Prince, and to be receiued to her Maiesties mercy,
 whom I am right sorry I haue so much offended and prouoked, and yet I know that
 her Maiesties mercy is greater then mine offences, the rather that at the first I did not
 wilfully oppose my selfe against her Maiesty, but for safety of my life was driuen in-
 to action as afore said, and for my continuance therein I submit my selfe to her Ma-
 iesties mercy and grace, acknowledging her Maiesty alone to be my naturall Prince,
 and my selfe her vnworthy subiect: but if her Highnesse will vouchsafe, of her accu-
 stomed Grace, to grant not onely pardon to me, my kinsmen and followers, and vn-
 to mine adherents, in their owne names, and vpon their seuerall submissions, but also
 to restore me and them to our pristinate blood and possessions, I will from henceforth
 both renounce all other Princes for her, and serue her Highnesse the residue of my
 life, humbly requesting, euen of your Honour, now that you haue brought mee so
 low, to remember I am a Noble man, and to take compassion on me, that the ouer-
 throw of my house and posterity may bee preuented by your good meanes and ho-
 nourable care towards her Maiesty for mee, which with all humility I desire and will
 accept: And for the better doing hereof, if your Lordship doe mislike any of the Arti-
 cles which I did send vnto you, I pray your Lordship to appoint either some of the
 priuy Counsell, or some Gentlemen of worth, to conferre with mee; and your Lord-
 ship shall find me conformable to reforme them. The twelfth of Nouember 1602.

Subscribed *Hugh Tyrone*.

The thirteenth day the Lord Deputy was aduertised that Captaine *Tyrrell* vpon a
 mutiny betweene him and the Rebels of *Kerry*, had left *Mounster*, and hauing some

six hundred men with him, was comming back into *Lemster*, and it was thought that *Tyrone* would send him to *Oronrke*, to assist him in the defence of his Countrey.

About the eighteenth of Nouember his Lordship began his intended iourney into *Connaght*, and by the way this following letter from *Tyrone*, to *Oconnor Sligo*, being intercepted, was sent to his Lordship.

VVE commend vs vnto you *Oconnor Sligo*, we haue receiued your letter, and as formerly we haue written vnto you, wee haue remained in *Fermannagh* wel-nigh this quarter of a yeere, and haue often written vnto you, and to *Odonnells* sonne, and requested you to come and see vs neere *Logh Earne*, concerning our Counsels either for peace or warre, and neither of you came thither to meet vs: We thought that you and *O Donnells* sonne, and *Oroke*, and *O Connor Roe*, and our selues, as many of vs as are of our faction, would haue maintained warre for a great time, and to that end, we came to these parts, and haue forgonè so many of our owne people, as haue not risen with vs: But seeing that *O Rorke* (if it be true) and *O Connor* haue receiued protection, and that euery one doth make peace for himselfe, wee may all easily be deemed men broken, and not substantiall in warre: but concerning our counsell and aduice which you write for, our aduice vnto you is neither to make peace nor cessation, but that peace or cessation which shall be made by all our consents and agreements; and if you doe otherwise, stand to the hazard your selues, for you shall not haue my consent thereunto.

Subscribed; *Oneale*.

The Lord Deputy tooke the foresaid iourney into *Connaght*, as well to take order with the Rebels in action, which had sent messengers to *Dublyn* in their names to craue the *Queenies* mercy, as also to view the Towne of *Galloway*, and to consider how the discent of forraigne enemies might best be preuented, by building of a Fort vpon the Hauen. Before his Lordships comming, Sir *Oliuer Lambert* the Gouverneur, with the Forces vnder him, had made a iourney, wherein he quite banished *Mac William* out of the County *Maio*. His Lordship hauing made some stay in the Pale, came to *Athlone* the second of *December*, and lay in the Castle, being very strong, and diuided from the Towne by a bridge ouer the Riuer *Shannon*, where the Gouverneur and the Counsell for that Prouince made their residence.

Here the foureteenth of *December*, *O Connor Sligo*, and *Rowry Odonnell*, (brother to the Traitor *O Donnell* lately dead in *Spaine*) two Rebels of greatest power in those parts, came to his Lordship, and made their humble submission to her Maiesty. *O Connor Sligo* alleaged many things in his owne excuse, as the manner of *O Donnells* taking him and keeping him in prison, and submitted himselfe to her Maiesties mercy. *Rowry O Donnell*, albeit he had vnder him all his brothers followers and creaghts, yet did hee both simply and absolutely submit himselfe to her Maiesties Grace, without standing vpon any conditions, but signifying his readines to deliuer such pledges as should be demanded of him, all such Castles (as *Ballymote*, and others in the County of *Sligo*) which hee had gotten into his possession, and to doe any thing that hee might receiue her Maiesties fauour, alleadging further that his Father and Grand-father had beene true seruitors, that he himselfe, with the priuity of Sir *Coniers Clifford*, then Gouverneur, had resolved to haue serued her Maiesty against his brother, but vpon the discovery of his purpose, he was kept in irons, (a matter well knowne to be true), and now most franckly offering his seruice, (if he might be receiued), either here or beyond the Seas; wheresoeuer her Maiesty would be pleased to employ him, which manner of carriage, proceeding from a man of good spirit, actiue & wise, induced the L. Deputy to receiue him, and did in some sort moue all the Counsell to pittie his case, that he did no sooner submit himselfe, and the rather because they did foresee how noteable an instrument he might be made, to bridle the insolency of Sir *Neale Garue*, (which was growne intollerable), of whom they thought he might be the best curbe that could be deuised. And therefore they resolved at their comming to *Dublin*, to send for the said Sir *Neale* and this Competitor, and with the aduice of the rest of the Counsell, seriously to consider how to prouide for, and to dispose of them both, wherein albeit they purposed to giue

giue vnto Sir *Neale* the benefit of her Maiesties gracious promise, yet did they think it a thing very expedient for her seruice and the settling of *Tirconnell*, that some competent portions in *Tirconnell* should be allotted to this Gentleman, in which point they by letters humbly prayed the Lords in *England* to moue her sacred Maiesty to send vnto them her Highnes warrant for taking such a finall order between the, as by the general aduise and consent of this Counsell should be thought fittest for her Maiesties seruice.

The Lord Deputie proceeding on his iourney to *Galloway*, kept his *Christmas* there, p. 232. and in that Towne, all the Rebels of that Prouince (the *Flahertyes*, the *Mac Dermotts* of the *Courlewes*, *Connor Roe*, and diuers others) submitted themselves, and were receiued, and so for the present this Prouince was brought to quietnesse.

Onely the proud, insolent, faithlesse *Bryan, Ororke*, notwithstanding his former humble message sent to the L. Deputy touching his desire to be receiued to mercie, absented himselfe, and hauing drawne vnto him *Tyrones Mac Guyre* (whom for his deceitfull and treacherous dealing, the Lord Deputie had banished out of *Fermannagh*, and exposed to prosecution), and the Traytor *Tyrell* (lately come out of *Mounster*) and trusting to the Fastnesse of his Country, persisted in his Rebellion. And therefore, albeit his Lordship did foresee the manifold difficulties which must grow in his prosecution, yet did hee hold it very necessary to take the present opportunity to scourge him seuerall waies, before the Spring, and before his forraigne hopes might giue him any further incouragement. And for this ende, as hee had appointed a proportion of victuals and other necessaries, to bee presently brought from *Lymrick* to *Athlone*, so now he resolved to furnish Sir *Oliuer Lambert* with an Army to surprise his Countrie *Leytrim*, and to take it into her Maiesties hands. Sir *Henrie Follyot* also, with the assistance of *Ronrie O Donnell*, (who already had done some seruice against *O Rorke*) was appointed from *Sligo*, and those parts, to enter into his Country, and his Lordship intended presently to raise a third Army, to bee sent from the Pale to annoy him, by which course his Lordship hoped, this Rebell should not be able long to subsist in his pride and contempt.

The submission of the foresaid Rebels was made by each of them in writing, and in these words following:

First, I doe acknowledge *Elizabeth* by the grace of God Queene of *England, France*, and *Ireland* to be the only true, absolute and Soueraigne Lady of this Realme of *Ireland*, and of euery part, and of all the people thereof, vnto whose gracious mercy I doe humbly submit my selfe, my lands and goods, and withall faithfull repentance for my vnnaturall disobedience vnto her Roiall Maiesty, doe most earnestly implore her mercy and pardon, for my selfe, and such of my followers as with me haue been seduced to this wicked Rebellion.

Further, I do renounce all and any manner of obedience vnto any other Power or Potentate, which I ow only to my said dread Soueraigne *Elizabeth*, and vtterly abiure any dependancy and adherence to any of her enemies whatsoever, or disloyall subiects, and doe promise, sweare and vow, from henceforth to liue in her subiection in al dutie and obedience, and to vse my best endeouours, to the vttermost of my power, to withstand and confound any enemy either forraigne or domesticall, that shall attempt any thing against the sacred person or estate of her Maiestie, or to the hurt of her faithfull and obedient subiects, and especially, and namely, I doe renounce (as before) and promise my endeouours (as aforesaid) against the King of *Spaine*, and the Arch-Traytor the Earle of *Tyrene*.

All this as I do vpon my saluation sweare to performe sincerely, so if I doe herein breake my oth, I doe acknowledge my selfe not onely to be worthy of all infamy and extreme punishment, but to be euer after accounted vnworthy the name of a Christian, or the society of men, to the which as I haue vnfainedly sworne, so I do now in witness hereof set to my hand.

In Christmas holidayes his Lordship viewed the Towne of *Galloway*, and iudging it p. 232.
282 a place of great importance to be preserved from being possessed by any forraigne enemy, he gaue present direction to finish that Fort, the building whereof was alreadie begun

begun, in a place well chosen, both to command the Haven, and to defend the Towne from forraigne intiaſion. During his Lordſhips abode in *Galloway*, he receiued this following letter from the Lords in *England*.

After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, her Maieſtie hath heard of your whole letter, brought by Sir *Henrie Dauers*, bearing date the tenth of Nouember, in anſwere to one of her Maieſties of the ninth of October, wherein you doe preuent (in ſome things) ſuch directions as were digeſted into a diſpatch ready to be ſigned and ſent you, as namely, in the matter of exchange for one point (and ſo of ſome others) wherein her Maieſtie hauing heard the Apologie of you the Treasu- rer, being (as ſhe is, euer) readie to interpret gratiouſly, thoſe actions which are well meant, though they ſucceed not alwaies as is wiſhed, though ſhe had giuen vs charge to write much more particularly in that matter, yet now hath been pleaſed to com- mand vs only to let you know Maſter Treasu- rer, that (although you ſhal neuer need to excuſe your integrity, becauſe ſhe neuer doubted it) yet ſhe can not free you and your Miniſters from ſuch ouerſights, as haue encreaſed the burthen of this Exchange. For though one part of your anſwer is, that new things muſt be ſettled with plauſible cir- cuſtances at the entrie, yet theſe are her own words, that you ſhould not haue thought it new (long agoe) to haue ſtopped that current, when you ſaw it carried ſo much con- trarie to the true meaning of the Proclamation, euen now that the inſtitution hath been on foot almoſt two yeeres, and that ſuch a ſumme of money is returned backe a- gaine by you, when the iſſue of the new coyne hath bin no greater, ſeeing (that excep- ted which ſpends in the lendings of the Army) a ſmall quantitie hath been otherwiſe diſperſed in the Kingdome, ſo as ſurely it may not be denied, but many of theſe Billes might haue been kept from the Banke, if your deputies had been as carefull as they ought. For although Captaines and Souldiers, and Merchants (carrying and deliue- ring neceſſaries for the Army) were by her Maieſties inſtitution intended to be relie- ued in their reaſonable and iuſt demands, yet who could euer thinke, that her Maieſty euer intended, that Merchants ſhould haue been ſuffered to ſell thoſe Merchandize for 300l. there, which coſt them but one 100 l. here, and then turne that 300 li. vpon the Exchange, or that Captaines & officers would make ouer foure times more money by one bill, then their whole entertainment comes to in a yeere. And therefore fore- ſight hereof (by the experience dearly bought) makes her Maieſtie now reſolue in her laſt order, that ſhe wil not allow any exchange, but onely to the Army, and ſuch as doe relieue the ſame, and that ſhe meanes from henceforth ſhall bee iuſtly anſwered, howſoeuer it may bee, that ſome ſeditious perſons, miſliking that theſe vnreaſonable Billes haue been looked into (and ſo ſome ſuſpence of paiement made) may ſpeak ſcan- dalouſly, either of the paſt or future, when already there is deliuered to your Deputie Maſter Treasu- rer, ten or twelue thouſand pounds, and more ſhall follow after, to- wards the diſcharge. And now to come to that which followes, and doth require ex- pedition, your Lp ſhall vnderſtand, that the greatnes of her Maieſties Army being ſuch, as ſhe cannot beare it vp, without extreme preiudice to her ſtate and Kingdome, ſhe hath commanded vs hereby to let you know, that ſhee is not ſatisfied with this a- batement of 1000, but doth command you with all poſſible expedition, to reduce the Army to 12000 foot and 1000 horſe, a matter which ſhe findeth good to do in her wiſ- dome, not onely for the neceſſitie of the expence, but out of this iudgement, that ſhe ſhall be ſufficiently able to prouide for the defence againſt forraigne power, before the ſtorme ſhall fall, without which occaſion, conſidering your owne relation of the weakeneſſe and deſperate eſtate of the rebell, with the deſire of the reſt to come from him, ſhe perſwadeth her ſelfe that this Liſt (well compounded out of the Bands that are caſthered) will be ſtrong enough againſt any home rebellion, and ſo much the ra- ther, if you make it as much Engliſh as you can, by ridding as many of the Iriſh as you thinke meete, in all which, for the perſons and places, ſhee referres it wholly to your owne beſt iudgement. And now that wee are ſpeaking of the Army, wee thinke it fit to remember vnto you, that it is a great errour in the Officers of the Miniſters of that Kingdome, that the Muſters (which is one of the principall keyes

keyes of her Maiesties charge) is no better ordered. The fraude whereof doth evidently appeare, seeing that Army which is kept vpon such a height in List and payment, is knowne and confessed (even by the Captaines themselues) to be so extreamely defective in their numbers; for although we are not ignorant, that multiplicitie of Garrisons hinder the possibilitie of exact Musters, yet there is difference betweene tollerable imperfections, and those grosse negligences which are vsed by the Ministers of that seruice, whereof the World is apt sometimes to accuse those, that should (both here and there) censure the offenders, as those that doe commit the faults vnpunished; Herein wee intreat your L^d and that Counsell to make our case your owne, and then to consider, whether we can well discharge our duties to her Maiestie, when (in time of so great an expence) we are not able to shew her any manner of account of her Army by any authenticall certificate, more then euery Captaine or passenger can relate vnto vs, no not for the expence of eight or ten moneths time. In which point of the Musters we thinke it not amisse to say something to you, what wee conceiue concerning the Checque vpon apparrell. First, the order set downe very carefully and at large for the manner of the deliuerie and the Checque to be raised vpon the apparrell, is not obserued, the due obseruation whereof would aduantage the checque of the apparrell very much. For such souldiers as are sent from vs thorowly apparrelled oftentimes haue apparrell there againe (at the time of their deliury) giuen them, especially those that are dispersed into Bands, to fill them vp, whereby we see her Maiesties double charge, though speciall warning hath been giuen thereof from hence. And daily able men are suffered to come ouer hither (as of late teane of those that were set out of the County of *Lincolne* in the late leauy), and by the examination taken here lately, it is proued, that money is giuen to procure them passports, and none of those souldiers of the late leauies doe stand her Maiestie and the Countrey (before they arriue there) in lesse then sixe pound a man. The order is not obserued that hath been prescribed, that no souldier should bee discharged but by Passe from the Lord Deputie, Principall Gouvernour, or chiefe Commanders; for daily diuers come ouer with Passes of their Captaines, and diuers are sent away together in one passe (sometimes to the number of thirtie) and few of them maimed, and those bring no other passes then from the Maior where they are set on land here. In all which, and other particular duties though the Muster Master, Comptroller, and such other officers may be thought to be onely responsable in such cases, wherewith they are trusted), yet the authority which your Lordship hath, and the meanes you haue to distinguish how and when things of that nature may be in some good sort reformed, and the persons offending therein being in your eie to behold both them and their doing, and in your power to rule and punish them, as you finde cause, doth impose vpon you thus much either to call vpon them, and to chastise them, or else to deliuer your owne iudgement, which when we shall receiue from you, and thereof informe her Maiestie, it would include your care and ours to haue it otherwise, and would satisfie the expectation and discourse of this time, when her Maiesties subiects (being bitten with accidentall charges of the warres) begin now to thinke, that much of that which her Maiestie imposeth here at home, is not necessarie, but rather voluntarie, or for lacke of care and prouidence in the expence, vnprofitably wasted, especially now they heare of nothing but victories and improbability of forraigne power, and yet finde no difference betweene the present state of her Maiesties charge, and that which shee was at when there was a Spanish Army in that Kingdom. We haue also thought good to let your Lordship know, how great confusion it breeds in her Maiesties expence, that those of her Counsell there (while your Lordship hath beene wholly conuersant in millitarie causes) haue not called to their answere, nor (according to their desert) haue punished such Commissaries of victuals there, as haue made priuate gaine to them selues, by sale of the victual committed to their charge, without warrant from vs, or direction from the Purueors here (their superiours), whereof from you we haue receiued both aduertisement and mislike. But especially for that you of the Counsell there haue neuer called vpon nor strictly charged the Commissaries

missaries to bring in their accounts, in so much as there remaineth yet vnaccounted for (for any thing wee know) the whole charge of those victuals, which wee haue carefully sent ouer, and whereof wee haue receiued certificate of the safe arriual, for the space of almost two yeeres, of which Masse (if the same be reckoned) your Lordship shall find it little lesse then the value of one hundred threescore thousand pound, whereof your Lordship may thus conclude, that either the summes defalked are great (which remaine in the Treasurers hands) or else the remaine in *specie* is so great with the Commissaries, as her Maiestie might haue spared the provisions lately sent ouer, by which the Treasure hath been so mightily exhausted; or else the waists must bee such, as are not onely to bee reiected in the accounts, but the Authors thereof seuerely to bee punished. A matter wherein wee write the more earnestly to your Lordship, (from whom wee would haue all exception taken, that wee assure our selues, you deserue not,) because we heare that a great part of the waste shall bee excused, sometimes by the auowing that it hath been cast on their hands, because the souldier hath not been inioyned to take it, and that some other time they haue been commanded to remoue it, and carrie it from place to place, by which they pretend great losse; and (which of all things is most subiect to suspition in them), that it is taken for a good warrant in *Ireland*, to allow of any wastes, for which a Commissarie can produce a certificate from a poore Maior, Soueraigne or Bailiffe of a Towne or Port, which how casily it is obtained, your Lordships owne wisdom can best iudge, who are so well acquainted with the pouertie and condition of that place. Further, because no one thing is more heauy to the Queene and the Realme, then the matter of victualling (wherein it is no way possible for vs to doe more here), and that wee perceiue by your letter of the two and twentieth of September, amongst other things, that your Lordship is not well satisfied in diuers things concerning the victuals, wee thinke it not amisse to handle some particular points of that matter, which wee wish all those of the Counsell (and all other interested in the care of those things) may well vnderstand, because you may the better (another time) answer those arguments, with which they seeke to satisfie you, when in truth (if they examine them selues), whatsoeuer they lacke, it proceedeth most from their owne default. First, whereas in the letter aforesaid you note, how slowly such victuals doe arriue there, as haue been provided here vpon request made by your Lordship, we answer, that *Newcomen* (whom you sent ouer) is able to giue you satisfaction, that presently vpon his comming ouer hither, and perusall of your Lordships demaunds, there was no delay vsed by vs, to satisfie you in such sort as might be to your Lordships contentment, and to serue the Army and Garrisons, and (because *Newcomen* was not only made priue, but did both thinke the provision appointed to be sufficient to answer your Lordships desire, and the vse of the Armie and Garrisons, & is one of the vndertakers for those provisions of victuals) he is much to blame if he haue not particularly discharged that trust. True it is, that we conceiue you haue cause to maruell, that in so great distance of time, so small quantitie of so great a masse as was provided, hath arriued there, which if it hath happened by contrariety of winds onely, then must your Lordship be satisfied, and wee excused. But howsoeuer it be, by the coppie of the Contracts sent vnto your Lordship by vs, with the charge the victuals did amount vnto, we doubt not but you rest thorowly satisfied of our care, and leaue vs rather cause to suspect, that our former letters written to your Lordship concerning the victualing causes, haue not come to your hands, or that the contents of them are out of your remembrance. For in them, namely, that of the fourth of August last, wee did not onely send your Lordship (as formerly wee did of all the rest) a coppie of the contract made by the victualers, but did satisfie you in diuers things whereof we doe find you do complaine, which by our former letters we deliuered and signified at large, and we both remember well the things you noted, & the course we held for your satisfaction. To which we ad nothing more, but doe repeate vnto you, that we then did say in that point, that wee finde it a great fault in the Commissaries of the victuals there, that they do neuer informe you
of

of the arriuall of victuals in those parts, nor vpon what contract they are provided, which would well become both the Commissarie and Surueior of the victuals; for by many letters sent from him to vs, we are particularly certified both of the victuals that arriue there, and vpon what contract they are furnished. Besides, the victualers here doe protest, that they doe provide no victuals at all, but for the vse of the Armie, and to furnish the contracts, so as what quantities soeuer are sent thither, the same are to be taken for her Maiesties vse, and to bee accounted to furnish the contracts, vntill they bee compleate, and then the ouerplus is to passe to serue the next contract. For it may fall out, that such victuals as are sent to one place, may by contrarietie of winds arriue in another Prouince or Port, which now (as the Purueiours doe informe vs) hath of late happened to one of their Barkes driuen into *Corke*, and there staid by the Gouvernour, which should haue come to *Galloway*, and so that Towne thereby disfurnished, and those that are sent sooner from hence may arriue later, and sometimes miscarry. But the chiefeft matter that doth breede scruple, doubt, and matter of abuse, is that there are not appointed there in the vsuall Ports, where there are Magazines (as in *Dublin*, *Carlingford*, *Corke*, *Lymricke*, *Carickfergus*, *Loughfoyle*, and *Galloway*) some sufficient persons, who with the Maior and Officers of the Ports, may ouer-see the vnlading of the victuals from time to time, and take knowledge of the goodnesse of the victuals, and the quantities of the same, and to charge the Surueyors of the victuals to performe their duties likewise, and to be enformed of the same, and certifie you thereof, wherein, or in any other sort, if any abuse be committed by the Commissaries, it is both the earnest request of the Vndertakers, and our absolute desire, and that which your Lordships place doth require, to see some exemplary punishment inflicted vpon them for their euill carriage, which may and ought to be reformed. So as for an answer to that letter, we must still referre you to our former letters, namely, those of the fourth of August last, forasmuch as is to bee performed by vs here, who see and heare with others eyes and eares in that place, and not our owne.

And where wee doe vnderstand by your late letters also, that the Commissaries and Agents for the Vndertakers, doe refuse to take beeuies at twentie shillings a piece, the victualers here doe not onely deny the same to be done by their priuitie, but earnestly beseech vs (as often they haue done) that they may haue them at that price, and in our letters sent by *Necowmen*, at their entreatie we did require, that your Lordship would bee pleased to take order, they might haue at reasonable rates such beeuies as were taken from the enemy, which sute they doe renew, and doe assure vs, they will bee glad to receiue them at that rate. And forasmuch as many great and heauie accounts are to bee taken, before either reckonings can bee cleared, or faults clearly distinguished, her Maiestie hath resolved immediatly after Christmas, to send ouer some well chosen Commissioners, both for integritie and experience in all things in this nature, to examine and suruey the state of her Maiesties receipts and issues. To whom, as shee nothing doubteth, but your Lordship (whose zeale and care appeares so greatly in her Maiesties seruice) will giue the best support which you can possibly afford them, so her Maiestie requireth your Lordship now vpon conference with the Counsell there, to appoint a day for all those inferiour persons, who haue any thing to doe with the matters of accounts receipts, and expence, to come to *Dublin*, to the intent that those which shall be sent ouer, may not loose their time, by attending their repaire from remote places, nor your Lordship (whose eyes and iudgement will giue great light to that Commission) may bee otherwise distracted by any new iournies, or prosecutions, to which the growing on of the yeere may inuite you. For the present desire you haue that some Commissioners should be sent ouer for the passing of some lands to the Submitties, with such reseruations as are fittest for her Maiestie, shee meaneth presently to send ouer authorite accordingly, liking very well (amongst othings) that you intend to cut off all dependancy vpon the Irish Lords, which is one very necessarie consideration. Lastly, because your L^y and the Counsell may know, that although it is not to be looked for

at the hands of any Prince, that they should vnnecessarily keepe Companies in pay for the reliefe of any Captaine, yet because her Maieſty in her owne diſpoſition intendeth nothing leſſe, then to neglect thoſe ſeruitors of hers, whom you ſhall teſtifie to haue deſerued extraordinarily, being like to ſuffer penury by this caſhering, ſhee hath willed vs to let you know, that ſhee is pleaſed to continue to euery ſuch Captaine, and ſo many other Officers as you thinke neceſſary, their ordinary pay; whereby they may bee enabled to maintaine themſelues there about you, for many good purpoſes, vntill ſome other occaſion offer it ſelfe to imploy them elſewhere, or ſome Company there fall within your gift, to conferre it vpon them, which being done, that entertainement may ceaſe. And now that you perceiue her Maieſties reſolution, whereof ſhee hath much haſtened the ſending away vnto you, (in which reſpect wee cannot ſo particularly touch all things as we would); wee muſt now conclude, that howſoeuer her Maieſties pleaſure is, that thoſe errorrs of ſubordinate Miniſters in theſe matters of accompts and reckonings, ſhould be thus mentioned to your Lordſhip and that Counſell, that is onely to make it appeare, how ſerious a reformation is expected from you: And though ſhee ſeeth how fearefull your Lordſhip is, without a more particular commandement (what numbers to diminifh) to haue made ſo large an abatement as ſhee commandeth you, not knowing how ſoone you might haue cauſe to vſe them for her ſeruiſe, yet her Maieſty is ſo farre from imputing it to any errorr in iudgement, or lacke of zeale in you to her ſeruiſe, as ſhee confeſſeth ſhee hath bene too blame for not commanding it, and not you for not doing it, whoſe care, toile, and perill, as they haue bene more then any Gouvernour hath vndergone before you, ſo may your Lordſhip take this comfort alſo, that the ſucceſſe which it hath pleaſed God to giue you, doth make your ſelfe an acceptable Miniſter to your Prince and Countrey, and maketh all vs very glad (both for the publike, to which wee owe our firſt duties, and for your owne priuate, who ſhall euer find it in all things fit for vs to performe towards you). From the Court at *White-Hall* the 22 of Nouember 1602.

A Lyſt of the Army as it ſtood the firſt of Ianuarie, 1602.

Horſe.

The Lord Deputie, 100. The Lord Preſident, 100. The Earle of *Thomond*, 50. The Earle of *Clanrickard*, 50. Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, 100. Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, 25. Maſter Marſhall, 50. Sir *William Godolphin*, 50. Sir *Francis Stafford*, 50. Sir *Garret Moore*, 25. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 25. Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, 25. Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, 25. Sir *Richard Greame*, 50. Sir *Edward Harbert*, 12. Sir *Francis Ruſh*, 12. Captaine *John Iephſon*, 100. Sir *Henrie Folliot*, 50. Captaine *William Taffe*, 50. Captaine *Flemming*, 25. Captaine *Geo. Greame*, 14.

Horſe 1000.

Foote.

The Lord Deputy, 200. The Lord Preſident, 200. The Earle of *Kildare*, 150. The Earle of *Thomond*, 200. The Earle of *Clanrickard*, 150. The Earle of *Ormond*, 150. The Lord *Audley*, 150. Sir *George Cary*, Treasuſer, 100. Sir *Henrie Dockwra*, 150. Sir *Oliuer Lambert*, 150. Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, 200. Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, 150. Sir *Francis Stafford*, 200. Sir *Oliuer S. Johns*, 200. Sir *Foulke Conway*, 150. Sir *Samuel Bagnot*, 150. Sir *Richard Morryſon*, 200. Sir *Garret Moore*, 100. Sir *Francis Shane*, 100. Sir *Chriſtopher S. Laurence*, 150. Sir *Henrie Follyot*, 150. Sir *George Bourcher*, 100. Sir *Francis Ruſh*, 150. Sir *Iames Fitz Peirce*, 100. Sir *Tho. Loſties*, 100. Sir *Henry Power*, 150. Sir *Edward Harbert*, 100. Sir *William Forteſcue*, 150. Sir *Charles Willmott*, 150. Sir *Richard Peirce*, 150. Sir *Edward Fitz Gerald*, 100. Sir *Francis Barkely*, 150. Sir *Ben. Berry*, 150. Sir *Mat. Morgan*, 150. Sir *Tib. Dillon*, 100. Sir *Tho. Bourke*, 150. Sir *Geo. Thornton*, 100. Sir *Garret Haruey*, 150. Sir *Ed. Wingfeild*, 200. Captaine *Edw. Blaney*, 150. Capt. *Tobey Cawfeild*, 150. Capt. *Ioſias Bodley*, 150. Capt. *Hen. Atberton*, 150. Capt. *Edward Treuer*, 100. Capt. *Ric. Hanſard*, 200. Capt. *Ferdinand Freckleton*, 100. Capt. *Francis Roe*, 150. Capt. *Lau. Eſmond*, 150. Capt. *Tho. Williams*, 150. Capt. *Lyonnell Gheſt*, 150. Capt. *Tho. Roper*, 150. Capt. *Tho. Rotheram*, 150. Capt. *Ralph Conſtable*, 100. Capt.

Capt. *Ralph Bingley*, 100. Capt. *Tho. Badbey*, 100. Capt. *Ellis Flyod*, 100. Capt. *Lewis Orell*, 100. Capt. *Ellis Jones*, 150. Capt. *Edw. Leigh*, 100. Capt. *Edw. Bassett*, 100. Capt. *Tho. Coach*, 150. Capt. *W. Winsor*, 150. Capt. *Roger Orme*, 100. Capt. *Nich. Pinner*, 100. Capt. *Ioh. Stanley*, 100. Cap. *W. Stafford*, 100. Cap. *Ralph Sidley*, 100. Capt. *Bassel Brocke*, 100. Capt. *Io. Vaughan*, 100. Capt. *H. Sackford*, 100. Capt. *Tho. Phillips*, 100. Capt. *Roger Langford*, 100. Capt. *I. Phillips*, 100. Capt. *H. Malby*, 100. Capt. *Tho. Bourke*, 100. Capt. *Tibott Bourke*, 100. Cap. *Rich. Henslo* for Pioners, 100. Sir *Francis Kinsmill*, 150. Capt. *Geo. Kinsmill*, 100. Capt. *Bosstock*, 100. Capt. *Sam. Harrison*, 100. Capt. *James Blount*, 100. Capt. *H. Skipwith*, 100. Capt. *Edw. Morryes*, 100. Capt. *Edw. Fisher*, 100. Capt. *H. Hart*, 100. Cap. *Abrey Yorke*, 100. Cap. *Char. Coote*, 100. Capt. *Gawen Haruey*, 100. Capt. *Dorington*, 100. Capt. *Holcroft*, 100. Capt. *H. Bakley*, 150. Capt. *Tho. Boys*, 100. Capt. *Edw. Legg*, 100. Capt. *Dennis Dale*, 50. Left in Ward at *Enishcorthy*, 20.

Footnote 12370.

The fourth of January, Sir *Henry Dockwra* Gouvernor of *Loughfoyle* forces, wrote to the Lord Deputie this following letter.

Right Hon. and my very good Lord; the argument of this my letter shall be onely the testification of my priuat duty, and a little discourse touching *Neale Garue*, and those Irish, whom I must freely confesse I am more to seeke in what sort to gouerne and vse, to the benefit of her Maiesties seruice, and discharge of my owne duty, then in any other point of the whole businesse. *Neales* first comming without compulsion, his bringing vs to *Liffer*, his seruices many times commendably performed in his owne person, the furtherance he gaue vs for planting at *Dunagall*, the helpe he gaue our men in their greatest wants, when *O Donnell* besieged them, the losse of his brother in that seruice, the trial of his fidelity, by standing firme in so dangerous a time, and lastly the goods he forsook of his owne, to serue the Queene for half pay, are arguments neither vntruly gathered, nor vniustly alleaged to make much in his fauour. On the other side, his extreame pride, ambition, and insatiable couetousnesse, his want of any knowledge when he is well delt with all, his importunitie in all things, right or wrong, his continuall begging, and vnprofitable wasting of whatsoeuer hee gets, his aptnesse to desperate and vnspokeable discontent for trifles of no worth, his facilitie to bee misliked by men of best qualitie, and his vnderhand iugling (which is too apparant by many Indices) with the Rebels, hee is truly to bee charged with all, as the other good seruices are to be acknowledged. And yet to discountenance him, and challenge him of those faults, were to raise a new warre, and to driue the whole Country (in an vnseasonable time) to an obdurate alienation of mind from all English Gouvernement. To discharge his people, we shall finde a singular want, for spiall of many things which they giue vs light of, so should wee likewise for gathering of preys, whensoeuer wee goe a iourney, and besides the Armes they haue got amongst vs, and the charge they haue put her Maiestie vnto, the one would hardly be recovered out of their hands, and the other not vnworthily thought to bee an ill peece of seruice to make vtterly lost. Againe, on the other side they giue continuall aduertisements, as well from vs to the Rebels, as from them to vs. Forts or places of strength alone by themselves, they neither will nor dare abide in, without helpe. To make their peace with *O Donnell*, they shall finde difficulty. To ioyne with the Spaniards (if any come neere to those parts) they may if they will, and will vndoubtedly if the bee neuer so little discontented. In these inconueniencies on the one side, and necessitie on the other, I see not (in my iudgement) any better course to bee held, then to temporize somewhat, to feede their humours a while, though it bee chargeable to the Queene, and to mingle lenity and seueritie so, as some bee punished for these notorious abuses, when they are apparantly proued (let him rage and storme while he wil), and others winked at, whose faults are apparant, and yet more closely carried from direct and manifest proofes, by testimony of witnesses, and therewithall to get what by faire meanes and by force (as I see best occasion to temper them) the best pledges he hath for himselfe, and the best of his people into my hands, & being once possessed of them, to keep them till

Aaa

I see

I see greater cause of assurance of his fidelitie, or at the least a lesse occasion of suspicion, which course I am already entred into, vnder a good colour, as hauing taken his second sonne (the elder being at *Dublin*) together with two more of the chiefest men about him, with his owne consent, in the name of pledges for others, but in truth most of all for himselfe. I am not ignorant but he will grievously complaine against me for these courses, and many of our owne Nation will whet him forward, some for want of knowledge of the truth, some blinded with private malice against my owne person, and whatsoever shall happen amisse vpon cause of his discontentment, will be imputed to me, and the corruption of my dealings; but I flie to your honour for succour, and gladly submit my selfe to a better course, if I may be instructed; for such is the state of the businesse betweene me and him, without partialitie or malice; both vpon the dutie of my alleageance, and perill of my soule.

Together with this letter, Sir *Henry Dockwra* sent to his Lordship the copy of the following letter he had lately written to the Lords in *England*.

Most Honourable Lords; the iourney mentioned in my former letters, and intended vpon *Ocane*, I set forward on, before Captain *Vaughan* departed the River, hauing first shipped all necessary provisions for planting a Garrison at *Colrane*, and scene them downe the *Lough*, with a faire wind to carry them thither, before I set forth. Howbeit hauing passed through the Countrey, and effected in a manner all things to my owne desire, being come vnto the place, I found not the ship nor any apparance of newes what was become of her, which the Master excuseth, but so, as I leaue to your Lordships to iudge, whether sufficiently or no, this bearer being instructed with the full state of the cause. The summe and effect of that iourney was, that notwithstanding this, I sent downe Captaine *Orme* with two hundred English and the Irish of *Enishlowen*, to passe ouer at the Greene Castle by water, to the end that he entring at one end of the Countrey, and I at the other, the prey might the more assuredly be takē, or at least the more spoile done, my selfe went ouerland, passed two paces without resistance, entred the third, beate them from defence of it, set fire on their Camp (containing 30 great houses all full of Corne), tooke *Ocane's* brother prisoner, that had before perfidiously revolted from the Queenes seruice (whom I sacrificed in the place), and so passed by, not through the Wood, because it was no ordinarily passage, and a faire way did lie by the Sea side hard by, so came into the Plaines and heart of the Countrey, burning and spoiling, till I met that night with Captaine *Orme*, at a place of strength agreed vpon betweene vs, who comming a way least looked for, lighted vpon the killing of some few of the people, and a small prey of fifty Cowes and five hundred sheepe, for with the rest (for all his sudden comming), they made away, and got to the Mountaines. For foure daies space together afterwards, I deuided the forces into three bodies, and trauesed first about, and then through the Countrey, spoiling and burning such a quantity of Corne, and number of houses, as I should hardly haue beleued so small a circuit of ground could haue afforded, if I had not scene it. And because I failed of meeting the ship, I held my course towards *Tyrone*, intending (all vnder one iourney) to haue wasted and spoiled as high as *Dunnannon*, but that I was prevented by a sudden thaw of weather, after a long frost and snow (which raised the Rivers, that with much difficulty I could recouer home. But being returned, I met with letters from *Dunagal*, aduertising me of their great want of victuall, by reason that the ship (which I had a moneth before dispatched away with all provisions) was not then arriued. Whereupon (hauing diuers other reasons also to draw me that way) I resolved to make my next iourney thither, and to settle and establish the Garrison of *Ballyshannon*. So with one hundred Garrons load of Bisket and munition, I passed vnto them, and happily relieved their greatest wants in a most seasonable time. At my comming I found there was a ship from *Galloway* arriued within the harbor of *Calbeg*, and during the time I was there, the other that I had sent frō hence, came also into the same harbor, but by extremity of weather (which I was an eie witness vnto) neither of the both was able to put in, either to *Ballyshannon* or *Dunnagall*, all the

the time I was there, which was twenty dayes, so that the further fruit of my comming thither, consisted onely in this, that I caused *Neale Garue* to make a cutting vpon the Country for Cowes, wherewith the garrison was plentifully releued, went to *Ashrawe*, and there left foure companies of foot and fifty horse, which I carried from thence, besides those that were at *Dunagall* before settled, then there got in a sufficient quantity of Corne, to feed the Horse neere all the Winter long, set in turffe and old houses for fewell, by the commodity of the garrous which I carried with me, saw the situation of *Bundroife* and *Dulke*, and all that part of the Countrey, and so returned to *Dunagall*, where I tooke in *Mac Swine Fannaght*, and some others of the Countrey, for whom *Neale Garue* had vndertaken and deliuered in pledges of his owne, such as in truth I made choice of, more to bridle himselfe, then for any great assurance I thinke they are for the other. Howbeit, the state of things stood in such termes, chiefly by reason of the extreme foulness of weather, that I was not altogether vnwillingly drawne to accept of their subiection vpon slender assurance, whom (had the time serued, to compell to other conditions) I should hardly haue delt withall, or giuen eare vnto in any sort. But this is the aduantage which I thinke my selfe to haue gained by taking them in, that *Neale Garue* importunitie is satisfied (who if his humours be altogether restrained, will vndoubtedly prove a desperate Rebell), himselfe settled in full possession of his owne Countrey (if he can keep it) furnished with meanes to feede his people of his own, which before I could not be rid of, but he would wring the Queens store, and besides bee alwaies complaining (as hee did still) of his halfe pay, in which notwithstanding he is now lesse to be hearkened vnto, for that the iust and reasonable cullour which he had before, of being banished from all priuate meanes of his owne to maintaine them by, is clearely taken away, and further an opportunitie is gained, that those men which had plaid false before, being returned home, with all their goods, thinking themselves safe and sure vnder protection, may vpon very iustifiable reasons hereafter bee looked into, and seized on, when they least expect, and can worst auoide it, whose goods by any other meanes would neuer bee got, but concealed or done away amongst the Rebels, where we shall neuer finde them. What other benefit is had by settling that Garrison as it is, your Lordships may easily gather out of your owne knowledge, to which the bearer is able to adde somewhat, as hauing liued a good space of time thereabout, and going furnished with many instructions and remembrances for that purpose, who will also lay downe vnto your Lordships the state of the Army, as being a Commissarie, and the necessities requisite to that place, as being a man specially chosen by the Captaines, and in that kind of businesse requested to labour and sollicite in their behalfe. The Castle of *Balls Shannon* I could not take, by reason the piece of Artillery was not come, nor any manner of prouision (so much as a boarde) to bee had for the purpose. But all things are now sent away, which the windes seruing fitly to bring thither, that businesse will bee easily effected. But your Lordship must vnderstand, that the Barre at the comming in, is so shallow (whatsoeuer some vaine men will talke to the contrary), and the rode so open, without being couered with any manner of land, as by meere necessitie the ships that shall be imployed in bringing any thing to it, must bee of very small burthen if they get in; and yet, if any weather arise, forced (whether they be great or small) to make the place of their vnlading at *Dunagall*, from whence it must bee carried to the other place by land, so that both the charge and trouble thereof will be much more then was expected, or then I could ever be rightly informed of, till I saw it. I haue now assembled the Forces, to make another iourney into *Tyrone*, but in so vnfit a season of weather, as it yet holds, as I shall be forced to suspend it, till some alteration make the Riuer and high waies more passable.

The next after that, which I meane (God willing) without question to vndertake, is to accomplish my first intent of settling at *Colraine*, which I know my selfe able to performe, though the whole force of the Rebels should bee returned before I vndertake it. But then shall our Forces bee so farre extended and diuided asunder, as more then the bare keeping of those holds wee are possessed

of, we shall not be able to doe, till a new supply of men arrive, which in my opinion should come most seasonably towards the ending of the next moneth, in that the Cowes, (which now their Corne is gone, is their onely reliefe) are then easiest to be fet away or spoiled. And for any impeachment wee shall have by the Spaniards, though we be daily threatened by many thundering rumours, yet I see no great reason to suspect their coming hither, nor shall in that respect relie my selfe further then vpon your Lordships better intelligence, and most honourable care, according to the occasions shall be offered. Onely this I must put your Lordships in mind of, that by an Army able to master vs in field, coming furnished with Artillery, the Riuer and all our provisions both of victuall and munition are easily to bee taken from vs, which notwithstanding wee may much preuent, if our Forts at this place be made vp in time, (which is almost done already), and a couple of good ships of warre lodged at *Cullmore* for that straight. Whilst I was my selfe at *Ballishannon*, I must aduertise your Lordships, that I gaue charge to Captaine *Willes*, lying at *Zyffer*, that with those Forces I left behind, he should make a iourney vpon *Sleught Art*, a people in *Tyrone*, who before my going, made many offers of their subiection, but so as in conclusion I must stand to their curtesie, how long they would continue in that state, and therefore reiected them vtterly. He fell (according to my directions) vpon them, brought away three hundred Cowes, and burned most of their Houses and Corne. They offer againe a new parley, but because I am resolved to take in none of *Tyrone*, lest their numbers (to feed vpon their owne hungry store) should bee diminished, I doe still refuse them, and will doe all other of that Countrey, except I see some apparant extraordinary and speciall cause to the contrary. So I most humbly recommend my duty and the best seruice I am able to performe to your Lordships command. From the *Derry* the second of *Ianuary* 1602.

The Lord Deputy being returned from *Galloway* to *Athlone*, and being aduertised from *Rowry O Donnell*, that he had lately done some seruices against *O Rowrke*, did by his letters of the sixth of *Ianuary* giue him thanks for the same, encouraging him to driue *O Rowrke* out of his Countrey, wherein an Army of foure thousand English was then ready to assist him, with assurance that her Maiesty was so incensed by *O Rowrkes* contempts, as shee was resolved neuer to pardon him, and with promise of that Countrey to him and his heires, if hee ioined his Forces to expell *O Rowrke*. Further his Lordship assured him, that this should be no barre, but rather a furtherance, to his hopes of hauing his brothers lands. For as hee would neuer take from *Sir Neale Garue* any thing formerly giuen or promised to him, so if hee could proue, that since his submission hee had committed any treason, wherein the other could not by an honourable triall iustifie himselfe, then hee should be sure, that his Lordship would satisfie his best expectations.

The ninth of *Ianuary* his Lordship in his and the Counsels letter to the Lords in *England*, after relation of the present affaires, wrote further as followeth.

IN this iourney I the Deputy receiued her Maiesties expresse direction for the reducing of her Highnesse Forces to twelue thousand Foot and one thousand Horse, which I doe most willingly obey, and for performance thereof, I tooke present order, which now is fully put in execution, though vpon the sudden it could not be done, the Army being diuided in the remote parts of this Kingdome. And albeit I haue giuen straight charge, that out of the new cashiered Companies, the bands subsisting should be made strong; yet must I make knowne to your Lordships the difficulties I find to performe this direction, by reason the Souldiers being once cashiered, doe vse (notwithstanding any care that we can take) to wander to and fro, and sometimes fall into the Rebels hands, which vse to strip them of their armes and cloathes, sometimes into the hands of bordering Subiects, which deale no better with them, and so they become most miserable creatures: so hard a thing is it to keepe them together, to be turned ouer to other Companies, when once they know of their cashiering; as I remember your Lordships haue noted the like difficulty in your letters, to keepe together

together, and to send over the whole numbers by you appointed to come into this Kingdome. And in this cathering of Companies, according to her Maiesties expresse pleasure, which her Highnesse prescribeth to be of the Irish Companies, that the English may subsist and be made strong, although I would willingly performe this direction; and to that end haue discharged a number of Irish Companies heretofore and now, yet seeing the Arch-rebell doth yet hold out, (albeit I haue directed such a course for his prosecution by Sir *Arthur Chichester*, who is in pursuit of him, as before the Spring I hope he shall be quite broken), and that this rebel *O Rowrke* hath drawne such a head together, I thinke it not amisse yet to continue some of the Irish Companies for a time, hoping with Gods good fauour, that ere it be long, I may reduce the Army to a lesser number, and then with more conueniency and lesse danger, may discharge the Irish Companies, which in the meane time I will so exercise and employ, as they shall not be idle, but shall be still exposed to endure the brunt of the seruice, vpon all occasions: And touching the continuing of this seruice against the Rebelle *O Rowrke* and his Confederates, (which we are of opinion may not be delaied), for the preuention of further dangers, as also for the vpholding of her Maiesties Army, in regard of the generall scarcity of all sorts of victuals in all parts of this Kingdome, wee humbly pray your Lordships to remember, that a proportion of victuals be sent to *Galloway*, *Ballishannon*, and *Lymrick*, with all speed, without the which we see no meanes how this seruice can be followed, or the Army in generall may be preserued from perishing. For where it is expected by your Lordships that some great numbers of Beecues, and other victuals may be gotten from the Rebels; we haue already so impouerished them by prosecutions, as they are ready to starue. And amongst the Subjects of the Pale, their Haruest was so vnseasonable, and their Corne was so destroyed by the weather, as numbers of subjects will vndoubtedly die of famine; and we see no meanes for her Maiesties Army in this Kingdome to subsist, especially for this present yeere, but vpon prouisions to be sent out of *England*, which in discharge of our bounden duties, wee thought meet plainely to signifie vnto your Lordships, and doe humbly leaue it to your carefull prouidence: For such abuses as haue beene committed in disposing of the victuals, we shall be ready vpon the arriual of such Commissioners, as are purposed to be sent, to yeeld vnto them our best assistance, and in the meane season, to haue all things in readinesse against their comming.

The sixteenth of Ianuary the Lord Deputy receiued the following letter, directed from her Maiesty to his Lordship, and the rest of the Counsell for *Ireland*.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and welbeloued, We greet you well. The abuses which by the frauds of Merchants doe daily multiply in the course of exchange, doe cast vpon Vs so great burthen, and We find them to be so impossible to be preuented, by any cautions that can be deuised, (whereof wee haue sufficient prooffe in the like fruit that followeth of the restraints made since the first Proclamation published), as We can find no other way to remedy those inconueniences, but by taking from the Merchant all benefit of exchange, other then hereunder is mentioned, in the forme of a Proclamation, which We thinke good to be published in that Kingdome, to make knowne to all men in what manner We intend to allow of the exchange, from the day of the publishing thereof, which therefore you shall cause to be done immediatly vpon the receipt of these Our letters. And for that Our intent is by this Proclamation (as you may perceiue by the tenour thereof) to explaine all former Proclamations and Orders touching this matter of the exchange, and that from the day of the publishing of this new declaration of Our pleasure, the same onely betaken for the rule of the exchange, and no benefit of Our former Proclamation to be allowed to any; yet because in some of them there bee some clauses meet for Vs to be continued, Wee haue here vnder made a short note of those clauses out of the said Proclamations, which clauses Our pleasure is that you cause to bee taken verbatim, and inserted into this Proclamation when you shall publish it, or else to expresse the substance

of them in such words as you shall thinke fit, or to alter or omit any of them, or to adde to this new direction for our aduantage; requiring you in your consideration of this our purpose, to cast aside all priuæ respects, and onely to aime at the ease of our great charge, so farre forth as it may be done without inconueniency of greater moment to Our State there, then our charge is to Vs.

The Proclamation.

Vpon the alteration of the Standard of Our Monies in this Realme, whereunto Wee were led aswell by examples of Our Progenitors, who had euer made a difference betweene the Monies of this Realme, and Our Realme of *England*, as also by a necessary prouidence of keeping the sterling Monies, both from the hands of Our Rebels here, and also from transportation into forraigne Countries, which chiefly by the said Rebels and their Factors was done; We did erect an Exchange for the vse of all sorts of Our Subiects, & others vsing entercourse between these 2 Realmes, for conuerting of Monies of the new Standard of this Realme into sterling Monies in *England*, and of English Monies into those of this Realme reciprocally, hoping that the honest and vpriight carriage of Merchants in an equal exercise of trafficke between the two Realmes, would haue caused in the said Exchange an indifferent and mutuall commodity, both to the Merchant for his trade, and to Vs for Our payments, and both their & Our intentions haue concurred, in preserving the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: but in this little time of experience which We haue made thereof, being not yet two yeeres past, Wee haue found Our expectation greatly deceiued, and the scope giuen the first institution of the Exchange, exceedingly abused by the slights and cunnings of Merchants, which though Wee did immediatly (vpon the beginning of the Exchange) discover to be breeding; yet did Wee not thinke that the same would euer haue growne to such a hight, as since Wee haue perceiued. Wherefore Wee did by some restrictions and limitations seeke to containe those frauds within reasonable bounds; but it falleth out that the remedies proposed, haue beene so farre from the easing of the grieffe, as whatsoeuer hath beene by Vs prescribed for the redresse, hath but serued for a ground and pretext of new inuentions of deceit: for that by the cunning craft of some Merchants, the scope giuen by Our Proclamation to the said Exchange, is so abused, as that some Merchant who hath brought commodities into that Kingdome from hence, hath not beene content to sell the same for reasonable gaine, but hauing raised his price of the same commodity to so much in the new monies, as doe in their true value of silver almost counteruaile the sterling he paid for it here, viz. That which cost him ten shillings sterling to thirty shillings Irish, after that rate, that which cost him 100 pound to 300 pound, he hath returned to Our Exchange the same 300 pound, which being answered him here in sterling, yeeldeth him profit of three for one, which is so great a gaine, as no aduventure of any Merchants into the furthest parts of trafficke doth yeeld, and to Vs such a burthen, as if the same should be permitted, were nothing else in effect, but to make Our Exchequer a Mart for the cunning of Merchants to worke vpon: Besides many of them haue of purpose to make profit by the said Exchange, bought vp old bills of debts, from diuers persons, to whom payment hath vpon iust consideration beene deferred, and compounding for the same, for small summes of money of the new Standard, returned the whole vpon Vs by exchange, whereby they haue made an exceeding profit, contrary to the true meaning of Our Proclamation, intended for the vse and benefit of such, as exercised an honest and direct course of Merchandize. By which fraudes there is euer a great quantity of monies of the new Standard returned vpon Vs for sterling Monies in this Realme, but neither is there any proportionable quantity of sterling Monies brought in here into the Exchange, nor deliuered into the Banckes to be conuerted into new Monies there: And consequently, there doth grow vpon Vs an intollerable burthen, in continuall payments of sterling Monies, and yet the two mischiefes (which were the chiefe cause of alteration

tion of Our Standard) not remedied; that is, the preserving of the sterling Monies from the Rebels, and from transportation into forraigne Countries: For little of it being brought in by Merchants of this Countrey, and the same being not currant to be vsed here amongst Our good Subiects, We find it partly transported, and partly falling into the hands of the Rebels, wherewith they haue beene the better enabled to continue in their wicked courses: Wherefore for redresse of so great abuses daily practised by Merchants, We doe hereby publish, that Our meaning is, that from the day of the publishing hereof, the places of exchanging of monies, shall be onely at *Dublyn* for this Our Realme of *Ireland*, and at *London* for Our Realme of *England*, for all such as vse the trade of Merchandize, but for others that are in Our pay, and haue wages of Vs, as being of Our Army, or otherwise, there shall be a Bancke maintained at *Corke*, as heretofore it was, to receiue their bills, but the bills receiued there, shall be payable onely at *London*, and for the vse of passengers and souldiers departing out of Our Realme into *England*, there shall be likewise exchanges at *Bristol* and *Chester*. So as no such souldier or passenger doe bring thither any bill containing aboue the sum of foure pound. But for Merchants, there shall not be at the said places of *Chester* and *Bristol*, any payment of bills returned, but onely at Our City of *London*, in such manner as is hereafter expressed. And further Our pleasure and meaning is, that the said Exchange shall extend onely to such, as now are, or hereafter from time to time shall be in Our pay here, seruing Vs in the field, or in wards, or garrisons, and to all Officers of gouernement of Iustice, of Our reuenues, or of the Exchange, and to such others as are contained in Our establishment: To all and euery of whom, We are pleased to allow the benefit of exchanging Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, into Monies currant in *England*, (wanting onely twelue pence sterling in the pound), viz. yeerely to each of them rateably in his degree, for so much as he doth saue, aboue his expence, of that which hee doth receiue yeerely of Vs, or ought to receiue cleerely for his pay, all deductions and defalcations being foreprized; and so as there be no fraud vsed by any of them in abusing this Our liberality and fauour, contrary to Our true meaning: And for others vsing trade of Merchandize, although they deserue no fauour, in regard of the frauds, wherewith many of them haue abused Our gracious meaning, in the institution of Our exchange intended, and in regard of the excessive raising of the prices of all wares, whereby both Our Subiects are extreemely burthened here, and We intollerably charged in the exchange in *England*, yet in regard of the present pouerty of this Our Realme, whereby We conceiue that there wanteth as yet for a time sufficient commodities of the growth or manufaction of this Kingdome, wherewith to maintaine trafficke, Wee are pleased to maintaine for their vse an exchange in this manner. That euery such person, not being of those that belong to Our Establishment, but a Merchant, who shall deliuer to the Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies in this Realme, one hundred pounds, whereof forty pound shall be of the Standard, of sterling mony of siluer or of gold, and threescore pound in mixt Monies of the new Standard of this Realme, shall receiue of the said Master of the Exchange, or his Deputies, a Bill directed to the Bancke of exchange in *England*, where the same is playable, whereby hee shall receiue for each hundred pound deliuered here in that manner, one hundred pounds in Monies currant of *England*, wanting onely twelue pence in the pound for each pound of the mixt Monies deliuered, and for the sterling no defalcation to bee made, as heretofore hath been ordained. And after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie. And to the end that the fraudes vsed by some Merchants may be better preuented, and the Master of the exchange, or his Deputies vnderstand, that he dealeth truly in bringing his monies to the exchange. Our pleasure is, that euery such Merchant, resorting to the exchange, shall bring a certificate from the Officers of Our Custome-house, where his goods were entred, what goods he hath entered there, and at what time, to the end that it may thereby be discerned, that he seeketh nothing, but the returne of his owne money, and is not a cullourer of other mens. And for that diuers Noble men and Gentlemen of this Realme, haue cause many times to repaire into *England*, either for suites or other

necessarie causes, and some haue children there, either at the Vniuersities, or at the Innes of Court or Chancerie, or in Our seruice at Court, who shall haue cause for those purposes to vse sterling monie, and to haue the moneys of this Realme conuerted into moneys currant in *England*. We are pleased, that all such haue the benefit of the exchange in such manner, as for those of our Army is aboue limited, for such yeerely summes of money, as Our Deputy and Counsell there for the time being, shall thinke good to allow to any of them, vpon their demands. And the Warrant of our said Deputie and Counsell shall bee sufficient Warrant to the Master of our exchange, or his Deputies, for the receiuing of all such Billes as they shall require him to admit, for any such Nobleman or Gentleman.

And now hauing explained some part of the abuses offered to Vs in the exchange, and declared Our pleasure for the reformation of them, We doe not doubt but that, as vpon the former restrictions by Vs proposed to the same end, so now, many ill-minded persons wil not stick to slander Our doings, as though there were not in Vs an honourable meaning to performe what here We haue promised, whereof although Our proceedings shall by their true and iust effect manifest the contrary, yet because euill tongues accustomed to caluminate the actions of Princes, are sometimes the instruments of alteration of peoples mindes from their dutifull opinions of their Soueraignes, where there is to vs nothing so deare as the conseruation of the loue of our subiects, Wee doe for preuenting of any such malicious purposes, require all Magistrates and Officers, who haue any charge in the Gouvernement of that Our Kingdome, to haue an eare to such euill rumours, and to the spreaders of them, and such as they shall find to be authors or instruments of diuulging any slanderous speeches, touching this matter of the exchange, to make them an example for others to bee admonished by. And to assure all men, that this institution of base money in this Kingdome hath had his chiefe ground, vpon hope Wee had thereby to weaken the Rebels of this Kingdome, who by the vse of sterling money, had and haue meanes to prouide themselves from forraigne parts, of all things necessarie to maintaine their euill courses. And that the same being by this way partly, and partly by power of Our Army, once suppressed, We shall haue iust cause to restore the monies of this Realme to such estate, as our Progenitors haue accustomed to vse here. Given vnder our Signet at our Pallace of *Westminster* the foure and twentieth day of December, 1602. being of our Raigne the five and fortieth yeere.

The clauses of former Proclamations touching the Exchange meete now to be continued.

The vse of sterling Monies or of any other, then these new monies, prohibited vpon penalties of imprisonment and fine; All Officers hauing power given them to seaze the said monies put in vse, and euery Informer allowed the moyety of so much as he shall discouer.

To allow for all sterling monies of siluer, brought into the Exchange, with purpose to receiue new Monies for the same, gaine of two shillings in the pound of new monies: for gold two shillings six pence gaine of new monies.

To allow ten in the hundred profit, for all base siluer monies brought into the Exchange.

Counterfettors to be seuerely looked to & punished. All passengers comming into *Ireland*, to be searched, or put to their oath, what sterling mony they carry with them.

The same day his Lordship and the Counsell here, receiued this following letter from the Lords in *England*.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordships, we haue receiued your letter of the seuenth of this instant, together with a seuerall note or abstract of some materiall points and doubts to be considered and resolved, concerning the last prescribed forme of the Exchange. And as both your letters and abstract, were addressed together for answere of her Maiesties letter, lately sent vnto you with a forme of a Proclamation thereunto annexed, so now you shall againe receiue the resolution of her Maiesty and vs of her Counsell, touching the same matter onely, and the doubts by you propounded, which according to your desire we

we send with as much speed as a businesse of that importance, (reduced to a new deliberation) could be dispatched. For the liberty that her Maiesty did giue you, either of proceeding, or of respite and suspence to publish the Proclamation, according to the iudgement you shall make of it vpon consideration of any very dangerous effects, that you shall find apparant or likely to ensue, you haue rightly acknowledged her Maiesties gracious respect vnto you, in whom (as the chiefe Ministers of that State) shee repositeth speciall confidence, both for your care and wisdom, and for the opportunity you haue (by the present contemplation of all things neere at hand and vnder your eye) to discerne and discover any inconueniencies, and to apply the medicines accordingly. And therefore, although it pleased her to take that resolution (together with vs of her Counsell) which was set downe by the said Proclamation, hoping that it would be a meanes to cure and prevent the intollerable frauds and enormities in the practice of the exchange, which was intended and instituted for the ease of her excessive charge, and for the good of her subiects there; yet for as much as you haue shewed so great a distrust and feare of dangerous consequence, if you should forthwith haue proceeded to the publishing of that Proclamation, and vpon aduised consultation (as her Maiesty assureth her selfe) haue propounded these points of doubtfullnesse, that accompanied your letter, shee is well pleased to giue such credit to your opinion, as that shee hath vpon a new deliberation with vs of her Counsell, caused a temper and moderation to be set downe, with the chiefe points whereof you doubted, as may appeare vnto you by a forme of a Proclamation, differing from the former, and now sent vnto you, wherein because you may readily obserue the particular alterations from the former Proclamation, by comparing both together, wee need not make rehearfall of them here, for satisfaction of your doubts. Onely we haue thought good to say somewhat concerning the sixth and seuenth Articles in your abstract, in which you make question what course is best to bee holden for the discovery of the fraudes vsed by Merchants and others in their exchanges, and what meanes are to be vsed that her Maiesty be not ouer-burthened in the exchange, vpon which questions and your owne opinions thereof deliuered, wee cannot omit to make two obseruations. The one that your selues doe acknowledge the intollerable frauds of Merchants and others vsed in the exchange, whereby not onely her Maiesties gracious intention and meaning of the exchange hath beene extraordinarily abused; but her Subiects in that Realme, by the excessive rates in the sale of all commodities, haue beene vnconscionably ouercharged: And therefore your selues cannot denie, but that it were very dangerous for the exchange to be vpholden without remedy of these frauds. The second, that for asmuch as there cannot bee any certaine rule and order prescribed, to auoid these frauds, that shall be free from the euasion of cunning and deceitfull persons, and the onely remedy doth consist in the carefull and diligent ouersight of her Maiesties Ministers, to whom that trust is committed, her Maiesty thinketh that as your selues did truely find the faults and abuses, so none can better prouide for their remedy then you, that are there present, and especially you the Treasurer, by whose Ministers errors her Maiesty hath beene so much preiudiced. And whereas especiall cause of these frauds is imputed to the multiplicity of the bills of exchange, wee should most willingly be of that mind, to reduce all vnto one place at *Dublyn*, were it not that wee find you the Treasurer to vary in your opinion, hauing signified heretofore by your particular letters to some of vs, that there is no possible way of remedy, but by reducing all the Banckes to one place, and yet by this letter iointly with the rest of the Counsell, deliuering your opinion for the establishing of two places, vnto which opinion, because we conceiue you are wonne, vpon the consultation of that Counsell, we haue applied our consent therevnto: And to the end it may plainly appeare vnto you, how the Merchants & others abusing the exchange, doe most fraudulently serue their turne both vpon her Maiesties Subiects there, (if it bee true as hath beene informed to vs by persons of good credit comming from thence, that they improue their commodities to a treble price, and more, in respect of that Coyne), and likewise vpon her Maiesties excessive losse, by returne of their money vpon the exchange, wee haue thought

thought good to send you an Estimate or Calculation of the gaine that one of them may make, and (as it is to be supposed) doth make, in this course vpon the expence but of one hundred pounds vttered there in commodities, making and raising therevpon but two for one, whereby you may iudge how vnreasonable aduantage may be further made, vpon the profit of three or foure for one, if the Merchant be so ill disposed, or can find the meanes of a corrupt Minister vnder the Treasurer to combine with him: And so wee bid you right heartily well to fare. From the Court at *White-Hall* the 24 of *December* 1602.

A computation (sent euer inclosed in the former letter) of the gaine which a Merchant may make by the Exchange, bringing to the Exchange in each one hundred pound, forty pound sterling: and supposing the Merchant to be without sterling money in his store, or without credit, and to use the Exchange directly.

If he conuert one hundred pound sterling into wares, and sell the same in *Ireland* at the rate of two for one, viz. For two hundred pound Irish, he doth thereby gaine as followeth.

To haue the benefit of the Exchange, he must haue four score pounds sterling, which supposing that he buieth at five shillings Irish each twenty shillings sterling, his four score pound sterling doth cost him one hundred pounds Irish.

Then commeth he to the Exchange with one hundred pounds Irish, and four score pounds sterling; for both which the Minister giueth him a bill to receiue in *England* one hundred seuentie five pound sterling, for hee must loose five pound of the exchange of the one hundred Irish.

Then hath he in his purse in *England* one hundred seuentie five pound, defalking his first stocke, which was one hundred pound, resteth cleere to him seuentie five pound.

And this he may doe vpon as many returnes as he maketh in a yeere.

If it be objected, that he cannot buy sterling money at so low a rate, as for five and twenty shillings Irish, but that he doe pay thirty shilling Irish for twenty shillings sterling, then is his gaine the lesse by nineteene pound, and yet shall he gaine sixe and fifty pound.

But supposing such a Merchant as is not in necessity to by sterling money with Irish, but that he may borrow it here of friends, though he pay twenty pound in the hundred for it, then is his gaine in this manner.

His hundred pounds sterling conuerted into wares, and sold in *Ireland* for two hundred pound Irish, he bringeth to the Exchange one hundred and twenty pound Irish and fourescore pounds sterling borrowed, and receiueth a bill to be paid in *England*, one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, losing sixe pound for the returne of one hundred and twenty pound Irish.

So hath he in his purse in *England* one hundred fourescore and foureteene pound, out of which deducting one hundred pound, which was the first stocke, resteth to him fourescore and foureteene pound. Out of which gaine, allowing him fourescore pounds, to pay for so much borrowed by him, yet resteth to him foureteene pound.

And further hee hath remaining in his hands in *Ireland* fourescore pound Irish, remaining of his two hundred Irish, whereof he brought onely one hundred and twenty pound to the Exchange. To haue which fourescore pound returned by the Exchange, hee must borrow two and thirty pound sterling; and so shall hee haue a bill to be paid in *England*, one hundred and eight pound; for he looseth foure pound for exchange of the fourescore pound Irish: Out of which one hundred and eight pound, abating the two and thirty pound borrowed, there resteth gained seuentie sixe pound. Whereunto adding the foureteene pound aboue mentioned, then the whole gaine is, fourescore and ten pound.

From whence take for the interest of one hundred and twelue pound, borrowed for three moneths, after twenty in the hundred for a yeere, which is for three moneths
sixe

sixe pound twelue shillings, and then his cleere gaine is, towards his freight, custome, forbearing the money and other charges, fourescore and foure pound, eight shillings.

About the end of January, the Lord Deputy returned from *Connaght* to *Dublyn*, and by the way receiued letters from *Rory O Donnell*, who now had vnderaken the prosecution of *O Rorke*, and signified his determination to make a roade presently into his Countrey, and to leaue some of his men to lie vpon him, in some places of conuenient strength: but his Lordship being come to *Dublyn*, receiued another letter from the said *Rory O Donnell*, vpon the eighteenth of February, signifying that *O Rorke's* strength was much increased, by the repaire of many chiefe Rebels into his Countrey, so as for the present he was nether able to attempt *O Rorke*, nor to defend himselfe from his attempts, till the English forces should draw vp to assist him, the hastning whereof he prayed, and that he might haue leaue to put vp his Creaghtes for a time towards *Ballishannon*, for his better safetie.

The five and twentieth of February, the Lord Deputie wrote this following letter to the Lords in *England*, and sent it by the hands of the Lord President of *Mounster*, at this time going for *England*.

MAy it please your Lordships, although I am vnwilling to enforme you often of the present estate of this Kingdome, or of any particular accidents or seruices, because the one is subiect to so much alteration, and the other lightly deliuered vnto all that are not present with such vncertainty, and that I am loath to make any proiect vnto your Lordships, either of my requests to you, or my owne resolutions here, since so many things fall suddenly out, which may alter the grounds of either: yet since I do write now by one that can so sufficiently supply the defects of a letter, I haue presumed at this time to impart vnto your Lordships, that I thinke fit to bee remembered, or doe determine on, most humbly desiring your L^{ps}, that if I erre in the one, or hereafter alter the other, you will not impute it to my want of sincerity or constancy, but to the nature of the subiect whereof I must treat, or of the matter whereon I work: And first to present vnto your Lordships the outward face of the foure Prouinces, and after to guesse (as neere as I can) at their dispositions. *Mounster* by the good gouernement and industry of the Lord President, is cleere of any force in rebellion, except some few vnable to make any forcible head. In *Leinster* there is not one declared Rebel: In *Connaght* there is none but in *O Rorke's* Countrey; In *Ulster* none but *Tyrone*, and *Brian Mac Art*, who was neuer Lord of any Countrey, and now doth with a body of loose men and some creaghts continue in *Glancomkynes*, or neere the borders thereof. *Connogh Macguyre* sometimes Lord of *Fermannagh*, is banished out of the Countrey, who liues with *O Rorke*, and at this time *O Connor Macguyre* is possessed of it by the Queene, and holds it for her. I beleue that generally the Lords of the Countreies that are reclaimed, desire a peace, though they will be wauering, till their lands and estates are assured vnto them from her Maiesty, and as long as they see a party in rebellion to subsist, that is of power to ruine them if they continue subiects, or otherwise shall be doubtfull of our defence. All that are out, doe seeke for mercy, except *O Rorke*, and *Oswillan*, who is now with *O Rorke*, and these are obstinate onely out of their diffidence, to be safe in any forgiuenesse. The loose men, and such as are onely Captaines of *Bonnaghts*, as *Tyrrill*, and *Brian Mac Art*, will nourish the warre, as long as they see any possibility to subsist, and like ill humours, haue recourse to any part that is vnfound. The Nobility, Townes, and English-Irish, are for the most part as weary of the warre as any, but vnwilling to haue it ended, generally, for feare that vpon a peace, will ensue a seuerer reformation of Religion; and in particular, many bordering gentlemen that were made poore by their owne faults, or by rebels incursions, continue their splene to them, now they are become Subiects, and hauing vsed to helpe themselves by stealths, did neuer more vse them, nor better preuaile in them, then now that these submitties haue laied aside their owne defence, and betaken themselves to the protection and Iustice of the State, and many of them haue tasted so much

much sweet in intertainments; that they rather desire a warre to continue them, then a quiet harvest that might arise out of their own honest labour, so that I doe find none more pernicious Instruments of a new warre, then some of these. In the meane time, *Tyrone* while he shall live, will blow every sparke of discontent, or new hopes that shall be hid in any corner of the Kingdome, and before hee shall be utterly extinguished make many blases, and sometimes set on fire, or consume the next Subjects vnto him. I am perswaded that his combination is already broken, and it is apparant, that his meanes to sublist in any power is overthrowne, but how long he may live as a woodkerne, and what new accidents may fall out while he doth live, I know not. If it be imputed to my fault, that notwithstanding her Maiesties great forces, he doth still live, I beseech your Lordships to remember, how securely the *Banditoes* of *Italy* doe live, between the power of the King of *Spaine* and the Pope: How many men of all Countries of severall times have in such sort preserved themselves long from the great power of Princes, but especially in this Countrey, where there are so many difficulties to carry an Army in most places, so many vnaccessable strengths for them to flie vnto, and then to be pleased to consider the great worke that first I had, to breake this maine rebellion, to defend the Kingdome from a dangerous inuasion of a mighty forraigne Prince, with so strong a party in the Countrey, and now the difficulty to roote out scattered troopes, that had so many vnaccessable dens to lurke in, which as they are by nature of extreame strength and perill to be attempted; so is it vnpossible for any people, naturally and by art; to make greater vse of them; and though with infinite danger we doe beat them out of one, yet is there no possibility for vs to follow them with such agility, as they will flie to another, and it is most sure, that neuer Traitor knew better how to keepe his owne head, then this, nor any Subjects have a more dreadfull awe to lay violent hands on their sacred Prince, then these people have to touch the person of their *O Neales*; and he that hath as pestilent a iudgement as ever any had, to nourish and to spread his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling and desire of liberty in a conquered Nation to worke vpon, their feare to be rooted out, or to have their old faults punished, vpon all particular discontents; and generally over all the Kingdome, the feare of a persecution for Religion, the debasing of the Coyne, (which is grievous vnto all sorts), and a dearth and famine; which is already begunne, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the least of which alone, have bene many times sufficient motives to drive the best and most quiet estates into sudden confusion. These will keepe all spirits from setting, breed new combinations, and (I feare) even stirre the Towns themselves, to sollicite forraigne aid, with promise to cast themselves into their protection: And although it be true, that if it had pleased her Maiesty, to have longer continued her Army in greater strength, I should the better have provided for what these Cloudes doethreaten, and sooner and more easily either have made this Countrey a rased table, wherein shee might have written her owne lawes, or have tied the ill disposed and rebellious hands, till I had surely planted such a government, as would have overgrowne and killed any weeds, that should have risen vnder it, yet since the necessity of the State doth so vrge a diminution of this great expence, I will not dispaire to goe on with this great worke, through all these difficulties, if we be not interrupted by forraigne forces; although perchance wee may be encountered with some new eruptions, and (by often adventuring) with some diasters; and it may be your Lordships shall sometimes heare of some spoiles done vpon the Subjects, from the which it is impossible to preserve them in all places, with farre greater Forces then ever yet were kept in this Kingdome: And although it hath bene seldom heard, that any Army hath bene carried on with so continuall action and enduring, without any intermission of Winter breathings, and that the difficulties at this time, to keepe any Forces in the place where we must make the warre, (but especially our Horse), are almost beyond any hope to prevent, yet with the favour of God and her Maiesties fortune, I doe determine, my selfe to draw into the field, as soone as I have received her Maiesties commandements by the Commissioners, whom it hath pleased her to send over, and in the meane time I hope, by my owne presence or directions,

ctions, to set every party on worke, that doth adioyne or may bee drawne against any force that now doth remaine in rebellion. In which iourney the successe must bee in the hands of God, but I will confidently promise to omit nothing that is possible by vs to bee done, to giue the last blow vnto the Rebellion. But as all paine and anguish, impatient of the present, doth vse change for a remedie, so will it bee impossible for vs to settle the mindes of this people vnto a peace, or reduce them vnto order, while they feele the smart of these sensible griefes, and apparant feares which I haue remembred to your Lordships, without some hope of redresse or securitie. Therefore I will presume (how vnworthy soeuer I am) since it concerns the Prouince her Maiestie hath giuen me, with all humblenesse to lay before your graue iudgements, some few things, which I thinke necessarie to bee considered of.

And first, whereas the alteration of the coine, and taking away of the exchange, in such measure as it was first promised, hath bred a generall griuance vnto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the iudgement of any that I can heare, to preuent a confusion in this estate, by the continuance thereof; that (at the least) it would please your Lordships to put this people in some certaine hope, that vpon the ende of the warre, this new standard shall bee abolished, or eased, and that in the meane time the Armie may bee fauourably delt with in the Exchange, since by the last Proclamation your Lordships sent ouer, they doe conceiue their case will bee more hard then any others; for if they haue allowed them nothing, but indefinitely as much as they shall meercly gaine out of their intertainments, that will proue nothing to the greater part. For the onely possibility to make them to liue vpon their intertainement, will bee to allow them exchange for the greatest part thereof, since now they doe not onely pay excessive prices for all things, but can hardly get any thing for this money; and although wee haue presumed to alter (in shew, though not effect) the Proclamation in that point, by retaining a power in our selues to proportion their allowance for exchange, yet was it, with a minde to conforme our proceedings therein, according to your Lordships next directions, and therefore doe humbly desire to know your pleasures therein. For our opinions of the last proiect it pleased your Lordships to send vs, I doe humbly leaue it to our generall letters, onely as from my selfe I made ouerture to the Counsell of the other you sent directed onely to my selfe, and because I found them generally to concur, that it would proue as dangerous as the first, I did not thinke it fit any otherwise to declare your Lordships pleasure therein. And whereas it pleased your Lordships in your last letters to command vs to deale moderately in the great matter of Religion, I had, before the receit of your Lordships letters, presumed to aduise such as delt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein, and we were both thinking our selues, what course to take in the renocation of what was already done, with least encouragement to them and others, since the feare that this course begun in *Dublin* would fall vpon the rest, was apprehended ouer all the Kingdom, so that I thinke your Lordships direction was to great purpose, & the other course might haue ouerthrowne the meanes to our owne end of reformation of religion. Not that I thinke too great precisenesse can bee vsed in the reforming of our selues, the abuses of our owne Clergie, Church-liuings, or discipline, nor that the truth of the Gospell can with too great vehemency or industrie bee set forward, in all places, and by all ordinary meanes most proper vnto it selfe, that was first set forth and spread in meekenesse, nor that I thinke any corporall prosecution or punishment can be too seuer for such, as shall bee found seditious instruments of forraigne or inward practises, nor that I thinke it fit, that any principall Magistrates should bee chosen without taking the Oath of Obedience, nor tollerated in absenting themselves from publike Diuine Seruice, but that wee may bee aduised how wee doe punish in their bodies or goods any such onely for Religion, as doe professe to bee faithfull subiects to her Maiestie, and against whom the contrarie can

not be proued. And since, if the Irish were vtterly rooted out, there was much lesse likelihood that this Countrey could be thereby in any time planted by the English, since they are so farre from inhabiting well any part of that they haue already, and that more then is likely to be inhabited, may be easily chosen out and reserved, in such places by the Sea-side, or vpon great Riuers, as may be planted to great purpose, for a future absolute reducement of this Countrey, I thinke, it would as much auaille the speedy setling of this Countrey as any thing, that it would please her Maiesty to deale liberally with the Irish Lords of Countries, or such as now are of great reputation among them, in the distribution of such lands as they haue formerly possessed, or the State here can make little vse of for her Maiesty. If they continue, as they ought to doe, and yeeld the Queene as much commodity as shee may otherwise expect, shee hath made a good purchase of such subiects for such land. If any of them hereafter be disobedient to her lawes, or breake forth in rebellion, shee may when they shall be more diuided, ruine them more easily, for example vnto others, and (if it be thought fit) may plant English or other Irish in their Countries: For although there euer haue beene, and hereafter may be small eruptions, in some places, which at the first may easily be suppressed, yet the suffering them to grow to that generall head and combination, did questionlesse proceed from great error in the iudgement here, and may be easily (as I thinke) preuented hereafter. And further it may please her Maiesty to ground her resolution, for the time and numbers of the next abatement of the lyst of her Army, somewhat vpon our poore aduice from hence, and to belecue that wee will not so farre corrupt our iudgements with any priuate respect, as without necessity, to continue her charge, seeing wee doe thorowly conceiue how greuous it is vnto her estate, and that wee may not be precisely tied to an establishment, that shall conclude the payments of the Treasurer, since it hath euer beene thought fit to be otherwise, till the comming ouer of the Earle of *Essex*, and some such extraordinary occasion may fall out, that it will bee dangerous to attend your Lordships resolutions, and when it will be safe to diminish the Army here, that there may be some course thought of, by some other employment to disburthen this Countrey of the idle Sword-men, in whom I find an inclination apt enough to be carried elsewhere, either by some of this Countrey of best reputation among them, or in Companies as now they stand vnder English Captaines, who may be reinforced with the greatest part of Irish. That it may be left to our discretion, to make passages and bridges into Countries otherwise vnaccessible, and to build little piles of stone in such garrisons, as shall be thought fittest to be continuall bridles vpon the people, by the commodity of which, wee may at any time draw the greatest part of the Army together, to make a head against any part that shall first breake out, and yet reserue the places onely with a ward, to put in greater Forces as occasion shall require, which I am perswaded will proue great pledges vpon this Countrey, that vpon any vrgent cause the Queene may safely draw the greatest part of her Army here out of the Kingdome, to be employed (at least for a time) elsewhere, wherein I beseech your Lordships to consider, what a strength so many experienced Captaines and Souldiers would be, to any Army of new men erected in *England*, against an inuasion, or sent abroad, in any offensive warre: but vntill these places be built, I cannot conceiue how her Maiesty (with any safety) can make any great diminution of her Army. Lastly, I doe humbly desire your Lordships to receiue, the further explanation of my meaning and confirmation of the reasons that doe induce me vnto these propositions from the Lord President of *Monsieur*, who as he hath beene a very worthy actor in the reducement and defence of this Kingdome, so doe I thinke him to be best able to giue you through accompt of the present estate, & future prouidence for the preservation thereof, wherein it may please your L^{ps} to require his opinion, of the hazard this Kingdome is like to runne; if it should by any mighty power be inuaded, & how hard it will be for vs in any measure to provide for the present defence, if any such be intended, & withall to goe on with the suppression of these that are left in Rebellion, so that wee must either aduenture the new kind-
ling

ling of this fire, that is almost extinguished, or intending onely that, leaue the other to exceeding perill. And thus hauing remembred to your Lordships the most materiall Points (as I conceiue), that are fittest for the present to bee considered of, I doe humbly recommend my selfe and them to your Lordships fauour. From her Maiesties Castle of *Dublin* this fixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1602.

At the same time the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lords in *England*, about his priuate affaires, wherein he signified, that al manner of prouisions necessarie for the maintenance of an household were (of late especially) bought at such excessive rates (as well in regard of the famine growing daily greater in *Ireland*, (by the continuall spoile of the Countrie, and the Armies cutting downe of the Rebels Corne for these last two yeeres) as also in regard of the disualuation of the mixed coyne now currant, after the taking away of exchange (whereof each shilling had no more then two pence halfe-penny siluer in it), and that the prices of the said prouisions daily so increased, as foure times the entertainment allowed him by her Maiesty for his maintenance, would not answere his ordinarie expences, except it would please their Lordships to allow him exchange for the most part of his entertainment, that thereby he might be inabled to make his prouisions out of *England*.

In the beginning of March, the Lord Deputie vnderstood, that *Brian Mac Art* had secretly stolen into *Killoltagh*, with some fise hundred men vnder his leading, (as hee had lately done the like, but was soone driuen out againe by Sir *Arthur Chichester*.) Whereupon his Lordship sent Sir *Richard Morryson* from *Dublyn* vp to his Garrison in *Lecayle*, and gaue him his Lordships guard, and three other Companies of Foote to leade with him, that he might assist Sir *Arthur Chichester* in the prosecution of this Rebell, who was soone driuen out of *Killoltagh* by those forces.

Now because I haue often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels Corne, and vsing al meanes to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Sir *Richard Morryson*, and the other Commanders of the Forces sent against *Brian Mac Art* aforesaid, in their returne homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not aboue ten yeeres old), all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, vpon whose flesh they had fed twenty dayes past, and hauing eaten all from the feete vppward to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entralls in like sort roasted, yet not diuided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputies letters, of carcases scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebell souldiers taking all the common people had to feede vpon, and hardly living thereupon; (so as they besides fed not onely on Hawkes, Kytes, and vnsauourie birds of prey, but on Horseflesh, and other things vnsit for mans feeding), the common sort of the Rebels were driuen to vnspeakeable extremities (beyond the record of most Histories that euer I did reade in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite taske, yet wil I not passe it over without adding some few instances. Captaine *Trenor* & many honest Gentlemen lying in the *Newry* can witnes, that some old women of those parts, vsed to make a fier in the fields, & diuers little children driuing out the cattel in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warme them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten; which at last was discovered by a great girle breaking from them by strength of her body, and Captaine *Trenor* sending out souldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulles and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The Captaines of *Carickfergus*, and the adiacent Garrisons of the Northerne parts can witnesse, that vpon the making of peace, and receiuing the rebels to mercy, it was a common practise among the common sort of them (I meane such as were not Sword-men), to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troopes, and they dying thereupon, to bee readie to teare out one anothers throate for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could

could rend vp above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the Rebels had been vtterly destroyed by famine, had not a generall peace shortly followed *Tyrones* submission (besides mercy formerly extended to many others), by which the Rebels had liberty, to seeke reliefe among the subiects of *Ireland*, and to be transported into *England* and *France*, where great multitudes of them liued for some yeeres after the peace made.

The fourth of March the Lord Deputy receiued letters from Sir *Henry Dockwra*, aduertising many vehement suspicions of Sir *Neale Garues* disloyal purposes, namely, his vnderhand putting *Mac Swyne* to goe againe into rebellion, and to take an Iland of his, which was a fit place to set vp a new rebellion, and also his making a storehouse of Armes, with extraordinary prouisions of them. Further he aduertised, that himself vsed all meanes to keepe *Tyrone* in the *Glynnes* (where hee now was) till his Lordship came vp (which iourney he aduised to bee in the beginning of the next moneth), but vnderstanding that within few daies hee would remoue towards *Fermanagh*, howloeu the English there at that time were weake, yet he would lye for the Arch-rebel on his way to *Omy*, or *Agher*, not doubting but in the passage of those Plaines hee should haue some opportunity of fighting with him, and (at the least) to take good part of his prey from him. Lastly, he aduertised, that he had razed *Hen. Ouingtons* Castle, and *Mac Hughes* Iland, which both had been neasts and starting holes for theecues.

The fifteenth of March the Lord Deputy left *Dublin*, and rode towards the Northerne borders, where his Lordship (with his retinue) lay to and fro, the remaining few dayes of this yeere (and part of the beginning of the next, till *Tyrone* was receiued to mercy, and the war ended) to the end his Lordship being in those parts, might giue life to the present seruice, as wel of the forces sent to prosecute *Ororke*, as of the Garrisons lying in waite for all aduantages vpon *Tyrone* himselfe and his broken partakers.

The af-
fares of
Moun-
ster.

Touching *Mounster* affaires in the yeere 1602, the Lord Deputy at his comming frō *Corke* caused Sir *Ric. Percy* to be sworne Countsellor for the Prouince of *Mounster*, and in his iournall towards *Cillkenney* knighted three Irish men, *John Fitz Edmonds* and two Citizens of *Watterford*, *Edward Gough*, and *Richard Aylward*. The Lord President at *Killkenney* tooke his leaue of the Lord Deputy, and making short Iournays, by reason he was sickly, came not to *Corke*, till the third of April, 1602.

When the Spaniards by composition were to render the Castels in the West, *O Swillian Beare* had surpris'd his Castle of *Donboy* in *Beerehauen* from the Spaniards, whereof some were killed in the surprisall, which freed them from suspicion to haue yeelded it voluntarily contrary to the composition. This strong Castle vpon an excellent hauen *O Swillian* kept for the King of *Spaine*, hauing sixty Warders with him at first, and three pieces of Spanish Ordinance. The Lord President meaning to take this Castle, tooke the field the 23 of April, and after many attempts vpon the Rebels, in which some of them were killed, and some taken and executed, and many preyes taken by parties sent out, it was resolued the fourteenth of May to passe the forces ouer to an Iland, called the great Iland, that way to march to *Beerehauen*, the way thither by land, being vnpassable for the victuals and carriages, besides many places of aduantage in the Mountaines, where the Rebels, though few in number, might distresse a great Army, and easily forbid their passage. Here by the sea side, the Foote staid for the ships carrying the Victuals, Munition and Ordinance, which were detained by contrary winds till the last of May. The sixth of Iune, the forces were ferried ouer to the land neere Castle *Dermot*, where they incamped; and though they landed in another part then the Rebels expected, who lay there to hinder, and impeach their landing, yet the Rebels halted to them to begin the skirmish with them, when they were in good order, and almost had all passed the *Ferry*, so as the Rebels hauing no aduantage in this fight, they left 28 dead in the place, and had more then 30 wounded, whereof Captaine *Tirrel* was one, being slightly hurt in the belly, and some were taken prisoners, whereas on our part onely seuen were hurt. The tenth of Iune, our forces hauing landed their Ordinance, incamped within musket shot of the Castle of *Donboy*, but not within the sight of the Castle, a rising ground lying betweene the Campe and the Castle, so as the great shot from the Castle flew ouer the Campe without doing any hurt.

hurt. The twelfth a Fort within the Iland of *Dorset*, kept by the Rebels, was surprized by the English, and all the Rebels killed or hanged, and therein were taken three Iron Peeces of Spanish Ordinance. The 17 of Iune after two daies battery, the English assaulted the breach, and possessed part of the Castle *Dunboy*, the Rebels keeping and defending the rest, all that day and night, and great part of the next, at which time the English were by force made full Masters of it. The Rebels defending it, were 134 selected Souldiers, and all of them were killed in the Castle, or seeking to flie, or being prisoners were executed in the campe, except twelue men of chiefe accompt, and most esteemed by *Tyrrell*, which were kept to be examined vpon torture, or to worke some good for the seruice with *Tyrrell*, by the sauing of their liues. Of Spanish Ordinance, there was taken one Demy Culuerin, two Sakers, and one Falcon of brasse, and two Sakers, five Minions, and one Falcon of Iron. The Gunners were Italians and Spaniards, who perished with the rest, nine barrells of powder taken in the Castle, were imployed to blow it vp, lest any Spaniards or Rebels might after make vse of it.

This Castle taken, the Lord President returned to *Corke*, where Sir *Samuell Bagnoll* attended his comming with letters from the Lord Deputy, and according to his Lordships directions, the Lord President sent by him 1500 Foote, being aboue the old Mounster lyst, who came with these Forces to the Lord Deputy the 29 of Iuly, and brought letters from the Lord President, aduertising the aboue mentioned confident expectation of a second Spanish inuasion. At the same time Sir *Edward wingfield* was landed at *Corke*, bringing to the Lord President 500 foote for supplies of the weake Companies. Sir *Charles Wilmott* Gouvernour of *Kerry*, (wherein were many prouinciall Rebels, besides 1000 strangers to helpe them,) had before the siege of *Dunboy* prosecuted *Mac Morris*, cleared *Kerry* of all Rebels, and prosecuted them into *Desmond*, taken Castles and great preyes of Cowes, and brought the Knight of *Kerry* on his knees, and this done, hee marched towards the Lord President in his way to *Dunboy*, and vnitied his Forces to the Army. After the taking of that Castle, he was now againe sent into *Kerry*, with directions that all garrisons should burne the Corne they could not gather, and that he should remoue the Irish Inhabitants with their goods to a Countrey neere *Lymricke*, that the Spaniards againe expected, might make no vse of them. In August the Lord President was aduertised that many in *Carbery* reuolted, and that vpon a ship from *Spaine* not long before arrived with money to distribute among the most actiue Rebels, *Donnogh Mac Carty* and *Finnen* his brother (who had attended the Lord president at the siege of *Dunboy*) were now reuolted, and had taken impresse money from the King of *Spaine*, whereupon the two Captaines *Roger* and *Gawen Haruy* lying there in garrison, had taken many preyes from them, and spoiled the Countrey. And yet by daily intelligence the Lord President vnderstood, that the newes of the taking of *Dunboy* comming into *Spaine*, the King had commanded to stay all his prouisions for *Ireland*, till his pleasure were further signified. And no doubt the Queenes Fleet lying at this time vpon the coast of *Spaine*, most of all discouraged him from any new attempt in succour of the Irish Rebels. About the end of August it was generally diuulged in *Mounster* that a Spanish Fleet was discovered vpon the Coast, whereupon the Irish posted vp and downe the Country with great signes of ioy, so as at the Lord Presidents suit, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* was sent backe to him with the forces he had formerly led out of *Mounster* to the Lord Deputy.

The second of September the Lord President receiued this following gratiuous letter written from the Queene with her owne hand.

Your Soueraigne, E. R.

MY faithfull *George*, how ioied We are that so good euent hath followed so troublesome endeuours, laborious cares, and heedfull trauels, you may guesse, but We best can witnesse, and doe protest that your safety hath equalled the most thereof. And so God euen blesse you in all your actions.

About this time the Lord President hauing receiued manifest proofes that *Cormack mac Dermot*, Lord of *Miskery*, had lately committed many acts of treason, caused

him to be apprehended & committed prisoner to the gentleman Porter, & hearing his followers practised his escape, gaue the said gentleman Porter charge to keepe him safely vpon his danger to answere for him, in the meane time seazing all his Castles into her Maiesties hands, and likewise causing his wife and children to be brought prisoners to *Corke*. Notwithstanding, *Cormocke* escaped out of a window, the nine and twenty of September; yet being heartned to rebellion by Captaine *Tyrrell* and *Oswillian Beare*, hee considered that his Castles were all in the Queenes power, his eldest sonne lately Student in *Oxford*, was now kept prisoner in the Tower, that his yongest sonne, his wife and daughter, and many of his chiefe followers were now prisoners at *Corke*, and that the Rebels desiring to ioine with him, were hunger-starued, and would liue vpon his Countrey already wasted, and therefore hee wisely chose to submit himselfe to her Maiesties mercy, and vpon the two and twentieth of October, this his submission was accepted.

About this time the Lord President heard that *O Donnell* was dead in *Spaine*. The three and twentieth of October Sir *Samuell Bagnell*, with the Regiment sent back from the Lord Deputy, fell by night vpon *Tyrrells* Campe, lying in *Muskerry*, to expect *Cormocks* returne, killed eighty of his men, made him flie away in his shirt, tooke all his Cattle being more then one thousand, with sixty Horses and hacknies, besides things vnseene in Irish spoiles, as veluet, outlandish apparell, Spanish Coyne, and all the money *Tyrrell* had gotten of the proportion sent from *Spaine*, and made *Tyrrell* flie into the Mountaines of *Desmond*. In Nouember Sir *Charles Wilmott* brake by night into the quarter of the Knight of *Kerry*, killed forty of his men, tooke five hundred Cowes, two hundred Garrons, and two moneths prouision of meale. The Rebels *Tyrrell*, *Burke*, *Oswillian*, and *Mac Morris*, being daily assauted by the English, and spoiled of their Cattle, the rest of this moneth and the following of December, and hauing many of their best men killed, suddenly fell into disputations, and after to controuerlies, and so the strangers resolued to steale away, as they did with great amasement, leauing the fastnesses they had held, to the ransacking of the English, first *Tyrrell*, then *William Bourke*, who leading 1500 men, marched towards the Pale, Sir *Charles Wilmott* hauing first in another conflict with them, killed many of the most forward Kerne, taken all their baggage and prey of Cattle, being 2000 Cowes, 4000 Sheepe, and 1000 Garrons.

In December the Lord President leauing Sir *Charles Wilmott* to command in chiefe all the Forces, hauing besides the Lord *Barry* with 1600 Prouincials vnder him, to attend such seruice as he should direct, left the Prouince of *Mounster* to meet the Lord Deputy at *Galloway* in *Connaght*. In the meane time the said Rebels fled towards the Pale as broken men, some resoluing to ioine with *Tyrone*, and some to returne into *Connaght* their owne Countrey, wherewith the Mounster Rebels were so danted, as they daily came in to Sir *Charles Wilmott* in great numbers, and with much Cattle, to submit themselues to mercy. The Lord President before his iourney into *Connaght*, tooke order that *Oswillian Beares* Countrey should be so wasted, as neither Spaniards nor Rebels should find reliefe there. About this time Captaine *Taaffe* commanding our Irish men in *Carbery*, assayled a band of Rebels led by a Priest, the Popes Nuntio, killed him with most of his men, and got all their Cattle: And now in the absence of *Oswillian* fled away, his Countrey was wasted and his Castles all taken. The foresaid Priest was a man of speciall authority, so as vpon his death the *Mac Carties* and all *Carbery* submitted to mercy, and had power ouer all spirituall liuings in *Ireland*, so as all Priests depended vpon him.

The Lord President returned into *Mounster* in Ianuary from *Connaght*, and hauing sent Sir *Edward Wingfeild* with certaine Companies of foote into *Connaght*, according to the Lord Deputies direction, and leauing Sir *Charles Wilmott*, and Sir *G. Thormion* Commissioners to gouerne *Mounster*, himselfe in the beginning of February rode to *Dublyn*, leauing no Rebell in *Mounster* but *Mac Morris*, the Knight of the *Glan*, *Thomas Oge*, and *Connor O Driscoll*, not able ioyntly to make two hundred men, whereof *Mac Morris* in few daies was well beaten and spoiled of all he had by Sir *Char. Wilmott*. And in the beginning of March the L. President sailed into *England* from *Dublin*.

CHAP. II.

Of Tyrone taking to mercy, whereby the warre was fully ended. And of a new mutinie of the Cities of Mounster for establishing the publike exercise of the Roman Religion; with the appeasing thereof in the beginning of the yeere 1603. Together with the Lord Deputies recalling into England, and the rewards there given him for his seruice in the beginning of the yeere 1603; with mention of his untimely death within few yeeres after and a word of the State of Ireland some ten yeeres after.



THE five and twentieth of March, in the beginning of the yeere 1603, the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter from *Mellifant*, Sir *Garret Moores* house, to Master Secretary in England.

SIR, I haue receiued by Captaine *Hayes* her Maiesties letters of the sixth of February, wherein I am directed to send for *Tyrone*, with promise of securitie for his life onely, and vpon his arriuall, without further assurance, to make stay of him; till her pleasure should bee further knowne, and at the same time I receiued another from her Maiestie of the seuenteenth of February, wherein it pleased her to inlarge the authority given vnto me, to assure him of his life, liberty and pardon, vpon some conditions remembred therein. And withall I receiued a letter from your selfe of the eighteenth of February, recommending to me your owne aduice to fulfill (as far as I possibly could) the meaning of her Maiesties first letter, and signifying her pleasure, that I should seeke by all the best meanes I can, to promise him his pardon by some other name then Earle of *Tyrone*, and rather by the name of Barron of *Dungannon*, or if it needes must bee, by the name of some other Earle. Secondly, to deliuer him his Country in lesse quantity, and with lesse power then before he had it. And lastly, to force him to cleare his paces and passages, made difficult by him against any entrie into his Countrey. And now since it hath pleased her Maiesty, by so great a trust, to giue me so comfortable Arguments of her fauour, I am incouraged the more freely to presume to declare my selfe in this great matter, which I call great, because the consequence is great, and dangerous to be delt in, without the warrant of her gracious interpretation. And though my opinion herein should proceede from a long and aduised consideration, described with large and many circumstances, and confirmed with strong and iudiciall reasons, yet because I thinke it fit to hasten away this messenger, I will write of these things somewhat, though on the sudden, and commit the rest to the sufficient iudgement and relation of the Lord President, now in his iourney towards you, and the rather, because I finde him to concurre with mee, in the apprehension of this cause; and of the state of all other things of this Kingdome. And first, for her Maiesties first letter; I pray you Sir beleue me, that I haue omitted nothing, both by power and policy to ruine him, and vtterly to cut him off, and if by either I may procure his head, before I haue engaged her Royall word for his safety, I doe protest I will doe it, and much more be ready to possesse my selfe of his person, if by only promise of life, or by any other meanes, whereby I shal not directly scandal the maiesty of publike faith, I can procure him to put himself into my power. But to speak my opinion freely, I thinke that he, or any man in his case, would hardly aduenture his liberty to preserue onely his life, which he knoweth how so well to secure by many other waies, for if he flie into *Spaine*, that is the least wherof he can be assured, and most men (but especially he) doe make little difference betweene the value of their life and liberty, and to deceiue him I thinke it will bee hard; for though wiser men then hee may be ouer-reached, yet he hath so many eyes of iealousie awake, that it will bee vn-

possible to charme them, and I do (vpon assured ground) beleue, that it is nothing but feare of his safety, that of a long time (especially of late) hath kept him frō conformity to the State, and if any thing do keep him now from accepting the lowest conditions, and from setting himself and his hart, to a constant seruing of her Maiestie, it will be feare of an absolute forgiuenes, or the want of such an estate, as may in any measure content him. The danger of his subsisting as he doth, is either, if there come no forraigne forces, to maintaine still a loose head of Rebellion (which will be better able to offend any such as are become subiects, then we can be, if we were a thousand times more, to defend them at all times, and in all places) to stirre vp, and to maintaine all humors, and to be a wound remaining open, vnto which they may haue recourse, and vpon all accidents bee readie to swell, or to infect the whole bodie of this Kingdome: Otherwise, if there should be any inuasion, to be a powerfull and politick head, to draw this Countrie to their assistance. If there come no forraigne Forces, and that hee should bee cut off, yet is it likely, some other in the nature of a spoiling outlaw would arise vp in his place, as ill as himselfe; and if hee bee kept prisoner, the like effects will arise, as if hee were dead. If hee bee cut off, or kept prisoner, and the Spaniards should arrive, most of the Swordmen will flocke vnto them for aduantage of pay, and the discontentment of Lords of Countries would be as great, or greater, then if hee were amongst them, and therefore they as likely to fall then as now, to the Spanish partie: but if it were possible to make him a good subiect, the vse her Maiestie may make of him, must bee amongst these people, since during his life and libertie, none will aspire to that place of *O Neale*, which doth carrie with it so great an interest in the North, and what interest hee hath, hee may bee led to employ, to suppress and settle the mindes of the people to gouernement, and hauing once declared himselfe to bee a dutifull subiect, it will be first a great discouragement for the Spaniards to come; and if they doe come, if hee continue honest, his presence and interest will sway the North from giuing them assistance, or annoying the subiects, if we withdraw our Garrisons, and make the rest of *Ireland* more aduised how they declare themselves against the State.

Sir, to conclude, because I cannot shortly expresse mine owne minde herein, I thinke it best, if it please her Maiestie, to receiue him to her mercy, so that first his submission bee made in as humble sort, and as much for her Maiesties Honour as can be deuised, and then that she assure him of absolute forgiuenesse, and forgetting of his faults, and as much honour and profit as he had before, provided that wee take from him (as much as possibly wee may) those lockes wherein his chiefe strength lyes. Otherwise I am perswaded, either the Queene shal not serue her owne turne by him, if shee keepe him prisoner, or he will serue his turne if he liue at liberty, and euer haue (*Animum reuertendi*) an affection to relapse. How I am resolved to proceede in this businesse, you shall know by the Lord President, which notwithstanding many things may alter, but for the substance I doe thinke we shall be able to compasse as much, as by her Maiesties last letter is required, and by yours written after that, except that point of the taking from him the title of the Earledome of *Tyrone*, for the which I thinke there be many reasons that it should not be much stood vpon. Besides what I haue written before of giuing him contentment, which may bee applied to this, first, you doe but giue him a title, which he did shake of, as a marke of his bondage, and that which he falls from, to accept this, he did as much preferre before this, as the estate of an absolute Prince before the condition of a subiect, and it is the name of *O Neale*, with the which hee hath done so much mischief, that is fatall and odious, and not the name of *Tyrone*, which hee was faine to leaue, before hee could haue power to become a Rebelle; for beleue mee out of my experience, the titles of our Honours doe rather weaken then strengthen them in this Countrie, and if you giue him the same degree, but with another name, it may be thought a condition rather by him obtained, then by vs imposed, especially if he enioyeth his Countrie; and lastlie, if you make him onely Barron of *Dungannon*, you leaue in him a spurre to discontentment, without any greater bridle from
doing

doing hurt, for his power will be neuer the lesse, and yet he that doth not sit easily, will euer thinke of another seate, and his owne title will the more runne in his minde, the more he is vnsatisfied with this new. Notwithstanding al my opinions of these things, I will runne as neere as I can to the straightest line of her Maiesties pleasure, and I presume I will so handle this matter, that I will be sure her Maiesties Honour shall not be indangered; (I meane) by the authority shee hath giuen mee, which any man shall hardly take notice of, till I be assured vpon what termes I shall find him; and if his requests be not as humble as becommeth him, or as by her Maiesty is required, hee shall make little vse of any negotiation that shall be with him. And so Sir, &c.

Touching the receiuing of *Tyrone* to mercy; no man shall take from me the reputation (such as it is) to haue beene the instrumentall cause of doing this honour to my deceased Soueraigne & my Nation; and of giuing this disgracefull blow to the Arch-Traitor *Tyrone*, that he humbly submitted himselfe to Queene *Elizabeth*, finding mercy at her royall feet, whom he had proudly offended, and whose sole power (in despite of his domesticall associates and forraigne support), had brought him on his knees, and that the victory was fully atchieued by the sole Sword of the English Nation and well affected English-Irish; whose blood he had spilt; and that so the Arch-Traitor lost the meanes longer to subsist in rebellion, by the aduantage of *Englands* vnserled Estate, or at least the aduantage and the vaine-glory to fasten merit on the sacred Maiesty of King *James*, the said Queenes happy successour, by submitting to his royall mercy, and so hiding the extreme misery in which he was plunged, to haue made this his action seeme altogether voluntary; and euery way noble in him, to which he was forced by the highest constraint, and in the most base manner that can be imagined: Now as no man knoweth the circumstances of this action better then my selfe, so I will briefly and truly relate them. Queene *Elizabeth* had beene sicke for more then a moneths space, and of some apparant danger of her death, the Lord Deputy had beene aduertised, and at this time shee was dead, (departing the foure and twentieth of March, the last day of the yeere past), though it were not knowne to the Lord Deputy till the seuen and twentieth of March in the night, nor publikely, or to *Tyrone* himselfe, till the fifth of Aprill, after his humble submission made before the Lord Deputy to the Queene, as then liuing, though indeed shee were dead. This businesse passed in manner following. There was a gentleman among the voluntary followers of the Lord Deputy, who had long been earnestly ambitious of the honour of Knight-hood, which by no endeouours of seruice, expence of money, or assistance of friends, he could hitherto attaine. Now a seruant of his posting from *London*, and getting a happy passage at Sea, came vpon the 27 of March (late in the night) to *Mellifant*, where the Lord Deputy then lay, and brought with him the first newes of the Queenes death, which when he had related to his Master, hee hauing been long pleased to take my aduise in his affaires, aduertised me of these newes, and brought his seruant to confirme the same in my hearing. Whereupon I required his seruant not to speake a word thereof to any man, threatening him with the Lord Deputies displeasure, and seuer punishment, if any such rumour were spread by him. Then I was bold to giue his Master confidence of receiuing the honour he desired, if hee would follow my aduise, which was this; that he should goe to the Lord Deputy, and tell him this report of the Queenes death, brought by his seruant, and the strict charge he had giuen vnto him for the concealing thereof, till his Lordship should think fit to make it known, & withall to make tender of himselfe, and all his meanes, to follow his Lordships fortune in this doubtfull time (for such it was in expectation, though most happy in euent.) The Gentleman did as I aduised him, and for his particular, it tooke the same effect which I expected, as I will shew, when I haue first set downe, how his Lordship hereupon proceeded with *Tyrone*.

The Lord Deputy being warranted by the Queenes letters aboue written, to receiue *Tyrone* to her Maiesties mercy, had vpon the five and twentieth of March sent Sir *William Godolphin* and Sir *Garret Moore*, to treat with him; for which they had a Commission in these words.

Montiocy.

Mountjoy.

VVHereas the Earle of *Tyrone* hath made humble suite vnto vs, that vpon his penitent submission to her Maiesties mercy, wee would be pleased to send some Gentlemen, to whom he might make knowne his humble petitions, and impart somewhat to them that doth much concerne her Maiesties seruice: For the great trust wee repose in you, and the good opinion wee conceiue of your discreet iudgements, we haue made choice of you to be imployed herein, and doe by these presents giue you both ioyntly and seuerally our absolute warrant & authority, vpon this occasion of her Maiesties seruice, to parley and confer with him, or any of his adherents, or followers. Prouided that of this your conference you shall with all conuenient speed giue vs knowledge in all particulars, and of all his and your proceedings herein, to the end you may receiue our further directions. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at *Tredagh* the foure and twenty of March, 1602.

To Our trusty and well beloued, Sir William Godolphin, and Sir Garret More Knights.

VWhen I had written this Commission his Lordship commanded me to write this following protection.

Mountjoy.

WHereas vpon the humble suite and submission of *Hugh* Earle of *Tyrone*, and his penitent contrition for his former offences, by many messages and letters signified vnto Vs, We haue thought good to receiue into her Maiesties most gracious protection, his owne person, and such as shall come in his Company, with safety to him and them, and the rest of his followers whatsoever, (dwelling in the County of *Tyrone*, or now abiding with him,) aswell in their bodies as goods, for and during the space of three weekes, to the end hee might repaire vnto vs, to let vs more fully vnderstand his humble petitions. These are straightly to charge and command all and euery her Maiesties Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, to permit and suffer him and them peaceably to enioy the benefit thereof, without any restraint, molestation, or hostile act, against him or his in their bodies or goods, during the time aboue limited. So as in the meane time hee and they continue of good and dutifull behauiour towards her Maiesty, and this State. Given at *Tredagh* the foure and twentieth of March, 1602.

To all Commanders of horse and foot, and to all other her Maiesties Officers and Subiects to whom it may appertaine.

Likewise his Lordship commanded me to write seuerall letters to the Gouvernours of Garrisons, requiring them to giue *Tyrone* and his followers full benefit of this Protection. And these writings being all signed by the Lord Deputy, were deliuered to *Sir William Godolphin*, with charge that when *Tyrone* was in his Company, and on the way to come to his Lordship, then (and not before) hee should deliuer him the Protection, and likewise the letters, to bee sent to the seuerall Garrisons, by his owne messengers. These Commissioners, on the six and twentieth of March, sent one *Bathe* from *Armagh* to *Tyrone*, to prepare the way of their meeting. The seuen and twentieth both the Commissioners came to *Charlemont*, where *Sir William Godolphin* staid for his troope of horse, but *Sir Garret Moore* rode that night to *Tullough-oge*, where he spake with *Tyrone*. The eight and twentieth *Sir Garret Moore* wrote to *Sir William*, that *Tyrone* was fully resolved to obey the Lord Deputies commandements, and would meet him the next morning at nine of the clocke, to ride forward in his company to the Lord Deputy. And *Henry Hagan*, who brought this letter, gaue *Sir William* confident assurance of *Tyrone*s performance.

The same eight & twentieth day, the L. Deputy being at *Mellifant*, and there hauing the foresaid notice of the Queenes death, and considering that this rumor was no good ground for a new treatie with *Tyrone*, yet breaking out, were it true or false, might

might cause new combustions in *Ireland*, most apt to relapse into new tumults (as appeared by the ensuing mutiny of the very Citties and corporate Townes), as also that if it were true, then he had no power from the succeeding King, to receive *Tyrone* to mercy, yea that in case it should prooue false, then such treatie with the Arch-traytor in any other then *Queene Elizabeths* name, might proue very dangerous to him. For these reasons he resolved speedily to strike vp the former treatie with *Tyrone* and so presently dispatched a horseman to Sir *William Godolphin*, to aduertise him thereof, and to require him to hasten *Tyrone*s comming, by remembrance to him that his former delays in Treaties had much incensed the *Queene*, and by threatening him, that if he made the least delay of his submission, his power to doe him good might be easily restrained, and then he should expect nothing from him but a sharpe prosecution to his vtter ruine. Sir *William* hauing receiued these his Lordships, and Sir *Garrets* foresaid letters, thought it no time to stand nicely vpon termes of equality, (which might argue his distrust of *Tyrone*, and awaken in him his old ieaiousies of our meaning to him), and therefore leaving order that his troope should follow him, did: he from *Charlemont* and met *Tyrone* on the nine and twentieth of March, at nine of the clocke in the morning at *Toker*, a place lying five miles beyond *Dungannon*, where shewing him the Lord Deputies protection, he most humbly and thankfully accepted thereof, and so committed himselfe to the Commissioners, to ride in their company to the Lord Deputy. By the way they delivered his Protection to his owne hands, and likewise the letters, which he was to send to the seuerall Gouvernours by his owne messengers.

On the thirtieth of March 1603. they came al together to *Mellifant* in the afternoon, where *Tyrone* being admitted to the Lord Deputies chamber, kneeled at the doore humbly on his knees for a long space, making his penitent submission to her Maiesty, and after being required to come neerer to the Lord Deputie, performed the same ceremony in all humbleness, the space of one houre or thereabouts. The next day hee also made a most humble submission in writing, signed with his owne hand, in manner and forme following (as appeares vpon record.)

I *Hugh Oneale*, by the *Queene of England, France, and Ireland*, her most gracious fauour created Earle of *Tyrone*, doe with all true and humble penitency prostrate my selfe at her royall feet, and absolutely submit my selfe vnto her mercy, most sorrowfully imploring her gracious commiseration, and appealing onely to her Princely clemency, without presuming to iustifie my vnloyall proceedings against her sacred Maiesty. Onely most sorrowfully and earnestly desiring, that it may please her Maiesty rather in some measure to mitigate her iust indignation against me, in that I doe religiously vow, that the first motiues of my vnnaturall rebellion, were neither practise, malice, nor ambition; but that I was induced first by feare of my life, (which I conceived was sought by my Enemies practise) to stand vpon my gard, and after most unhappily led, to make good that fault with more hainous offences, the which in themselves I doe acknowledge deserue no forgiveness, and that it is impossible for me, in respect of their greatnesse, in any proportion even with my life to make satisfaction; I doe most humbly desire her Maiesty to pardon them, that as I haue beene already a sufficient argument of her Royall power, hauing little left but my life to preserve it selfe, so that it may now please her Maiesty, to make me an example of her Princely clemency, the chiefest ornament of her high dignity. And that I may be the better able hereafter with the vttermost seruice of my life to redeeme the foulness of my faults, I doe most humbly sue vnto her Maiesty, that shee will vouchsafe to restore me to my former dignity and liuing, in which estate of a subiect I doe religiously vow to continue for euer hereafter loyall, in all true obedience to her royall person, crown, prerogative, and lawes, and to be in all things as farre and as dutifully conformable thereunto, as I or any other Nobleman of this Realme is bound by the duty of a subiect to his Soueraigne, or by the Lawes of this Realme, vtterly renouncing and abjuring the name and title of *O Neale*, or any other authoritie or claime, which hath not beene granted or confirmed vnto mee by her Maiesty, and that otherwise by the
Lawes

Lawes of this Realme, I may not pretend iust interest vnto, and I doe religiously sweare to performe so much as is aboue mentioned, and the rest of these Articles, subscribed by my owne hand, as farre as shall any way lie in my power, and to deliuer such pledges for the performance thereof, as shall be nominated vnto me by the Lord Deputy.

I doe renounce and abiure all forraigne power whatsoever, and all kind of dependancy vpon any other Potentate but her Maiesty the Queene of *England, France, and Ireland*, and doe vow to serue her faithfully against any forraigne power inuading her Kingdomes, and to discouer truely any practises that I doe, or shall know against her roiall person or Crownes; and namely and especially, I doe abiure and renounce all manner of dependancy vpon the King or Estate of *Spaine*, or treaty with him or any of his confederates, and shall be ready with the vttermost of my ability to serue her Maiesty against him, or any of his forces or confederates.

I doe absolutely renounce all challenge or intermedling with the Vriaghts, or fostering with them or other neighbour Lords, or Gentlemen out of my Countrey, or exacting any blacke rents of any Vriaghts (or bordering Lords.)

I doe resigne all claime and title to any lands, bur such as shall be now granted vnto me by her Maiesties Letters Pattents.

Lastly, as the onely being a Subiect, doth include all the duties of a Subiect, so will I be content to be informed, and aduised by her Magistrates here, and will be conformable and assisting vnto them, in any thing that may tend to the aduancement of her seruice, and the peateable gouernement of this Kingdome, as namely for the abolishing of all barbarous customes, contrary to the lawes, being the seeds of all incivility, and for the cleering of difficult passages and places, which are the nurseries of rebellion, wherein I will employ the labours of the people of my Countrey in such sort and in such places, as I shall be directed by her Maiesty, or the Lord Deputy and Counsell in her name, and will endeavour for my selfe and the people of my Countrey, to erect ciuill habitations, and such as shall bee of greater effect to preserve vs against theenes, and any force but the power of the State, by the which we must rest assured to be preserved as long as we continue in our duties.

This submission was presented by the Earle of *Tyrone* kneeling on his knees, before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, and in the presence of a great assembly. At the same time the Earle promised to write vnto the King of *Spaine*, for the recalling of his sonne from thence into *Ireland*, and to doe the same at such time, and in such words, as the Lord Deputy should direct. Likewise he vowed to discouer how farre he had proceeded with the King of *Spaine*, or any other forraigne or domesticall enemies, for past or future helpes and combinations. Then the Lord Deputy in the Queenes name, promised to the Earle for himselfe and his followers her Maiesties graticus pardon, and to himselfe the restoring of his dignity of the Earledome of *Tyrone*, and of his bloud, and likewise new letters Pattents for all his lands, which in his former letters had been granted to him before his rebellion, excepting onely the Countrey possessed by *Henrie Oge Oneale*, and the *Fues* possessed by *Turlough Mac Henrie*, to both which, at their submission the Lord Deputie had formerly promised, that they should hold the same immediately from the Queene, to which ende this exemption and reseruatiō was now made of these Countries, and the disposing of them left to her Maiesties power. And likewise excepting and reseruing three hundred acres of land, to bee laid to the Fort of *Mennisay*, and three hundred more to the Fort of *Charlemont*, during her Maiesties pleasure to hold any Garrisons in the said Forts. To these exemptions of *Henrie Oge* and *Turlough Mac Henrie*, their Countries and themselves, from the Earles right or power, he gaue his full consent, as likewise to the reseruatiō of the lands laid to the said Forts. He promised to reduce his Countrey to pay her Maiestie like composition, as *Connaght* now did, and for long time had paid, and to answer rising out of souldiers, and all charges for aduancing her Maiesties seruice.

The third of Aprill, the Lord Deputy, hauing the Earle of *Tyrone* in his companie rode to *Tredagh*, and from thence vpon the fourth day to *Dublyn*.

The next day an English ship arrived in that Haven, in which came Sir *Henric Davers*, who brought with him letters from the Lords in *England*, advertising the Queens death, and that *James* the first was proclaimed King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, the copy of which Proclamation they sent, to the end it should here be published in like sort.

*King James
proclaimed.*

Also in the same ship came one Master *Liegh*, kinsman to the Lord Deputy, who brought his Lordship a favourable letter from the King out of *Scotland*. This Master *Liegh* his Lordship presently graced with the honour of Knighthood.

And concerning the gentleman formerly spoken of, whose servant brought the first newes of the Queens death, I was not deceived in the honour I did impute to him, (as I have formerly written), for after he had followed my advice, in the manner of his imparting that important newes to the Lord Deputy, his Lordship conceived so good an opinion of him, for his discretion, and for the particular affection hee had expressed towards him, by the tender of his service in following his fortune this doubtful time, as his Lordship did not onely by the way from *Melifant* to *Dublyn*, extraordinarily grace him, and often call him (not without some admiration of the better sort of his traine) to ride by his side, talking familiarly with him, but now upon his arrivall to *Dublyn*, upon this occasion of honouring his cozen *Leigh*, did also knight him.

In the meane time according to the Lord Deputies commandement, the Counsellors of the State, the Noblemen, Knights, and chiefe Commanders of the Army, then being at *Dublyn*, assembled together in the Castle, to whom his Lordship made knowne the Queens death, and the Kings Proclamation, which he first, then all in course signed, and presently taking Horse, with ioyfull acclamations, published the same through the chiefe streets of *Dublyn*.

I cannot omit to mention, that the Earle of *Tyrone*, upon the first hearing the Lord Deputies relation of the Queens death, could not containe himselfe from shedding of teares, in such quantity as it could not well be concealed, especially in him, upon whose face all men eyes were cast: himselfe was content to insinuate, that a tender sorrow for losse of his Soueraigne Mistresse, caused this passion in him; but every dull understanding might easily conceive, that thereby his heart might rather bee more eased of many and continuall ielousies and feares, which the guilt of his offences could not but daily present him, after the greatest security of pardon: And there needed no *Oedipus* to find out the true cause of his teares: for no doubt, the most humble submission he made to the Queene he had so highly and proudly offended, much eclipsed the vaine glory his actions might have carried, if he had held out till her death: besides that by his coming in, as it were between two raignes, he lost a faire advantage, for (by *Englands* Estate, for the present unsetled) to have subsisted longer in rebellion (if he had any such end) or at least an ample occasion of fastning great merit on the new King, if at first and with free will he had submitted to his mercy, which hee would have pretended to doe, onely of an honourable affection to his new Prince, and many would in all likelihood have beleaved so much, especially they to whom his present misery and ruined estate were not at all (or not fully) knowne.

The sixth of Aprill the Earle of *Tyrone* made a new submission to the King, in the same forme he had done to the Queene, the name onely changed. He also wrote this following letter to the King of *Spaine*.

IT may please your most Excellent Maiesty: Having since the first time that ever I received letters from your Highnesse Father, and your Maiesty, or written letters vnto you, performed to the uttermost of my power whatsoever I promised: in so much as in the expectation of your assistance, since the repaire of *O'Donnell* to your Maiesty, I continued in action, vntill all my neere kinsmen and followers having forsaken me; I was enforced (as my duty is) to submit my selfe to my Lord and Soueraigne; the beginning of this instant moneth of Aprill, in whose service and obedience I will continue during my life. Therefore, and for that growing old my selfe I would gladly see my sonne settled in my life time, I have thought good (giuing your Maiesty all thanks for your Princely vsage of my sonne *Henry*, during his being in *Spaine*) most humbly to desire you to send him vnto mee;

Ccc

and

And for the pouertie whereunto I was driuen, I haue in sundry letters, both in Irish and other languages, so signified the same; as it were inconuenient herein to make relation thereof: And so I most humbly take my leaue. From *Dublin*, &c.

Your Highnesse poore friend that was,

Hugh Tyrone.

Together with the same he wrote another letter to his sonne *Henry* to hasten his comming from *Spaine* into *Ireland*, but without any effect. Lastly, the Lord Deputy renewed to the Earle of *Tyrone* his Maiesties Protection for a longer time, till hee could sue out his Pardon, and sent him backe into his Countrey, to settle the same, and to keepe his friends and former confederates in better order, vpon this change of the State.

Sir Henry Dauers, who lately brought letters to the Lord Deputy from the Lords in *England*, returned backe with purpose to repaire presently vnto the King, where vpon the Lord Deputy commended to his relation the following instructions: signed with his Lordships hand. Wherein you must note, that his Lordship omits the newes of the *Queenes* death, receiued by the seruant of a Gentleman (as aforesaid), the same being onely a priuate inteliigence, whereupon hee could not safely build his late proceedings, and that his Lordship onely insists vpon letters from the Sate, which could onely giue warrant to the same. The instructions are these.

You are to informe the Kings Maiefty, that at your comming ouer hither, the fifth hereof, with the letters from the Lords in *England*, signifying the deccase of my late Soueraigne-Mistresse, you found with mee heere at *Dublin* the Earle of *Tyrone*, newly come in vpon Protection, and by that meanes the Realme for the present generally quiet, all expecting that vpon a conclusion with him (which then euery one conceiued to be likely, in as much as he put himself into my hand, which till that time he would neuer doe to any) the Countrey would in short time be thorowly settled, so that euery one that found himselfe in danger, did presse me (in a manner hourly) for his pardon, foreseeing that he that staied out longest, was sure to be made the example of the Iustice of the State, where such as could soonest make their way, by assuring their future loyaltie and seruice, were hopefull to lay hold vpon their Soueraignes mercy.

Now to the end you may acquaint his Maiefty, how farre forth I haue proceeded with the Earle of *Tyrone* and vpon what warrant; you shall be heereby thus remembered. He had often made great meanes to be receiued to mercy, which as often I had denied him, prosecuting him to the vttermost of my ability, being cuer confident in opinion, that vntill I had brought him very low, & driuen him out of his own Countrey, (as I did the last Summer, and left Garrisons vpon him, that tooke most of the Creaghts, and spoiled the rest of his goods,) hee would not bee made fit to craue mercy in that humble manner that was befitting so great an offender. In December last, when I was at *Galloway*, he importuned me by many messages and letters, and by some that he trusted very well vowed much sincerity if hee might be hearkened vnto there, and at that time hee sent me a submission, framed in as humble manner, as I could reasonably require: To that I sent him this answer, that I would recommed it to her Maiefty, but vntill I had further direction from her, I would still prosecute him as I did before, and get his head if I could, and that was all the comfort I gaue him; yet ceased he not to continue a sutor with all the earnestnesse that hee could deuise, hoping in the end to obtaine that hee desired. In the month of March, I receiued letters from her Maiefty, of the sixteenth and sauenteenth of February, whereby I was authorised to giue him my word for his comming and going safe, and to pardon him; so as he would come parsonally where I should assigne him, to receine it, and yeeld to some other conditions, in the last of those two letters contained. And withall I was specially required, aboue all things to driue him to some issue presently, because her Maiefty then conceiued that contrariety of successes heere, or change of accidents in other parts, might turn very much to her disadvantage; for which she was still apt to beleue that hee lay in wait, and would spin out all things further then were

were requisite, with delayes and shifts, if I should not abridge him. Shortly after the Earle renewing his former suit, with very great earnestnesse, and in most humble manner (as may appeare by his letter in March sent me to *Tredagh*, whether I was then drawne vpon speciall occasion of seruice), I thought it fit to entertaine the offer of his submission, and to draw on the speedier conclusion of so important a busines, both for that the daily intelligence out of *Spain*, threatned danger vnto this Kingdom, and for that I had then receiued aduertisement from the Counsell in *England* of her Maiesties dangerous sicknesse, the least of which accidents might haue reuiued his hopes, added new life vnto his languishing partisans, and vtterly changed the whole frame of my proceedings. To this end I signed his Protection for three weekes, with seuerall warrants to the bordering Garrisons of forbearance from doing any hostile act, either vpon his person, and the persons of his followers, or vpon their goods, during the terme aforesaid, appointing Sir *Garret Moore* (a Gentleman well deseruing of the State, and out of ancient acquaintance with the Earle, much respected by him) to repaire vnto him, and to giue him knowledge, that if simply and plainely (according to the tenor of his humble requests) he were resolved (without any delay) to present his petitions vnto me in his owne person, where I assigned his appearance, he should then receiue a protection for his safe comming and returne, with assurance for his people and goods during his absence, by the hands of Sir *William Godolphin*, whom I had purposely sent into those part with a sufficient guard, to attend his resolution, and to bring him safely vnto me. These conditions (though at first seeming somewhat hard, as both tasting of too great an humblenes, and not vtterly free from danger of his person, whose head was set to Sale, by a publike act, and priuate men not bound to take knowledge of the present proceedings), found easier acceptance then almost any man would haue imagined, the Earle peremptorily commanding, that none of his, vpon what pretence soeuer, should presume to dissuade him from obeying this summons, seeing no way of mediation was left vnto him, saue onely this, vowing in the presence of a great many, that although the Deputies heavy hand had almost brought him to the height of misery, yet should no mortall power haue extorted from him a submission of this nature, but that out of long and earnest obseruation of his proceedings, he had found reason to hope, that when his Lordship should discover the vnfained penitency of his heart, for his forepast misdeeds, with a firme resolution to redeeme his offences, by faithful seruing her Maiestie, and wel deseruing of the State, during the whole remainder of his life, that he should then find from him as great commiseration of his present sufferings, and as charitable a repaire against the threatned ruines of his house, posterity, and poore distressed Country, as he had tasted bitternes in the whole course of his former prosecution. Thus perswaded, he left directions for settling his Country, the best he might on such a sudden, and with a guard of 50 horse vnder the leading of Sir *William Godolphin*, making great marches, vntill he came vnto me within three miles of *Tredagh*, fell there downe on his knees before a great assembly, confessing his vnworthines, yet humbly crauing her Maiesties mercy, which as aboue all earthly things he protested to desire, so hee vowed with the vttermost of his power to deserue the same. It were too long to set downe all that passed in this first interview, he struiuing to expresse in all his speeches and gestures the lowest degree of humblenes, to me, that was to valew and to maintaine the greatnes of her State and place, whō he so highly had offended. The next morning I sent for him (the Treasurer at Warres being onely present with me), and made him see how well I vnderstood his present condition, how vnpossible it was for him to subsist, euen in the poorest and most contemptible fashon of a Woodkerne, if her Maiestie were but pleased to imploy the present instruments of his ruine. Finally, finding him most sensible, both of his estate, and the Queenes high fauour in remitting his crime, I promised him her gracious pardon, on those conditions, mentioned in the memoriall sent by your hands. From thence he attended me to *Tredagh*, and so to *Dublin* the fourth of Aprill, where the next day I receiued letters from the Nobility in *England*, signifying the death of our late Soueraigne, Whereupon I called together the Counsell and such of the Nobilitie

as were in Towne, and acquainting them with the contents thereof, I propounded also the present proclaiming of his Maiestie, whereunto all most willingly agreed, and among them the Earle of *Tyrone*, and when they had set their hands to the Proclamation, all together did accompany me the Deputy to the publishing thereof in the City. Since that time I thought fit to dismisse the Earle of *Tyrone* into his owne Country, the better to retaine his people and partisans in good order, but first we tooke from him a new submission to his Maiesty, signed by his hand, which now I send by you.

Also you shall informe his Maiesty, that now there is no Rebelle in *Ireland*, who hath not sued to be receiued to the Kings mercy, and that I think fit to yeeld the same to most of them, leauing only some few to be prosecuted to vtter ruine, for an example and terror to other ill affected subiects, wherein I desire to know his Maiesties pleasure.

Lastly, you are to present my humble sute vnto his Maiesty, to bee discharged of this Gouvernement, or if it shal please his Maiesty to employ me further herein, yet that he wil vouchsafe me leaue to kisse his Royal hands, which I desire not only out of my particular affection to haue the happines to see him, but also out of my desire to informe him thorowly of the present estate of this Kingdome, wherein I presume that I shall be able to doe his Maiesty very good seruice. And if it shall not please his Maiestie to resolute for the present on some other man, to vndertake this Gouvernement, but onely to leaue the authoritie to some fit mans hand, during my absence, and if hee bee resolved to make choise among those that are here present, and therein shall require my opinion, you shall say, that although I will not presume to recommend any to his Maiestie, yet I doe thinke Sir *George Cary* Treasurer at warres to be most fit for that place, who hath already been Lord Iustice of this Kingdome, and howsoeuer he be no souldier, yet is well acquainted with the businesse of the warre, wherein he hath been euer very industrious to aduance the seruice.

At the same time the Lord Deputy sent ouer Master *Richard Cooke* one of his Secretaries, to negotiate his affaires in Court. And because his Lordship desired to retaine the superintendency of this Gouvernement, with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with two third parts of the Lord Deputies allowances, in regard no man was able to support the place of Lord Deputy with the other third part of that allowance, except he had other great Fees and place of commodity in this Kingdome, his Lordship nominated (as before) Sir *George Cary* to be most fit for that place, some other Counsellors being in this one point ioyned with him, namely, to signe all such warrants as should be signed for the disbursing of the Treasure. The instructions giuen to Master *Cooke* were these.

To procure a new Pattent to the Lord *Mounstrey* with title of Lord Lieutenant, and with authority to leaue Sir *George Carey* Treasurer at Warres to be Lord Deputy, and so his Lordship to come presently ouer. 2. To procure new Pattents for Wards, letting of the Kings lands, compounding the Kings debts, &c. (as before.) 3. To sollicite for victuall, munition and mony. 4. To moue the change of the base coine now currant. 5. To aduertise the newes from *Spaine*. 6. To sollicite the sending of new Seales, namely, the great Seale, Signets, Counsell seales, for the State, *Mounster*, and *Connacht*, for the Kings Bench, Common pleas, and Exchequer. 7. To procure authoritie to passe estates to the Irish Lords.

After King *James* his Proclamation at *Dublin*, the Lord Deputy sent like Proclamations to all Gouvernours, Magistrates, and Officers of Prouinces, Cities, and Countries to be in like sort published, and with all made knowne to them seuerally his Maiesties pleasure signified in his letters directed to the Lords in *England* to continue all Gouvernours, Magistrates, and Officers, and all his Maiesties Ministers (aswell Martiall as Ciuill) of both the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, in as absolute authorities and iurisdctions of their places, as before the decease of the late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memory they enioyed and exercised the same, as also to continue and establish all the Lawes and Statutes of both Kingdomes in their former force and validity, till such time as his Maiesty should please to take fuller knowledge, and resolute for the publik good of any alteration (not intended but vpon some speciall and waighty causes), and should

should please to give notice of his pleasure. Further his Lordship advised them, to concur with him in the vigilant care, to present all things in the best estate might be, to the first view of so worthy and mighty a Soueraigne.

The twelfth of Aprill the Lord Deputy received letters from Sir *Charles Wilmott* and Sir *George Thometon*, (appointed Commissioners with ioynt authority for governing the Province of *Mounster*, in the absence of Sir *George Carew* Lord President, late gone for *England*), aduertising that they had blocked vp *Mac Morrish* in the Castle of *Billinarry*, belonging to the Lord *Fitz-morrisse*, and hoped by the taking thereof, to cleere the Province of all open Rebels.

The fifteenth of Aprill his Lordship received a letter from *O'rorke*, humbly imploring the Queenes mercy, and the same day after his hearing of the Queenes death, another in like humbleness, craving the Kings mercy.

The sixteenth day his Lordship received letters from the Mayor of *Corke*, aduertising that hee had received the Kings Proclamation the eleventh of Aprill, and had deferred the publishing thereof to this day, onely to the end it might be done with more solemnity, humbly praying, that in regard the Fort built for defence of the Harbour of *Corke* from forraigne inuasion, was not kept by a Commander sufficient to secure the same for the Crowne, his Lordship would accept the offer of him the Mayor, and therest of the corporation of the said City, to keepe the same for his Maiesty at their owne perill. Lastly, complaining that the Souldiers now keeping the Fort, did shoote at the Fishermen, and at the Boates sent out of the Towne for provisions, vsing them at their pleasure.

The same sixteenth day his Lordship was aduertised by severall letters: First that the Citizens of *Waterford* had broken vp the doores of the Hospitall, and had admitted one Doctor *White* to preach at Saint *Patrickes* Church, and had taken from the Sexton the keyes of the Cathedrall Church, of themselves mutinously setting vp the publike celebration of the Masse, and doing many insolencies in that kind. Secondly that *Edward Raghter* a Dominican Frier of *Kilkenny*, assisted by some of the Towne, came to the *Blacke-Fryers*, vsed for a Session-House, and breaking the doores, pulled downe the benches and seates of Justice, building an Altar in the place of them, and commanded one Bishop, dwelling in part of the Abbey, to deliuer him the keyes of his House, who was to take possession of the whole Abbey, in the name and right of the Friers his brethren.

The eighteenth day his Lordship was aduertised from the Commissioners of *Mounster*, that the Citizens of *Corke* had not onely refused to ioine with them in publishing the Proclamation of King *James*, but had drawne themselves all into Armes, and kept strong guardes at their Ports, and had absolutely forbidden the Commissioners to publish the same, with such contemptuous words and actions, as would haue raised a mutiny, if they had not vsed greater temper: That the Townesmen had made stay of boats loaded with the Kings victuals and munition for the Fort of *Halebolin*, saying that the Fort was built within their Franchizes without their consent, and was meetest to be in the custody of the City. Whereupon they the said Commissioners accompanied with the Lord *Roche* and some 800 persons of the Countrey, (all expressing much ioy, but none of the Citizens assisting, or expressing any ioy), did publish the Proclamation, vpon an hill neere the Towne, with as much solemnity as might be, and had furnished the Fort with victuals and munition from *Kinsale*. And they besought his Lordship speedily to reestablish by new Letters Pattents the Magistrates authority, because the ceasing thereof by the Queenes death, had especially emboldened these Citizens to be thus insolent.

The same day one *Edward Gough* a Merchant of *Dublyn*, newly comming out of *Spaine*, and examined vpon oath, said that at *Cales* he saw the Ordinance shipped to *S. Lucas*, for forty sayle (as he heard) there ready to goe for *Lisbone*, where was a fleete of 140 ships prepared (as some said) for *Ireland*, or (as others said) for *Flaunders*; but hee heard no Generall named, onely heard that *Don Iean de l'Agula*, was againe received to the Kings fauour. The 22 day his Lordship wrote to the Soueraigne of *Kilkenny*, that how soeuer he had no purpose violently to reforme Religion in this Kingdome,

but rather prayed for their better vnderstanding, yet he could not permit, yea must feuerely punish in that Towne and otherwhere, the seditious & mutinous setting vp of the publike exercise of Popish Religion, without publike authority, and likewise with preiudice done to those of the profession established by God, and by the Lawes of both the Realmes, requiring that hee and they should desist from such mutinous disorders, apprehending the chiefe authors; and if they wanted power to suppress the sedition of a few Priests & Friars; his L^p offered to assist them with the Kings forces; for he would not faile to giue life to the Lawes and obedience due to his Maiesty.

The foure & twentieth day, his Lordship was aduertised that the Citizens of *Lymrick* had with their Priests entred into all the Churches of the City, and there erecting Altars, had vied the Rites of the Romish Church.

The 25. day, his Lordship wrote this letter to the Citizens of *Waterford*.

YOUR letters of the three and twentieth of this instant came this day to my hands. And hauing duely considered the contents of the same, I find, that they returne a double excuse of the courses you haue vsed: first, for your delay of time to proclaim the Kings most Excellent Maiesty, according to such directions as was sent vnto you, from the Earle of *Ormond*, by a Counsellor of this State. And the next, for such disorders as were reported to bee committed, by the publike breach of his Highnesse Lawes in matters of Religion: To the which We returne you this answer following. First, albeit We would haue wished, that you had had a more careful regard to haue performed such directions as you received from so Noble a Peere of this Realme, by so reuerent a messenger, as you might assure your selues in such a matter durst not abuse you, his Highnesse sole and vndoubted right concurring also with your owne knowledge and consciences, yet We will not condemne you for that omission of the time, seeing afterwards you did obey our directions in that behalfe, and gaue to publike a testimony of your ioyful allowance and consent to his Maiesties Right and lawfull title proclaimed amongst you. But as in this part you haue giuen vnto vs a kinde of contentment, so in the last point, Wee cannot forbear to let you vnderstand the iust dislike We doe conceiue, that you being Citizens of wisdom and good experience, and the Lawes of the Realme continuing in force; would be drawne either by your Priests, or any like practises, to commit any publike breach of the Lawes, and the rather because out of that vnsported duty, which you professe you haue euer carried to the Crowne, you would not in reason conceiue that the example of your offence in such a cause, and in so great and populous a City, could not but in it selfe be very dangerous, in these disordered times, wherein examples doe carry men astray, which in discharge of Our duty to the Kings Highnesse Wee may not suffer. And therefore haue resolved to make Our speedy repaire vnto those parts, for none other purpose but to establish his Maiesties Lawes, that no publike nor contemptuous breach be made of them, wherein We wish you had bin more wary, contenting your selues with the long and fauourable tolleration you enioyed during the late *Queens* raigne, rather then in this sort to haue prescribed Lawes to your selues; whereby in wisdom you may perceiue how much you haue preiudiced the very obtaining of your owne desire, by the courses you haue taken, (as we are credibly informed). And yet because it may be, that the reports of your behaviour haue beene made more haunous then there is cause, Wee are well pleased to suspend Our giuing credit to such particular informations, vntill vpon due examination the truth may appeare, wherein We hope and shall be glad that you can acquit your selues so of these imputations now laid vpon you, or otherwise that you conforme your selues now at last, in such sort to the obedience you owe to his Maiesty, and his Lawes, as We be not inforced to take seuerer notice of your contrary actions.

The same day his Lordship was aduertised from the Mayor of *Galloway*, that howsoever he found no seditious inclination in the Citizens; yet to prevent disorders in these mutinous times, the Gouvernor of the Fort had giuen him some of his souldiers, to assist his authority, whom he to that purpose had placed in the strongest Castles of the City.

The same day his Lordship receiued letters from the Mayor of *Corke*, signifying that the thirteenth day of this moneth he had published in the City the Proclamation of the King, with the greatest solemnity he could, and complaining that the Souldiers in the Kings Fort offered many abuses to the Towne, with offer from the Corporation to vndertake the safe keeping of that Fort for his Maiesty.

The 26 day his Lordship wrote to the Soueraigne of *Wexford*, that whereas they excused their erecting of popish rites, by the report they heard of his Maiesties being a Roman Catholike, he could not but maruell at their simplicity, to be seduced by lying Priests to such an opinion, since it was apparant to the World, that his Maiesty professed the true religion of the Gospell, and euer with carefull sincerity maintained it in his Kingdome of *Scotland*, charging him and those of *Wexford* vpon their allegiance to his Maiesty, to desist from the disordered course they had taken, in celebrating publicly the idolatrous Masse, least hee at his comming vp into those parts, should haue cause seuerely to punish their contempt, shewed to his Maiesty and the lawes of his Kingdome.

The same day his Lordship was aduertised from the Commissioners of *Mounster*, that the Citizens of *Corke* grew daily more and more insolent, defacing places of scripture written on the wals of the Church, to the end they might wash and paint ouer the old Pictures, and that one tearmed a Legat from the Pope, with many Priests, had gone in solemn procession, hallowing the Church, and singing Masse therein publicly, the Townes-men hauing placed guards of armed men, set at the Church dore, and at the Porch, yea burying their dead with all Papisticall Ceremonies, and taking the Sacrament in like sort to spend their liues and goods in defence of the Romish Religion, and thereupon taking boldnes to offer wrong to the English, and to practice the getting of the Kings Fort into their hands, yea refusing to sell any thing to the English for the new mixed money, and not suffering the Kings victuals to be issued out of the store, till they had assurance that the Souldiers should be sent out of the liberties of *Corke*.

The 27 day his Lordship wrote to the Soueraigne of *Clonmell*, commending him and the rest of that City, that they had proclaimed the King with great ioy and gladnesse, but charging them vpon their vttermost perill, to cease from the publike exercise of the Romish Religion, which they of themselves had mutinously established.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Soueraigne of *Kilkenny*.

After my hearty commendations, I haue receiued your Letters of the 25 and 26 of this moneth, and am glad to vnderstand thereby, that you are somewhat conformable to my directions, being willing to haue cause to interpret your actions to the best; but though I meane not to search into your consciences, yet I must needs take knowledge of the publike breach of his Maiesties Lawes: and whereas you let me vnderstand, that the Inhabitants are willing to withdraw themselves for their spirituall exercise to priuacy, contented onely with the vse of the ruinous Abbey, that being a publike place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and maruell how you dare presume to dispose at your pleasure of the Abbey, or anything belonging to his Maiesty, and therefore againe charge you vpon your alleagiance, to forbear any publike exercise of that Religion, prohibited by the Lawes of this Realme, and fully to reforme these disorders, according to my directions, vpon your extreame perill.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Mayor of *Corke*.

After my very hearty commendations, I did first receiue some mutual complaints & informations, from the commissioners of *Mounster* & you, wherof so far as they concerne your particulars I will take notice, & be glad to heare you both, or your Agents for you, & reforme what I shall find amisse in either, but of publike offences or errors, I must take publike knowledge. And first for the Proclamation of the King, wherein I am informed that you were not onely your selues slow and backward, but made resistance to those, who being Gouvernours in that Prouince in our late

Soueraignes time, and hauing our directions, were not like to abuse or deceiue you, and offered with due forwardnes and obedience, after your vnfitting and dangerous delaies, to haue published the same, whereof I cannot but maruell, and thinke you much to be blamed in so vndoubtfull a right, and with directions receiued from those in authority, to make such needlesse consultations, and much more to offer violent resistance to those, who better vnderstood their duties, and were euer ready in so much loyalty to performe it: yet in regard of your solemne and ioyfull publication thereof, I am willing to interpret your actions to the best, and take your good performance for an excuse: But I am further giuen to vnderstand, that you haue suffered the publike celebration of the Masse to be set vp in your City, of your owne fancies, and without publike authority, both against the lawes of this Realme, and (I assure you) contrary to that Religion which his Maiesty zealously professeth. Whereof I cannot but take publike notice, as you haue publikely offended the King and his Lawes, and as I haue done before, so againe I charge you vpon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe Authours thereof, which if you doe not presently obey, I shall be forced against my will to vse his Maiesties Sword and Power, to suppress the same. Further you haue by your letters made suit vnto me, to haue the Kings Fort *Halebolim* committed to your custody, and I am informed that you haue proceeded in that insolency, as to stay his Maiesties Munition and victuals, and Artillery, which vpon speciall trust of your loyalty was kept in your City, from being transported from thence to the reliefe of the Kings Fort. It may be you haue rashly and vnadvisedly done this, vpon some opinion of the ceasing of authority in the publike gouernement, vpon the death of our late Soueraigne, (which is somewhat more, though no way in true and seuerer iudgement excusable), and I thinke otherwise you would neuer haue beene so foolish, to runne into so great danger, but since, as it hath pleased his Maiesty to renew and confirme vnto me, by his royall letters and Letters Pattents vnder his Seale, the place of his Deputy in this Kingdome, and to signifie his gracious pleasure, to continue all other his Officers and Magistrates, as well martiall as ciuill, in their former authority and iurisdiction, so by vertue thereof, and power giuen me from his Maiesty, I haue renewed the Lord Presidents Pattent, and granted a new commission to Sir *Charles Wilmott* and Sir *George Thornton*, with charge and authority to gouerne the Kings Forces, Forts, and places of strength, and to defend the Townes from forraigne inuasions, and intestine mutinies or rebellions, and further to gouerne that Prouince according to his Maiesties directions. In which command of theirs there is no derogation from your ciuill gouernement and limited authority, if you rightly vnderstand the one and the other: Therefore as you should at first haue concurred with them, put in so great place of trust ouer you by your late Queene and Mistresse, especially in dangerous times of change, for the peaceable gouernement of all vnder both your charges, that you might haue deserued his Maiesties gracious acceptance of your seruice, by presenting all things in the best state you could to his Highnesse first view, so now I require you vpon your allegiannce, to be assisting and obedient to them in all things touching his Maiesties seruice, and not to presume to interrupt the conuayance of the Kings victuals, munition, or artillery, vnto such places as shall be thought fit by them, for the furnishing of his Maiesties Forts, or Forces, wheresoeuer they thinke conuenient. This if you shall performe, I shall be glad to interpret your past actions to the best, finding your endeauours to redeeme what you haue done amisse, and not bee forced against my will to take notice of the height of your offences or errors, and vse his Maiesties power to redresse them. I haue since the writing hereof, seene a letter presented me by Master *Meade*, in deniall and excuse of these informations, and if I shall find you conformable and obedient to these my directions, I will be glad to haue occasion to interpret all things past in the better part, and take as little notice as I can thereof. And so, &c.

The same day the Lord Deputy wrote this following letter to the Mayor of *Lymricke*.

After my hearty commendations, I haue not written vnto you (that I remember) since I sent you directions for the Proclamation of the King, which because I vnderstand

vnderstand you published according to your duety, with all due solemnity and signes of ioy, and continued in duetifull sort, not being seduced vnto disorders, as some of the Townes of that Prouince were; I thought rather to haue cause to commend you, and giue you encouragement in your loyall proceedings, then any way to blame you, but I haue since beene enformed, that you haue taken example of other Cities seduced by their Priests, and against his Maiesties Lawes (and I assure you contrary to the religion he zealously professeth) vpon your owne fancies without authority, set vp the publike celebration of the Masse, whereof I cannot but take publike notice, as you haue publikely offended the King and his lawes, and therefore I charge you vpon your alleagiance, to desist from such seditious insolencies, and to apprehend the chiefe authours thereof, which if you doe not presently obey, I shall be forced against my will to take more seuerer notice thereof, then willingly I would. And so hoping that in a matter of so great consequence you will be better aduised, I expect to haue answere from you.

The eight and twentieth day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Commissioners of *Mounster*.

After my hearty commendations, I haue already sent you your Commission renewed, for continuance of your authority, and signed the Kings Letters Patents to the Lord President for his gouernement, and as formerly I aduised you, so againe I pray you, to transport as great a proportion of victuals and munition as you can out of the City of *Corke*, into the Fort of *Halebolyn*, and the Castle of *Shandon*, and if you may, by faire meanes, you shall doe well to endeouour to draw some Companies into the Towne, which if you cannot effect, yet I would haue you not to slacke the carrying of victuals and munition. I haue drawne together some 5000 men, and shall be able to employ them in reducing and setting the Townes of those parts, and if the Citizens of *Corke*, vpon the renewing of your authority and my late directions, proue more conformable then they were, you shal doe well to gouerne all without violence, but if they continue obstinate in their former insolencies, I aduise you to set guards vpon the stores of victuals and munition, and to leaue the Towne.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to Sir *Charles Wilmot*, one of the said Commissioners.

SIR *Charles*, I haue receiued your letter of the twentieth of Aprill, and am glad of the good successe you had in taking the Castles in *Kerry*, and for your men of *Corke*, I haue heard of their insolencies, and I beleue them, and for any thing I know, all the Townes in *Mounster* stand vpon little better tearmes: As soone as I could possibly, (for I had no Forces in all *Leinster*) I haue gathered together 5000 men, and am comming towards you, and haue so disposed of all things in the North, that if need be, I will draw the whole Army of *Ireland* ere it be long into *Mounster*, some few excepted to guard the garrisons: With *Waterford* I thinke to beginne, for they gaue the first example, but it is true that if they hold against me, I am ill prouided to force them, for at *Dublin* wee are ill stored of all things, but we will doe as well as we may. I doe like your course well to draw as many as you can to one head, and I thinke it fit, that it were about *Corke*: If your munition and victuals be in the power of the Towne, I know not what to say, but I haue first written to the Towne, not to interrupt you in the disposing of the Kings munition and victuals, and vpon my commandement if they denie it, it is treason, therefore I thinke they will be aduised therein. If you may therefore, as suddenly as you can, conuay as great a proportion of victuals, but especially and first of munition, out of the Towne, then I will command them to receiue you (with such forces as you shall appoint) into the Towne, which if they denie, it is treason too: And if you haue any store out of the Towne, and your Forces be gathered together, and they continue obstinate, it were good some little guard (though it were but seven or eight men) were put into the Castles, where the munition and victuals are, and for all the rest of the English to withdraw themselves out of the Towne by little and little, and then if they continue obstinate still, in not receiuing the King Forces, my desire is that you shall presently inuest the Towne, which

I pre-

I presume may bee done with some 1000 men, if you put two or 300 men into the Fort next to *Kinsale* gate, (which with so many men will be easily guardable), and with the rest of your foote intrench neere to the gate next toward *Shandon*, and with some 100 Horse beat the wayes. When you are in this forwardnesse, if you thinke this way feaſible, I will ſend you, either more men (if with thoſe you haue you thinke not fit to engage the Cannon), or if I be looſe my ſelfe from being ingaged in any other place, I will come to you; but if *Waterford* hold out, I ſhall for the time haue my hands full. Let me heare from you at large of all things, and in the meane time, it is fit you put the beſt Arillery you haue into *Halebolin* Fort. I haue ſent this by one whom I thinke to be truſty, and I pray you to ſend him backe ſpeedily to me, and to impart this proiect to as few as you thinke good. Write to me how *Lymricke*, and the other Cities doe ſtand. And ſo, &c.

The thirtieth day his Lordſhip receiued letters from the Mayor of *Corcke* and his brethren, ſignifying that the Commiſſioners had by directions charged them, to ſuffer his Maieſties Miniſters to paſſe through their ports with eight and forty barrells of powder, and leade and match proportionable, to be brought from his Maieſties ſtore in that City to the Fort of *Halebolin*, and that in regard they wondered ſo great a proportion ſhould be carried to the Fort, where no Artillery was yet planted, eſpecially the quantities formerly iſſued being not yet ſpent, nor any ſeruice being in hand, they fearing the Commiſſioners purpoſed to aſſault the Towne, or at leaſt to ſtarue them, were enforced thereby to make ſtay of the ſaid munition, till his Lordes pleaſure were further known, renewing their ſuit, to haue the cuſtody of the Fort committed to the corporation. That they did all they could to cauſe the mixed money of the new ſtandard to paſſe currant, but it was with ſuch griefe & loſſe to the poore town, as they hoped his L^p would be a means to his Maieſty for altering the ſame; That they had receiued rebuke from his Lordſhip, concerning certaine inſolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the State, except that be an offence, after many abuſes and wrongs done them, to keepe watch and ward, to preſerue themſelues and keepe the City for the Kings Maieſty, in thoſe doubtfull times (as they tearmed them). That touching the point of Religion, they onely exerciſed now publiſhly that which euer before they had beene ſuffered to exerciſe priuately, and as their publiſh prayers gaue publiſh testimony of their faithfull hearts to the Kings Royall Maieſty, ſo they were tied to bee no leſſe carefull to manifeſt their duties to almighty God, in which they would neuer be diſſembling temporifors.

Thus they fooliſhly ruſhed into apparant treaſon, by making ſtay of the Kings munitions; and preſumed to excuſe their mutinous and inſolent eſtabliſhing the publiſh exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion (and that vpon their owne heads, without any direction, yea in oppoſition of publiſh authority.)

The Lord Deputy now being ready to take his iourney for *Mounſter*, and purpoſing firſt to attempt *Waterford*, wrote to the Maior thereof the firſt of May to this effect. Becauſe it ſeemes by your neglect of my directions, and your impertinent answers, that you do not know, or haue forgotten, both my authority and your ſelues, I thinke good to let you vnderſtand, that it hath pleaſed the moſt mighty Prince King *James* the firſt, Our Soueraigne, by his letters Pattents, vnder his Great Seale of *England*, to make me his Deputie and chiefe Gouvernour vnder himſelfe of this Kingdome, and further to command me, by his letters ſigned with his Royall hands, to cheriſh his good ſubiects, and to ſuppreſſe the Rebellious, the which difference of good and rebellious, I am no otherwiſe to diſtinguiſh in you, but by that obedience which I haue required, and doe now require of you to his Maieſties Lawes and Royall pleaſure. And as, in my duty to God and my King, I ſhould reioice to finde you in the number of thoſe that I am bound to cheriſh and preſerue. So ſhould I bee heartily ſorry to finde you ſuch, as I muſt bee forced to correct or to ruine. And although it be none of my purpoſes to enter into your conſciences, yet if the effects of your conſciences be, to diſturbe the peace of this Kingdome, to violate the Lawes thereof, and by force to ſet vp your owne Religion; It is my
dutie

duty to use the Kings power to suppress such insolencies, and therefore my purpose is to repaire my selfe to the Kings Citie, whereof you are one of his Magistrates, to see his peace and obedience maintained, the which if both I and you, and that Corporation doe not (as our duty is) intend, we have a King, that is not onely able to call vs his poore seruants to an account, but to reuenge the wrongs of the greatest Monarch of the World.

The same day his Lordship writ to the Maior of *Corke*, this following letter.

After my heartie commendations. I haue receiued two letters from you, the one not signed with any hand, the other signed by you the Maior and two of your Brethren; and for the first, concerning the stay you haue made of the Kings munition and Victuals, I maruell greatly at your presumption, to limit and take account what proportions the Commissioners authorised by his Maiesty thinke good to issue, for his seruice, and with you in matters of so great consequence to be well aduised, not doing any thing rashly, nor consulting or deliberating after your fancies of things not belonging any way to your consideration, but submitting your owne iudgements to be ruled by those placed in authoritie ouer you, I meane Sir *Charles Wilmot*, and Sir *George Thorneton*, whose Commissions to gouerne that Prouince I haue lately by order from his Maiestie renewed. For the answer of your second letter, I referre my selfe to those I sent you by Master *Mead*, which I thinke ere this time are come to your hands, and as by them you shall more particularly perceiue, so I assure you, that I expect better satisfaction from you, for the late insolent disorders committed or permitted by you in that Citie, then by these I haue receiued, charging you againe (as formerly) to desist from the violating of his Maiesties Lawes, by publike celebration of the Masse, set vp of your owne fancies, without superiour authoritie. In which, if I finde you not conformable and obedient to my directions, I must conceiue of your loyaltie and affection to his Maiesties seruice, as I find by the effects testified in your publike actions, and bee forced to take more seuerer notice thereof, then I willingly would, in regard of the good opinion I haue heretofore had of your proceedings. And for that point in your last letter, touching the Fort of *Halebolin*, whereof you desire to haue the keeping to the Kings use, I will deale plainly with you, that since I find you so little able to gouerne the inhabitants of your Towne in due obedience to his Maiestie and his Lawes, and so easily seduced by your Priests and Friers, to the preiudice thereof, and the hazard of your selues, and haue alwaies found by experience the true integritie and forward resolution of the Kings souldiers to aduance his seruice: till I shall see a better reformation of these your proceedings, I must needes thinke them fitter then you to haue places of so great trust committed to their guard and custodie.

The same day his Lordship vnderstood by letters from the Maior of *Corke*, that the Kings forces, lying neere the Towne, and their armed men of the Citie, had proceeded to acts of hostilitie, some hauing beene killed on both sides, whereof they craued reliefe from his Lordship, making their contumacy against the Commissioners authoritie, a priuate quarrell to the person of one of them, as being their enemy, and seeking their vtter ruine. Likewise the Bishop of *Corke* aduertised, that a most seditious sermon was preached at *Corke* by a Popish Priest, teaching that he could not be a lawfull King, who was not placed by the Pope, and sworne to maintaine the Roman Religion. Also that one of his men, going to the Port of the Towne, was hurt by one of the guard, who wished he had the Traytor his Master there, with threats of death to him. Lastly, that the Citizens, by resolution taken in a publike Counsell with their Priests, had written to all the Townes and Cities, to assist them in the defence of the Catholike faith, and had not onely staid the Kings munition, but laid it vp in their owne store-houses, and imprisoned the Clarke who kept it.

The third of May his Lordship being on the way towards *Mounster* was aduertised from *Iustice Synot*, that the Citizens of *Wexford* had conformed themselves to his Lordships pleasure, & had redeliuered the Churches to the hands of the English Ministers

nisters. The fourth of May, his Lordship incamped at *Gracedea*, neere the Citie of *Waterford*, and summoned the Maior and his brethren to open their Ports, and to receiue him and the Kings Forces.

The same day his Lordship wrote this following letter to the Maior of *Corke*. For the dispatch of your messenger, and not to omit any thing that lieth in mee to make you vnderstand your dutifull obedience to his Maiesty, and the great errors and insolent demenor you haue of selfe will or malice entred into; I am content to write vnto you, tho I know not well in what sort to write, for by your courses I cannot take you for subiects, and out of my desire to interpret your actions to the best, I could wish not to haue cause to repute you Rebels. To deale plainely with you, for any thing that you selues informe, or I can otherwise vnderstand, I see not that Sir *Charles Willmot* hath done but as in his duty hee was tied to doe, but I am presently drawing downe to the City of *Corke*, and hauing reserued one care for any your iust complaints, will iudge of your proceedings as I shall finde them. I haue let you vnderstand my pleasure by my letters, (one sent by Master *Meade*, which if hee haue not deliuered he is more to blamie), and I assure my selfe some of them came to your hands, and in all I haue charged you vpon your alleagance (as againe by these I do) to desist from publike breach of his Maiesties Lawes, in the celebration of the Masse, prohibited by the same, and to yeeld due obedience to his Magistrates, and especially vpon your extreamest perils, not to presume to make any stay of his Maiesties victualls and munition, left (vpon speciall trust on your fidelity) within the walles of that City, but to suffer it by his Maiesties Commissioners of that Prouince, to bee issued to the Forts, or where they shall thinke meet for the present seruice. I shall be glad to finde that you conforme your selues to due obedience in all these, and other duties of good subiects; if otherwise you obstinately persist in the contrary, I must needs hold you for enemies to the King and the Peace of these his Realmes; and as such thinke you fit to be prosecuted by the reuenging sword of these and other his Maiesties Forces. From the Campe at *Gracedea*, neere *Waterford*, the fourth of May, 1603.

The fifth of May his Lordship was aduertised, that the Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle*, vpon Sir *Neale Garues* late insolencies and disloyall practises, had by force taken from him, his Cowes, Horses, and all his substance, and that he himselfe had giuen pledges to come to his Lordship. The disloyalties proued against him were these. That he obstinately carried himselfe in all things concerning the seruice. That he forbade his people to yeeld any reliefe to the English Garrisons. That he restrained his men from building or plowing, that they might assist him to doe any mischief. That he threatened to set fier on the *Liffer*. That he refused to admit any Shiriffe in his Countrey. That he had long beene vpon a word with the Rebels. That he swore he would goe into Rebellion, rather then any English man should inioy a foot of Church land in his Countrey, which notwithstanding was reserued in his Pattent. That he had created himself *O Donnell*, & that he had murdered an honest subiect, who would not follow him in those courses, with many like insolencies. And hereby the Lord Deputy and State were set at libertie for the promise of *Tirconnell* made vnto him. So as his Lordship had now good occasion to giue *Rowry O Donnell* contentment. To which end some good portions of land, being assigned to Sir *Neale Garue*, his L^y procured the rest of the late *O Donnell*s Countrey, to be giuen his brother *Rowry*, whom afterwards in *England* he procured to be created Earle of *Tyrconnel*, thereby extinguishing the name of *O Donnell*.

The Citizens of *Waterford*, at first refused to receiue any Forces into the Towne, but onely his Lordship and his retinue, yet the chiefe of them attended his Lordship in the Campe, and for their proceedings in the points of Religion, his Lordship requiring them to bring vnto him one Doctor *White* a Iesuite, the chiefe seducer of them by seditious Sermons, they were ready vpon safe conduct or protection to bring him to his Lordships presence which being granted them by word of mouth, the said Doctor *White*, accompanied by a young Dominican Frier, came into the
Camp,

Campe, but when they foolishly carried a Crucifix, openly shewing the same, the soldiers were hardly kept from offering them violence; and when they put up the Crucifix in their pockets, yet could hardly indure the sight of their habits, which each wore according to his order, Doctor *White* wearing a blacke gowne and cornerd cap, and the Frier wearing a white wollen frock. *White* being come into his Lordships Tent, was bold to maintaine erroneous and dangerous positions, for maintenance of that which the Citizens had done, in the reforming of Religion without publike authority, all which his Lordship did (as no Lay man I thinke could better doe) most learnedly confute. And when *White* cited a place in Saint *Austin* for his prooffe, his Lordship hauing the booke in his Tent, shewed all the company, that hee had falsely cited that Father; for howsoeuer his very words were found there, yet they were set downe by way of an assertion which Saint *Austin* confuted in the discourse following. At this surprisall, *White* was somewhat out of countenance; and the Citizens ashamed. But in conclusion, when those of the Towne alleaged King *Iohn* his Charter for priuiledge why they should not receiue the Kings forces into the Towne, his Lordship replied, that no King could giue that priuiledge to his subiects, whereby his Successours should bee preiudiced in the due obedience they were to expect from them, and in a word, told them, that if they did not presently open their Ports to him and the forces with him, he would cut King *Iohns* Charter in pieces with King *Iames* his sword, and if he entered the Towne by force, would ruine it, and strew salt vpon the ruines.

Whereupon they better considering of the businesse, receiued his Lordship and the forces into the Towne, and the souldiers were so well disciplined, that howsoeuer they were not a little grieued by this yeelding to haue the hope of rich pillage taken from them, yet no wrong worth the speaking of was done to any one in the Towne. His Lordship here suppressed all publike exercise of Romish Religion, and restored the Churches to the English Ministers, and tooke from the chiefe Citizens an oath of Alleageance to his Maiesty, with an abiuration of all dependancy on any forraigne Potentate (hauing held the like course of reformation in his passage hither through *Kilkenny*, the Citizens wherof had in like sort offended), but his Lordship forbore any way to censure their past sedition, leauing them to the Kings mercy for Charter, life and goods, if thereby they had indangered them. Onely his Lordship left one thousand men in Garrison at *Waterford*, and made choise of a place of aduantage, where they should lye, till such time as a Fort might there be built to command the Towne, and bridle it from running into like insolencies hereafter. And because the North being now quieted, there was no further vse of any Garrison in *Lecayle*, his Lordship appointed Sir *Richard Morryson* (formerly Gouvernour of *Lecayle*) to command this Garrison left at *Waterford*, and to gouerne the County of *Wexford*.

Certaine heads whereupon some Waterford men were examined a part one from the other, and in a carelesse manner, yet so as the answers were written out of sight.

1. What preparations were deuised to rescue *Waterford*, if the Army had laied siege thereunto.
2. Who were the instruments that were appointed, and were assembling them.
3. Who were their leaders both in Towne and Countrie, and when and where they should meete.
4. Whether any thing were published in writing, and set vpon the Church doores and other places, to seduce the people; and what the effect thereof was, or by whom it was set vp, or whether it was set vp in *Clonmell* onely, or in more places.
5. Whether any of them did know Sir *Mahonne O Dullany* Priest, to come to *Clonmell* the fifth of this moneth, reporting that Sir *Donnell O Carroll* had fiftene hundred men ready to the rescue of *Waterford*.

Ddd

6. Whether

6. Whether any of them knew *Humfery Arthur* of *Lymrick*, or any other messengers from thence, to come to *Clomell*, to report that five thousand were in readinesse to the rescue of *Waterford* also, or whether he be still at *Clomell* yea or no.

7. Whether they knew which quarter of the Countrey was appointed for *Father Malrony* to take the charge thereof, to be assembled to the rescue of *Waterford*.

8. Whether they knew *Father Leinaghs* haunt, likewise so of *Father Ractor*, and the rest, whose names they are not to seeke of themselves.

9. Whether they haue or can tell certainlie, that any intended yet to draw these Rescues to *Corke*, or any other head, to prevent the Army.

10. Whether themselves are sworne to live and die in the quarrell, or what Noble men or Lawyers are sworne also.

11. Whether they be able themselves to deliuer any of these seducers to the Lord Deputy, yea or no, by what reason they should not (if they denie it) being conuersant with them daily.

12. Whether they knew any messengers gone for *Spaine* or else-where, to procure helpe to those confederates, who are gone, when they went, and what they bee, or from whence, and what was their message, or how charges were collected for them.

From *Waterford* his Lordship by small iournies (in regard of the impediments by the slacknesse and failing of supplies of Garrons and Beecues from the Countrey) marched to the Citie of *Corke*, and comming thither vpon the tenth of May, was without any contradiction receiued into the Towne, with all the forces he brought with him, though Sir *Charles Willmott* had inuested the Towne, and at the same time (with the forces of the *Mounster* Lift) lay before it.

The eleuenth day his Lordship, to make it apparant to them and all the World, how willing he was to giue them gentle audience in their iust complaints, first admitted them to speake what they could of any offence they had receiued, or iustly suspected, before they were called in any question for their owne disorders. But their accusations for the most part were such, as if they had been proued (which was not done, the prooffe as lesse important being deferred to a more convenient time) yet imported rather imputation of want of discretion in rash speeches, then any iust pretext for their proceeding, and therefore were laied a part, as impertinent to the maine cause then to be handled. And for the rest of their more selected accusations, they were iudged to haue in them no important excuse for their seditious carriage, but were such for the greater part, as his Lordship was forced to iustifie without calling the aduerse partie to his answer, as being done either by his Lordships directions, or out of dutie imposed vpon the Commissioners of this Prouince by vertue of the place of authority committed to their charge. Thus the Townesmen laboured to diuert their publike offences by a colourable excuse of priuat spicene, and some grudges against one of the Commissioners.

And in regard the Earle of *Ormond* came that night to *Corke*, the Lord Deputy (being desirous not onely to haue his Lordship, but as many of the Nobilitie, and men of the best ranke as he could, to be witnesses of their hainous offences, and of the milde proceedings against them) did deferre till next day, the receiuing of the Townesmens answeres in iustification of their owne actions. At which time many breaches of his Maiesties Lawes and their duties were objected against them. First, in the publike erection of the Romish Religion against the Lawes, and the abolishing that profession which was allowed by the same. Secondly, in their maintaining these actions by force and armed men. Thirdly, in their attempt to demolish the Kings Fort at the South Gate of the City. Fourthly, in staying the issue of the Kings munition and victuals, with the seazing of them into their owne hands, and the imprisoning of the Kings Officers and Ministers, to whose charge they were committed. Lastly, in bearing Armes, and doing all actes of Hostilitie against his Maiesties forces, wherein their insolent proceedings were so farre followed, as they had killed a graue and learned Preacher walking vpon the Hilles adioyning to their walles, and had battered

battered *Shandon* Castle, wherein lay the Lady *Carew* (wife to the Lord President then absent in *England*.)

After due examination taken of all these points, his Lord^e resolved, as he had formerly done at *Waterford*, to leave the censure to his Maiesties pleasure, that hee vpon view thereof, might vse his Royall mercy or iustice, in remitting or punishing and reforming the same. Onely his Lordship tooke notice of some few of the principall offenders and ringleaders, whose offences were apparant, and seuered from the common action, and them his Lordship commanded to be hanged, for example and terror to others. Some his Lordship left in prison to be tried by course of Law, as Master *Meade* the Recorder, who was a most principall offender: but hee might as well haue forgiven him; for no man that knew *Ireland* did imagine, that an Irish Iurie would condemne him. The chiefe Citizens of *Corke* tooke the aboue mentioned oath of Alleageance to his Maiesty, abiuring all dependancy vpon any forraigne Potentate.

From *Corke* his L^p wrote to the Earle of *Tyrone*, to meete him at *Dublyn*, in readinesse to beare him company into *England*. This done, his Lordship left a strong garrison of souldiers in the Towne of *Corke*, and so vpon the fifteenth of May marched towards *Lymrick*, and the Citizens thereof hauing proceeded to no further disorder, then the publike celebration of Masse, were soone reduced to order, and willingly tooke the oath of alleageance, with abiuration of dependancy vpon any forraigne Potentate, as the other Cities had done.

The sixteenth of May his Lordship receiued letters from the Earle of *Tyrone*, whereby he gaue him many thanks, that he had procured out of *England* authoritie to proceede with him according to the instructions he had formerly from the late Queene, promising to bee readie at *Dublyn* to attend his Lordship into *England*, and touching a complaint of *Shane O Neales* sonnes, for some cowes his men had taken from them, promising to make restitution. And because he thought many complaints would be made against his people, by reason of their pouerty, he besought his Lordship not to giue credit to them, till he might repaire to his Lordship to satisfie him, protesting that he would be ready at all times to come vnto his Lordship, and to doe all duties of a faithfull subiect.

The Lord Deputy hauing giuen order to fortifie the Castle of *Lymrick*, and hauing from thence written to the Maior of *Corke* to assist the Commissioners in building the Fort at their South Gate, tooke his iourney towards *Dublyn* the nineteenth of May, and came to *Cashell* the twentieth of May, where he reformed the Towne, as hee had done the rest, and tooke the like oth of Alleageance from the Townesmen. There he vnderstood, that a Priest commanding all the people, had tied a Goldsmith of our Religion to a tree, threatening to burne him and his hereticall bookes, at which time he burnt some of our bookes, which he so termed, but that vpon a Townesmans admonition, the Priest set the said Goldsmith free, after he had stood so bound to a tree some six houres before all the people of the Towne, in continuall feare to be burned.

The Lord Deputy hauing quietly settled all the Townes and Cities in *Mounster*, returned to *Dublyn*, and because vpon the first settling of peace, many petitions were exhibited against the late Rebels for restitution of goods, which they had taken in time of rebellion, and were not now able to restore, so as the exacting thereof, was like to produce new troubles, rather then any satisfaction to the plaintiffes; an authentick act of obliuion for all like griuances was published, and sent to the Gouvernours in all parts of the Kingdome.

In this late *Mounster* Iourney, his Lordship receiued letters from the King, where- by he was chosen to be one of his Maiesties Priuie Counsell in *England*, and being made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with two third parts of the Deputies allowance assigned to him, was licensed to come ouer into *England*, and had authoritie to leaue Sir *George Carey* the Kings Deputy during his Lordships absence, hauing the other third part of the Deputies allowance, and his owne entertainment as Treasurer at Warres for his support.

Sir George
Carey left
L. Deputy,
by the Lord
Mountjoy,
L. Lieute-
nant retur-
ning into
England.

And Captaine *Floyd* lying now in the Harbour with the Kings Pinace called the *Tramontana*, ready to transport him, his Lordship with the Earle of *Tyrone* in his company, together with his household seruants, and some Knights and Gentlemen his followers, tooke ship in the afternoone, and the next morning early we discovered the desired land of *England*, the weather being very faire: but within one hower the skie being ouer-cast with a thicke fog, and we hearing all sayles, we fell suddenly vpon the Skerryes an hideous great blacke Rocke, where after so many dangers escaped in the warres, it pleased God miraculously to deliuer vs from being cast away (as it were) in the very Hauen. For certaine birds called Guls, seeing our ship ready to rush vpon them, and their desert habitation with full sayles, rose crying and fluttering round about vs, whereat the Gouvernours of the Pinace being amazed, looked out, and beholding that terrible spectacle, cried to the Steare-man aloofe for life, which fearefull voice might haue danted him, as it did most in the ship; but he stoutly did his worke, answering helme aboard, which done, the ship by force of the sterne, and by the help of the tide comming in between it and the Rocke, turned about with strange swiftnesse, and swumme along by the Rocke, so neere to it, as the Boate hanging at the sterne, dashed against it. Neither were the most expert men in the ship for a long time free of this feare, knowing that such great Rockes haue vsually small pinacles adioining to them, the least whereof had beene as dangerous to vs as the maine Rocke: but the ship (by Gods mercifull prouidence) passing on safely, that day by noone we came into the Bay of *Brammaris*, and were set on shore by the boate.

The Earle of *Tyrone* rode from thence to *London* in the Lord *Mountiory* his company, and howsoeuer his Lordships happy victory against this Traitor, made him gracious in the eyes of the people, yet no respect to him could containe many Women in those parts, who had lost Husbands and Children in the Irish warres, from flinging dirt and stones at the Earle as he passed, and from reuiling him with bitter words: yea, when the Earle had beene at Court, and there obtaining his Maiesties direction for his pardon and performance of all conditions promised him by the Lord *Mountiory*, was about September to returne, hee durst not passe by those parts, without direction to the Shiriffes, to conuay him with troopes of Horse from place to place, till hee were safely imbarked and put to the Sea for *Ireland*.

The death
of the Lord
Mountiory
created
Earle of
Denonshire.

The Lord *Mountiory* comming to Court was honoured of all men, and graciously receiued of the King, being presently sworne one of his Maiesties priuy Counsell. And for further reward of his seruices shortly after the King made him Master of the Ordinance, gaue him two hundred pound yeerely old Rent of Assise out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Dutchy, to him and his heires for euer, besides the Countrey of *Lecale* in *Ireland*, together with other lands in the Pale there, which after the deceale of the Lady *Mabell* Countesse of *Kildare* were to fall to the Crowne for want of heires males of her body. He had the full superintendency ouer all Irish affaires, no dispatches passing to and from the Lord Deputy, but through his hands as Lord Leiutenant. And his Maiestie likewise created him Earle of *Denonshire*, which dignity was to discend to the heires of his body lawfully begotten. But it died with him, and he enioyed the rest of this worldly happinesse but few yeeres. For he was surprised with a burning Feuer, whereof the first fit being very violent, he called to him his most familiar friends, and telling them that he had euer by experience, and by presaging minde beene taught, to repute a burning Feuer his fatall enemy, desired them (vpon instructions then giuen them) to make his Will, and then he said; Let death looke neuer so vgly, he would meet him smiling, which he nobly performed, for I neuer saw a braue spirit part more mildely from the old mansion, then his did, departing most peaceably after nine daies sicknesse, vpon the third of *Aprill*, in the beginning of the yeere 1606.

This most worthy Lord, cured *Ireland* from the most desperate estate in which it euer had beene, and brought it to the most absolute subiection in which it had euer beene since the first Conquest thereof by our Nation. Yet hee left this
great

great worke vnperfect, and subiect to relapse, except his successours should finish the building, whose foundation he had laied, and should polliſh the ſtones which he had onely rough hewed. And becauſe hee knew this relapse would be moſt dangerous, hauing obſerued euery rebellion in *Ireland* to bee more dangerous then the former, and that none could be more dangerous then this laſt, without the loſſe of the Kingdome, therefore he was moſt carefull to preuent all future miſchiefes. To which end, whatſoeuer effects his deſignes had, ſure I am, that he did meditate theſe wholeſome proiects: Firſt to eſtabliſh Garrifons in the Cities of *Mounſter*, and in the renewing of their forfeited Charters, to cut of many exorbitant priuiledges granted to their firſt Engliſh Progenitors, from whom they were ſo degenerated, as the very ſpeaking of Engliſh, was by them forbidden to their wiues and children. Then by the exchanging of lands, and by the diſpoſing of the new grants of lands to be made to the Iriſh, to draw them all to inhabit the inland Country, and to plant the Engliſh vpon the hauens, Sea-Coaſts, and Riuers. Laſtly, becauſe he knew all endeouours would be in vaine, if Ciuill Magiſtrates ſhould thinke by faire meanes without the ſword to reduce the Iriſh to due obedience (they hauing been conquered by the ſword, and that maxime being infallible, that all Kingdomes muſt be preſerued by the ſame meanes by which they were firſt gained, eſpecially with the Iriſh by their nature pliable to a hard hand, and iadiſh when vpon the leaſt pricking of prouender the bridle is let looſe vnto them,) therefore his L^y purpoſed to perſwade, that the Army ſhould ſtand in ſome conuenient ſtrength, till the Kings reuenues were increaſed, and eſtabliſhed (ſo as *Ireland* might be a nurſery to maintaine ſome conuenient number of old Souldiers, without any charge to *England*), and till the reformation of Religion and due obedience to the Magiſtrate were at leaſt in ſome good meaſure ſettled in *Ireland*, and eſpecially in the foreſaid Cities.

A Liſt of the Army, as it was diſpoſed at the Lord Mountiories returne for England, about the eight and twentieth of May, in the beginning of the yeere 1603.

Horſe in Leinſter.

The Lord Lieutenant, 100. Maſter Marshall, 50. Sir Henrie Harrington, 25. Sir Edward Herbert, 12. Sir William Godolphin, 50. Sir Richard Greame, 50. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Francis Ruſh, 12. Captaine Flemming, 25.

Horſe in Mounſter.

The Lord Preſident, 100. The Earle of Thomond, 50. Captaine Taſſe, 50.

Horſe in Connaght.

Sir Oliner Lambert Gouvernour, 25. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. Sir Oliner S. Johns, 25. Captaine Wayman Prouoſt Marshall, 12.

Horſe in Ulſter.

Sir Arthur Chicheſter Gouvernor of Carickfergus, 25. Sir Henry Dockwra, Gouvernor of Longfoyle, 100. Sir Richard Treuer at the Newry, 50. Sir Henry Folliot at Balliſhannon, 50. Captaine Iohn Ieſſon, 100.

Totall of Horſe, 1000

Footen in Leinſter.

The Lord Lieutenant, 200. The Earle of Ormond, 150. Maſter Marshall, 150. Sir Hen. Power, 150. Sir W. Forteſcne, 150. Sir Geo. Bourcher, 100. Sir Fra. Ruſh, 150. Capt. Coach, 150. Capt. Lau. Eſmond, 150.

In all 1350.

Footen in Mounſter, firſt at Waterford.

Sir Ric. Morryſon Gouvernour of Waterford, and the County of Wexford, hauing his owne Company yet in Lecale. Sir Fran. Stafford, 200. Sir Ben. Berry, 150. Capt. Iofias Bodley, 150. Cap. Ellis Iones, 150. Capt. Hen. Bartley, 150. Capt. Ed. Fiſher, 150. Captaine Legg, 100. Capt. Ralph Counſtable 100.

Totall 1100.

Footen at Corks.

The L. Preſident, 200. Sir Chriſt. S. Laurence, 150. Sir Tho. Loftus, 100. M^r. Treasuſer, 100. Capt. Haruy, 100. Sir Ed. Wingſeild, 200. Sir Garret Haruy, 150. Capt. Coote, 100.

In all 1100.

Ddd 3

Footen

Foote at Lymrick.

The Earle of Thomond, 200. The Lord Audley, 150. Sir George Thorne-ton, 150. Sir Francis Bartely, 150. Sir Francis Kinsmel, 100. Captaine Stafford, 100. Captaine Thomas Boyse, 100. Captaine George Kinsmel, 100. In all 1000.

At Kinsale, Sir Ric. Percy, 150. In Kerry, Sir Charles Willmott, 150. At Baltemore, Capt. Flower, 100. At Halebolin Fort, Capt. Fr. Slingsby, 100. In all, 500.

Total Foote in Mounster, 3700.

Foote in Connaght.

Sir Oliner Lambert Gouvernour, 150. The Earle of Kildare, 150. The Earle of Clanric-kard, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Sir Edward Harbert, 100. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Sir Oli-uer S. Johns, 200. Sir Tibbot Dillon, 100. Captaine Ghest, 150. Cap. Skipwith, 100. Cap. Tho-mas Roper, 150. Captaine Thomas Rotheram, 150. Captaine Harrison, 100. Captaine Rorie O Donnell, 150. Capt. Tibott Bourke, 100. Captaine Tyrrell, 150. For the Iudges vse, 100. Sir Tho. Bourk, 150. In all, 2400.

Foote in Vlster, as at Knockfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester Gouvernour, 200. Sir Francis Convey, 150. Capt. Roger Langford, 100. Capt. Tho. Phillips, 100. Capt. H. Sackford, 100. In all, 650.

At Mountioy, Captaine Francis Roe Gouvernour, 150. Capt. Edw. Morryes, 100. Cap-George Blount, 100.

In Lecale, Richard Moryson, late Gouvernour, to be removed to Waterford, 200. At Ar-magh, Capt. Williams, 150. At the Newry, Capt. Treuer, 100. At Canan, Sir Garret Moore, 100. At Chhrlemount. Capt. Toby Cawfeild, 150. At Mount Norris, Capt. Atherton, 150. At Dundalke, Capt. Ferdinand Freckleton, 100.

At Monaghan and Ruske, Capt. Edward Blany Gouvernour, 150. Sir James Fitz Peirce, 100. Sir Edward Fitz Garrett, 100.

In all, 1650.

Foote at Ballisbannon.

Sir Henrie Follyot Gouvernour, 150. Capt. Edw. Bassett, 100. Capt. J. Phillips, 100. Capt. Thom. Bourke, 100. Capt. Dorington, 100. Capt. W. Winsor, 150. Capt. Ralph Sidley, 100. Captaine Oram, 100.

In all, 900.

Foote at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henrie Dockwra Gouvernour, 150. Captaine Richard Hansard, 200.

At the Liffer, a place (in the Gouvernours iudgement) most necessary to bee held by the English, and guardable with one hundred men, to be maintained by land annexed to the Towne, were left for the present, Sir Matthew Morgan, 150. Capt. Nich. Pinner, 100. Capt. Bassel Brooke, 100.

At Newtowne, a most necessary Garrison, and guardable by 30 men, was left Cap-taine Atkinson, 100.

At Omy, necessary and requirring this guard, Capt. Edw. Leigh, 100.

At Ainoigh, lesse necessary, Capt. Lewis Orrell, 100. Capt. Ellis Flyod, 100.

At Colmarhetreene, lesse necessary, Capt. Io. Vaughan, 100.

At Colrane, a most necessary Garrison, and requiring no lesse number to guard it, left Capt. Ioh. Sidney 100.

At Ramullan, a necessary Garrison to be held, and guardable with 50 men, left Cap-taine Ralph Bingley, 100.

At Do Castle, necessary, and requiring this guard, Capt. Tho. Badbey, 100.

At Colmore, most necessary to be held, was left Capt. Hart with 20 men, spared out of the former Companies.

In all 1500

Total of Foote, 11150.

The charge of the Irish warres in the last yeere 1602, beginning the first of April, and ending the last of March, besides concordatums, munition, and other extraordinaries, two hundred fourescore ten thousand seven hundred thirtie three pound eight shil- lings nine pence halfe penny farthing halfe farthing.

The

The charge of the Irish warres from the first of October 1598, to the last of March 1603, being four yeeres and a halfe, besides great concordatums, great charge of munitions, and other great extraordinaries, eleuen hundred fourescore eightene thousand seuen hundred seuentene pound nineteene shillings one penny.

The charge of the Army (as is abovesaid) forecast for the yeere following, beginning the first of Aprill, 1603, & to the last of March, 1604, the horse standing as in the former list, but the foote to be reduced to 8000, amounts to one hundred sixty three thousand three hundred fiftene pound eightene shillings three pence farthing halfe farthing.

In the yeere 1613, by the intreaty of my brother Sir *Richard Moryson* (Vice-President of *Mounster*) and out of my desire to see his children God had giuen him in *Ireland*, (besides some occasions of my priuate estate), I was drawne ouer againe into *Ireland*, where we landed the ninth of September, miraculously preserued from shipwrack. For at nine of the night (being darke at that time of the yeere) we fell vpon the coast of *Ireland*, and not well knowing the coast, but imagining it to be *Yoghall* Port, we tacked about, to beate out at Sea the night following. But hauing some howers before sprung a Leake, and our Pumpes being foule, so as they would not worke, we had no hope to liue so long at sea, and againe not knowing the coast, wee durst not venture to put in vpon it, besides that in case it were *Yoghall* Harbour, our best fortune was to enter a barrd Hauen by night. In this distresse by diuine Prouidence we were preserued, the Moone breaking out through the disperfed clouds, and shining so bright, as our best Marrines easily discovered the Harbour of *Yoghall*, and the tide seruing happily, we passed the barre into the same. And the next morning we might see the danger we had escaped most apparant; for our ship was so farre vnable to indure the waues of the sea, with her great leake and the foulness of the Pumpes (if we had been forced to keepe a bord till the next daies light might make vs know the coast) as the same night she had sunke in the quiet Harbour, if the Marriners had not chosen rather to driue her on ground.

At this time I found the State of *Ireland* much changed; for by the flight of the Earle of *Tyrone*, and the Earle of *Tirconnell*, with some Chiefes of Countries in the North, and the suppression and death of Sir *Cabier Odogherty* their confederate, in making new troubles, all the North was possessed by new Colonies of English, but especially of Scots.

The meere Irish in the North, and ouer all *Ireland* continued still in absolute subiection, being powerfull in no part of the Kingdome, excepting onely *Connaght*, where their chiefe strength was yet little to bee feared, if the English-Irish there had sound hearts to the State. But the English Irish in all parts (and especially in the Pale) either by our too much cherishing them since the last Rebellion (in which we found many of them false hearted); or by the Kings religious courses to reforme them in their obstinate adiction to Poperie (euen in those points which oppugned his Maiesties temporall power), or by the fulness of bread in time of peace, (whereof no Nation sooner surfets then the Irish), were growne so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the instep, as they had of late mutinously broken of a Parliament, called for the publike good and reformation of the Kingdome, and from that time continued to make many clamorous complaints against the English Gouvernours (especially those of the Pale against the worthy Lord Deputy and his Ministers) through their sides wounding the Roiall authoritie, yea, in all parts the Churle was growne rich, and the Gentlemen and Swordmen needy, and so apt to make a prey of other mens goods. The Citizens of *Mounster* had long since obtained the renewing of their old Charters with all their exorbitant priuiledges, and were now growne most refractory to all due obedience, especially for matters of Religion. In which parts the very numbers of the Priests (swarming among them, and being active men, yea contrary to their profession, bloody in handling the sword) far exceeded the number of the Kings souldiers, reduced to very smal or no strength. And many loose mē flocked into that Province out of the Low-Countries, who being trained there in the Irish Regiment with the Arch-Duke, daily sent ouer new men to bee in like sort trained there, and themselves lay

dispersed and hidden in all corners, with hearts (no doubt) apt to imbrace mischievous enterprises.

And howsoever the English Lawyers, comming ouer after the last warre, vaunted *Ireland* to be reduced to full obedience by their Itinerary circuits, (scarce mentioning with honour the sword that made way to them), yet they were therein deceived, that the Irish in their clamorous and litigious nature, flying to them with many complaints, did it onely to get countenance to their causes from them, who were strangers to them (perhaps against former iudgements of the Governours, who better knew them, and so to oppose one Magistrate against another), not (as they might perhaps thinke) in sincere affection to be ruled by the Lawes. Yea, thole Chieffes of Countries who vsed to waite on them to the limits of their Country, did it rather to keepe the people by their awfull presence from exhibiting complaints against themselves, then (as the Iudges thought) out of their dutifull respect to them or to the State.

For otherwise, even among the English-Irish, in the inferiour persons from the Councillables to the Iustices of Peace, and so vpward, Iustice had not his due course (which can neuer haue life, but in the mouing of al the members with due correspondency), and many outrages were by the English-Irish, and meere Irish, done against the English lately planted there. So as now when *Ireland* should haue enioyed the fruites of the last warre, in the due subiection of the meere Irish, these times threatned the next combustions from our degenerate English Irish. Onely the louers of peace were erected to good hopes by a generall confidence that our Soueraigne would apply his Royall power, seuerer Iustice (most auailable in *Ireland*) and other his heroick vertues, to the timely preuention of any mischievous issue, as not long after his Maiestie happily began, with bringing thole his subiects to conformity of making wholesome Lawes for the publike good, by common consent of that Kingdome's three Estates, assembled in his Royall Court of Parliament at *Dublyn*, in the yeere 1614, to which worke and all his Royall counsels, God giue happy successe.

*The Lyst of Officers Generall and Prouinciall, Warders, Horsemen
and Footemen, as they stood at this time
of Peace.*

Officers Generall.

The Lord *Chichester* Baron of *Belfast* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, hauing enioyed that place many yeeres beyond all example of former times. Sir *Thomas Ridgeway* Treasurer at Warres. Sir *Richard Wingfeild* Marshall of *Ireland*. Sir *Olyuer S. Johns* Master of the Ordinance. Sir *Iohn King* Muster-master. Sir *Allen Apsley*, and *Thomas Smith*, Commissaries of victuals. *Edward Lenton* Prouost Marshall of the Army. Sir *Iosias Bodley*, Director General and Ouerseer of the Fortifications. Sir *Thomas Dutton* Scout-Master. Captaine *Iohn Pikeman*, and Captaine *William Meeres*, Corporals of the field.

Officers Prouinciall.

The Lord *Dauers*, Lord President of *Mounster*, and Sir *Richard Moryson* his Vice-President (besides the command in his owne right, left him by the Lord Lieutenant *Mountjoy* at his leauing the Kingdome.) Sir *Richard Aldworth*, Prouost Marshall of *Mounster*. The Earle of *Clanrickard*, Lord President of *Connaght*, & Sir *Oliuer S. Johns* his Vice-president, besides his employments in his owne right. Captaine *Charles Coote* Prouost Marshall of *Connaght*. Sir *Henry Dockwra* Gouvernour of *Loughfoyle*. *Edmond Ellys* Prouost Marshall there. Sir *Henry Follyot* Gouvernour of *Ballishannon*. The Lord *Chichester*, Gouvernour of *Carickfergus*. Sir *Henry Power* Gouvernour of *Leane*. Sir *Edward Blaney*, Seneshal of *Monaghan*, and commander of the Kings Forts there. *Robert Bowen* Prouost Marshall of *Lemster*. *Moyse Hill*, Prouost Marshall of *Ulster*. Captaine *William Cole* for *Ballishannon*, and Captaine *Hugh Clotworth* for *Loughchichester*, both Captaines of Boatmen.

Warders.

Warders.

Dublin Castle, Roger Danies hath Warders, 14. Maryborough, Sir Adam Loftus warders, 16. Phillipstowne, Sir Garret Moore, warders, 12. Duncannon, Sir Laurence Esmend, warders, 30. Dungarvan, Sir George Carey, warders, 12. Castlemaine, Sir Thomas Roper, warders, 17. Limrick Castle, Sir Francis Eartley, warders 20. Castle Parke, Captaine Skipwith warders, 20. Halebolin, Sir Francis Slingsby, warders, 20. Athlone Castle, the Earle of Clanrickard, warders, 20. Ballenfad, Captaine S. Barbe, warders, 10. Droghuske, Captaine Griffoth, warders, 9. Carickfergus Castle, Captaine Fortescue, warders, 20. Moyry Castle, Captaine Smith, warders, 12. Mount Norreys, Master Annesley, warders, 10. Omey, Captaine John Leigh, warders, 20. Toome, Sir Thomas Phillips, warders, 12. Doe Castle, Captaine Samford, warders, 9. Donnegall, Captaine Brooke, warders, 9. Cloughaughter, Captaine Culme, warders, 9. Eniskillen, Captaine Cole, warders, 10. Enislaughlin, Sir Foulke Conway, warders, 14.

In all, 335.

Horsemen.

The Lord Deputy, 25. The Earle of Clanrickard, 25. The Lord Daxers, 25. Master Marshall, 20. Sir Oliner Lambert, 25. Sir Edward Harbert, 12. Sir Richard Aldworth, 12. Sir Garret Moore, 25. Sir Henrie Folliot, 6. Captaine John Kinsmill, 25. Captaine Charles Coote, 12.

In all, 212

Footemen.

The Lord Deputy, 100. The Earle of Clanrickard, 50. The Earle of Thomond, 50. The Lord Daxers, 50. The Lord Cromwell, 50. Master Marshall, 50. Master Treasurer, 50. Sir Richard Moryson, 50. Sir Charles Willmott, 50. Sir Francis Rush, 50. Sir Henry Folhyot, 50. Sir Edward Blaney, 50. Sir Francis Roe, keeper of Mountioy and the Territoiy, 50. Sir Thomas Rotheram, keeper of the Fort at Galloway and the land, 50. Sir Francis Cooke, 50. Sir William Stuart, 50. Sir Arthur Sauadge, 50. Sir Henry Powet, 50. Sir Tobey Cawfeild, keeper of Charlemount and the Territory, 50. Sir Foulke Conway, 50. Sir Oliuer S. Johns, 50. Sir Thomas Roper, 50. Sir Richard Hansard, 50. Sir Thomas Phillips, 50. Captaine Craford, 50. Captaine John Vaughan, 50. Captaine Arthur Bassett, 50.

In all, 1400.

The Totall number, 1947.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or a page from a manuscript. The text is arranged in several paragraphs, with some lines indented. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.





THE DISCOVRSE VPON
SEVERALL HEADS THROVGH
THE SAID SEVERALL DO-
MINIONS.

Of Trauelling in generall.

PART III.

BOOKE I.

CHAP. I.

*That the visiting of forraigne Countries is good and profitable: But to whom,
and how farre?*



Since the best and most generous wits most affect the seeing of forraigne Countries, and there can hardly bee found a man so blockish, so idle, or so malicious, as to discourage those that thirst after knowledge from so doing, I might seeme to vndertake a vaine and needlesse taske, if I should perswade thereunto. Wherefore I passe ouer the abundant fruits it yeeldeth. I will not speake of the experience thereby attained, which instructeth the most dull and simple, as the Sunne by his beames coloureth the passenger, intending nothing lesse then to be so coloured, & which neither by hearing, nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eyes. For since nothing is in the vnderstanding, which hath not first beene in some of the senses, surely among the senses, which are (as it were) our Sentinels and Watchmen, to spie out all dangers, and conduct vs through the thorny laberinth of this lifes pilgrimage, not any one is so vigilant, so nimble, so wary, nor by many degrees so trusty, as the sight, according to the saying of the Poet;

Segnius irritant animos delapsa per aures,

Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, &c.

Lesse doth it moue the minde that beates the eares,

Then what before the faithfull eye appeares.

This ground of my discourse being granted, yet I am not so blindly affected to this course of trauelling, as I will thrust all into this warfare without difference or choise. First, women for suspicion of chastity are most vnfit for this course, howsoeuer the masculine women of the Low Countries vse to make voyages for trafficke, not only to their owne Cities, but euen to *Hamburg* in *Germany*, and more remote places, neither would I aduise *Angelica*, if she were aliue in these dayes, to trust her self alone and

in desert places to the protection of wandering Knights, lest shee should meete with more strong encounters, then was that of the weake Hermite.

Nor yet will I herein giue vnlimited liberty to married men; holding *Alexius* vnexcusable, who left his Bride vpon the very marriage day: yet after a due time of conuersation to combine loue, why should he not in summer season follow the wars at his Princes command, yea vpon his free will? (since we owe our selues to our Countrey, as to our Wiues), yea why should he not search after politike wisdom, by short excursions into forraigne parts? (since we permit Merchants and Marriners, though married, to take long voyages for gaine, neither can Gentlemen more enrich themselves, then by the knowledge of military and politicall affaires). And indeed the ciuill Law permits men to trauell after the Espousals: Alwaies provided that this industry rather increase, then diminish our estates, except our Countrey be in question, in which case all respects to our priuat Family, (whether of loue, of frugality, or whatsoeuer priuate good), must be cast behind our backs, (since the Common-wealth contains each priuate mans estate, and a part must be put to hazard for the preservation of the whole body).

Let *Plato* the Diuine Phylosopher haue patience with me; though I be not of his opinion; who in his twelfth Booke of Lawes, assigneth to this course the last period of life, from the age of fifty yeeres to threescore. It is true which he saith of that age, to be most able to discern betweene good and vnprofitable Lawes, and that it is lesse subiect to infection from corrupt customs. Yet as some yong men once freed of the Tutors awe, be prone and apt to runne into vices, so many old men (alwaies comparing like dispositions) hauing forceably restrained themselves from naturall inclinations, for feare of shame, this cause of restraint once taken away, (while among strangers they are at more liberty), doe often returne to their owne nature, euen in vices most improper to that age, and in that case their dotages are more slanderous both to themselves and their Countries. Now that old men may dote in this sort, one example of *Tyberius* the Emperour may serue for plane proue thereof, who in his youth and the yeeres of his strength, hauing dissembled his wicked inclination, at last in his old age gaue his nature the raine and retiring himselfe (as it were out of the sight of the Senate and people of *Rome*) into the Iland *Caprea*, there he shamelesly gaue himselfe ouer to all beastly lust, thinking himselfe safe from the censure of the Romans, though his wickednes was no lesse knowne in *Rome*, then if it had beene done in their market places, according to the Italian Prouerbe;

L' Amor e cieco & vede niente;

Ma non son' cieche l'altre gente:

Loue is starke blind, and sees nought done amisse;

But other people are not blind ywisse.

And though wee should grant that which *Plato* attributes to old men, yet they, whose custome is growne to another nature, shall neuer be able to endure the frequent changes of diet and aire; which young men cannot beare without preiudice to their health; except it be by little & little & (as it were) by insensible degrees. Not to speake of the weakenesse proper to old age, which makes them so sickly, as they are not onely vnfit for conuersation abroad, but also haue small hope to returne and relate their observations at home. Old men are indeed most fit for Ambassages in neighbour countries, for in this employment they liue in the sight of their Countrey men, and may vse their accustomed diet, and a little change of aire doth but little hurt, which they may preuent or mitigate by the aduice of Physicians.

Neither are childrens vnripe yeeres fit for this course, howsoeuer they are more to be excused, who send them with discreet Tutors to guide them, with whose eyes and iudgements they may see and obserue. Thus the Romans (as *Suetonius* writes) permitted the visiting of forraigne Countries to the Sonnes of Senators, vnder the gouernment of one who had borne Office in the City, (for the charge of such children is not to be credited to all of full age without choyce). Children like Parrats, soone learne forraigne languages, and sooner forget the same, yea, and their mothes tongue

also.

also. A familiar friend of mine lately sent his sonne to *Paris*, who after two yeeres returning home, refused to aske his father blessing after the manner of *England*, saying, *Cen'est pas le mode de France*, It is not the French fashion. Thus whilest (like Apes) they imitate strange fashions, they forget their owne, which is iust as if a man should seeke his perdition, to gaine a cloake for ornament. Likewise sickly men are unfit for this course of life, who in regard of their weak health, want the meanes to make benefit thereof. Lastly, they shall do well to keep themselves at home, who have a scrupulous conscience, and think themselves so wise, as they will not follow the aduice of experienced men. But as in all actions they are happy that hold the meane, so middle age is most fit to visit forraigne parts, and to make vse thereof, hauing first laid a good foundation of Arts and Sciences in generall, and specially those which they meane to professe, and being of so ripe discretion, as they can distinguish betweene good and euill. And since we must not only respect their ages, but most of all their dispositions, I will adde, that it must be diligently obserued in each man, whether he naturally affect this course or no: for it is most certaine, that the nature of man cannot with good successe be forced to any course it liketh not, according to the old saying of the Poet,

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurrit:

Though Nature be repelled by force, Yet still it turnes to haue his course.

I know that second causes can doe nothing without the first, and it is no lesse true, that the first doth in naturall things worke by the second, which makes me of opinion, that the position of the Starres in each mans natiuity is not altogether vaine. This granted, it is not iust, that the Common-wealth, Parents, or Friends, should wrest any mans nature to courses contrary thereunto, not leauing each man liberty to shew and follow his owne inclination.

To conclude, I thinke with *Plato*, that before any man take this course, he must obtaine leaue of the Magistrate, as the custome is in *England*, where none but Merchants may without leaue goe out of the Iland, to the end that suspected persons may bee kept at home, lest being not well instructed in the true religion, they should bee seduced by Papiists. And I take Parents consent for granted, without which, the sacred power giuen them by God should wickedly be violated.

My purpose was thus slightly to haue passed ouer the worthy prayses, due to the knowledge of forraigne States, wherewith I began, lest (with the vaine Rhetoritian) I should seeme to praise *Hercules*, whom no man dispraised. But when I consider, that so many heads, so many wits, and remember that my selfe haue sometimes heard (though a man shall be last to heare the detractions of his owne courses) some pleasantly, others wittily, and some maliciously to scoffe at this kind of industry to gaine knowledge, it will not be amisse so farre to take in hand againe the taske I had almost finished, as according to the end of my discourse, I may encourage the indifferent Reader, by fully answering their idle obiections. In the first front are the pleasant men, who remember the Italians stale Prouerb,

Chi Asino va a Roma, Asino se ne torna.

If an Asse at *Rome* doe sojourne, An Asse he shall from thence retorne.

The very Asses straying into barren pastures, do after learne more willingly to stay at home with plentiful feeding. And very dull spirited men (at whom this bitter Prouerb allegorically aimeth) howsoeuer by this industry, they doe not suddenly become *Catoes*, yet (I will be bold to say) they are by nothing more, or with greater ease instructed, according to their capacities, so they trauele not alone, as *Socrates* Laconically said. For if by the way they find good companions, they must needs in some measure be partners of their wits and obseruations. Neither are the wise obseruers of humane Pilgrimage ignorant, that graue Vniuersity men, and (as they say) sharpe sighted in the Schooles, are often reputed idiots in the practice of worldly affaires, as on the contrary blockish men, and (to speake with the Italians) very Asses, by continuall practice in graue employments, gaine the wildome of them whose affaires they manage, and the more they seeke to know the World, the more they conuerse with those who know more then themselves, so much are they more inflamed with sweet emulation, such as tooke away sleepe from *Themistocles*, reading the Triumphs of *Miltiades*.

Ecc

Secondly,

Secondly, the wittie detractors object, that *Aglauus Psochidius* was iudged wise by the Oracle of *Apollo*, because he neuer went out of the Grange wherein he was born, according to that of the Poet *Claudian*.

Felix qui patrijs animum transigit in aruis.

Ipsa Domus puerum quem videt ipsa senem.

Happy in native toyle his life who spends,

Whom one house birth, one house a gray head lends.

But what if passengers should come to a stately Pallace of a great King, were hee more happy who is led onely into the kitchen, and there hath a fat messe of brevis presented him, or rather hee who not onely dines at the Kings Table, but also with honour is conducted through all the Courts and Chambers, to behold the stately building, pretious furniture, vessels of gold, and heapes of treasure and Jewells. Now such, and no other is the Theater of this world, in which the Almighty Maker hath manifested his vnpeakable glory. He that sayles in the deepe, sees the wonders of God, and no lesse by land are these wonders daily presented to the eyes of the beholders, and since the admirable variety thereof represents to vs the incomprehensible Majesty of God, no doubt we are the more happy, the more fully we contemplate the same.

Thou wilt say, he hath liued well who hath spent his time retyred from the world.

Benè qui latuit, benè vixit.

Who knowne is least, hath liued best.

This may be true in women, and thus among many Roman Gentlemen, when one praised *Fulvia*, another *Claudia*, a third with good iudgement preferred a Senators vnknowne wife to both these, and many other seuerally commended, because she was no lesse good and faire, yet was knowne to few or none: Not vnlike to that Matrone, who thought all mens breath did stinke as her husbands did. But it is the part of an industrious man, to act their affaires in the world, tho sluggards lie by the fire. Of a man, Parents challenge a part, Friends a part, and the Common-wealth a part, and hee was iudged an vnprofitable seruant by the most true Oracle of God, who hid his Talent.

Neither doe the Verses of the Lyricall Poet (objected in the third place) any whit moue me.

Oblitusque meorum, obliuiscendus & illis.

Abroad forgetting thine, at home forgot by thine.

And in another place;

Roma laudetur Samos & Chios, & Rhodos absens.

In Samos, Rhodes, and Chios what may please,

Let vs at Rome commend sitting at ease.

O poore effeminate *Horace* (let his *Gensius*, pardon me) a very hogge of the Epicures heard, and (to vse his owne words) borne to consume corne. Is any mutuall remembrance of kinsmen more pleasing, then that which is caused by mention of their vertues? If a man should offer to show thee all the strange miracles of *Africk*, wouldst thou answer, goe your waies and paint them, which done I will gladly see them: or if one would show thee Paradice, and the infinite flowers and fruits thereof, wouldst thou rather snort in a chimney corner, and not shake off the least drowsinesse, for the very possession of that happy inheritance, but if hee would goe and paint them, then promise, perhaps and at leasure to view them? yet as *Socrates* for arguments sake, was wont to defend the contrary to all disputers; so I rather iudge that *Horace* thus writes in the person of the Epicure, (after the manner of Poets) or for pastime and spending of vacant time, then that it was his owne iudgement.

There want not some, who discourage men from this course, by the manifold difficulties and dangers thereof. But as the Poet saith:

Per ardua virtus, Virtue climbs craggy Rockes.

Nec iacet in molli veneranda scientia lecto.

Venerable science with his gray head, Is neuer found on a soft feather bed.

Many

Many more there bee, who tremble at the very thought of dangers of death, to which this course of life is subiect. Behold *Salomons* fluggard, who saith, *There is a Lion by the way, a Lion is in the streets.* Fearest thou the Sea because it swalloweth many? Why fearest thou not a bed, in which more haue breathed there last?

But a greater feare distracteth euen the mindes of the wiser sort, that they see many retorne from forraine parts corrupted with vices proper to them, according to the *Flemings* Prouerb: that no man was euer made more healthfull by a dangerous sicknesse, or came home better from a long voyage. And because it is hard to learne vertues, and more hard not to learne vices, or to depole them once learned; from hence they say it is, That so many homebred Angels, retorne from *Italy* no better then Courtly Diuells. Surely this is iust, as if a man should say, I haue a ground ouergrowne with bushes, which I feare to root vp, because nettells or darnell will more easily spring then grasse or corne. Fields are made fruitfull by tillage, so are men made more wise by knowledge of forraine Kingdomes. The *Italians* say excellently;

Coglier' le rose, lasciar' le spine.

Sweet Roses gathered, make an end,

And leaue the prickles that offend.

Wee must obserue vertues for imitation, and vices that wee may abhorre them. Contraries are manifested by contraries; beautie shineth more being set with a deformed foyle, and the glory of vertues is more eminent, by the object of base vices. Yet that which was said of the *Athenians*, may truly be said of the best wits of all sexes and conditions. If they be good, they are best, if ill, worst. Thus *Histories* witnesse, that women by nature most witty, haue often giuen extraordinarie testimonies of excellent goodnes, or monstrous badnesse. Thus *Swetonius* saith of *Cesar*.

Magnus virtutes magna comitantur vitia.

Greatest vertues of the minde;

With like vices are combine.

Thus the *English* Prouerb saith. No knaue to the learned knaue. I confesse that steepe mountaines yeeld most violent streames, but it is a point of Art to lead these streames in a faire bed till they fall into the Sea. This is the scope of all I say: That by this course the good become best, the bad proue worst. Surely, out of the holy Scriptures the *Atheist* gathereth most profane arguments, as the godly Reader sucks the *Eternall* food of his soule. Bees and Toades draw hony and poyson out of the same hearb. To conclude, the ill humors of the body growne predominant, turne the best meats to their nourishment; yet, none but a mad man for the abuse of that which is of it selfe good, will forbid to read the most holy Scriptures, to gather sweetest flowers, or to eate the best meates. *Zwinglius* writes of a certaine Earle, who after long absence returning to his home, and no lesse to his former vices, as a dog to his vomit, and being for the same reprobued, did answere that his Taylor also returned to his occupation. But *Cato* the younger, was of a more vertuous minde, whose regular moralitie could not bee corrupted by wanton *Asia*, but made his familiar friend *Curio* a false Prophet therein. Farre greater was the vertue of *Scipio*, who in *Spaine* left a faire Virgin vntouched, and yet would see her, that hee might excell *Alexander* the Great in the rare emulation of continency; who durst not behold the captiue daughters of *Darius*, least he should be subdued by women, who had conquered men. Liue with good men, seeke out honest not licentious houses to lodge in; For the *Italians* say well.

Dammi con chi tu viui, io saprò quel che tu fai.

Tell me with whom thou dost conuerse,

And I will soone thy deedes rehearse.

Restraine the vices to which thou art naturally most inclined, by forcing thy selfe to exercise contrary vertues. For the Poet saith truly:

Animum rege, qui nisi pareat, Imperat:

Be sure to rule thy minde in all thou dost,

If it obey not, then it rules the roste.

Ecc 3

Let

Let the incontinent man restraine his vnbridled lust, by the remembrance of his chaste Mistresse at home, which will make him feare the miserable diseases incident to the vnchast, as Seamen tremble to strike vpon a Rocke. Let him that is giuen to excessive drinking of wine, while yet he is sober, behold the rediculous gestures, the dull braine, the shackle memory, the oppressed stomacke, with each weakenesse and deformity of the drunkard: so by one vices remedy, let him learne to cure all the rest. There is no danger to so wary minds, either of leeling their owne vertues, or of learning forraigne vices: besides, that sweet vertues are of such power, as they forcibly drawe, euen negligent men standing least vpon their guard, to admire, loue and exercise them. Yea, let these strict censurers of manners tell me, if they haue so cleansed the pumpe of their owne Common-wealth, as there is lesse danger of this corruption at home then abroad. Surely many fall into vices abroad, but more at home; many returning from forraigne parts, after they haue abroad satisfied their disordinate appetites, by giuing youth his swinge (as the Prouerbe is), doe at home cast off their vices, and returne to the old bounds of shamefastnesse, which at home they neuer violated; adding to their old vertues the luster of forraigne ornaments. On the contrary, most men at home, wrapped in the habit of vices, by custome taking away both the shame and sence of sinne, neuer reforme their debauched life, nor forsake vices, till in age or death they be forsaken by them.

But among other vices, dissembling, lying, and ielousie, are by popular voice deemed proper to Trauellers. The first imputation I will referre to the precept of the next Chapter, shewing how far it is fit for a wise man to dissemble, and the second to the last precept of the same Chapter, shewing how a Traueller should gouerne his tongue. And in this place by the way I will briefly discusse the reproch of ielousie, which the tumultuous flocke of Weomen iniuriously thrust vpon vs: Iust as if they should say, that by experience and the industrious search of wisdom, we should be endued with vices, not with vertues, or that those who can see farre of, yet cannot discern that which is before their eyes and feet, or that those who are skilfull in politike affaires, are ignorant in domestical gouernment, & that those who abhorring litigious suits at law, readily make peace with their neighbours, would nourish household dissentions most odious to a wise man, not knowing the tearmes of loue, wherewith they are in duty bound to entertaine their dearest friends, their sweetest wife.

Et dulces natos ac pignora chara Nepotes,

And Children sweet sent from aboue,

And Nephewes, deere pledges of loue.

But to say truth, most honourable titles of old, are by abuse growne most reprochfull, as the name of Sophysters, by their continuall brawlings about Moone-shine in the water, the name of Elenches by intricate fallacies, the name of Tyrants by vnlimited cruelties, and the name of ielousie by affecting extremities. As that ielousie is most hatefull, which growes from malice of nature, from a mind guilty of wickednesse, or from conscience of any defects in a mans owne body or mind; so the vertue of ielousie (deere not onely to Trauellers, but to all wise men) is (in my opinion) approued of all men that are in their right wits. Our very God is in a good sence said to be ielous: He that hath a Jewell of price, is not willing to haue it snatched out of his hands, much lesse out of his sight. Reason like a seuer Schoolemaster, should ouerlooke all thy owne actions, and why should it not haue like authority in directing the behauiour of those, whose honour or shame cannot be deuided from thine. And of this Iudgement (so vertue decline not to the neighbour vice, betweene which there goes nothing but a paire of sheares, as the Prouerbe is), you shall euer find the chastest Weomen, desiring an husband vertuously ielous: For others who had rather not be loued, then haue their actions obserued, leaue them to be their husbands executioners, and to the racke of their owne consciences, onely praying them to take this warning, that their husbands loues (for which perhaps they little care) beginne then to freeze, or rather vanish away, when they haue once cast away all care of their good name, since onely vertue combines true loue,

But

But the slanderers of this industry presse vs more neerely, obiecing, that vices, ill customes, and very heresies are spread through the World by traellers. Let me aske them, how wee should haue knowne the diuers eleuation of the Poles? who would haue taught vs Geography, representing painted Worlds vnto vs? how should wee haue learned all other Arts? yea, how should we haue discovered new Worlds (or rather the vknown Regions of the old) had not this industry of Traellers been? Yea, to vse the most binding and concluding argument, the sauing knowledge of the holy Gospell had been vnreuealed to vs, had not the Apostles excelled in this industrie, of making the whole World their Country to preach the same? When wee haue thus compared the great and manifest profit of trauelling, with the light and doubtfull inconueniences obieced against it, we must confesse, that they who discourage the affecters of these great rewards, by such smal dangers, are not vnlike the Sophisters, who perswade that blindness, deafnesse, and the priuations of other senses, are not to be numbered among euils, because we see many vnpleasing things, often heare that which offendeth the eares, and for one good smell draw in twenty ill sauors. For my part, let them dispute neuer so subtilly, though they conuince me, yet shall they neuer perswade mee, to pull out my eyes, stop my eares, or cut off my nose, nor yet to preferre sloth to an actiue life.

But we must giue eare to Parents, Friends, and as well priuate as publike Common-wealth-men, who not vniustly seeme to feare, lest young men by this course should be peruered from true Religion, and by this feare, dissuade passing into forraigne parts, as the chiefe cause of this mischiefe. Surely if the vessell be new that taketh an ill sauour, it will sticke much faster thereunto, but I haue already professed, that I would haue a Traueller of ripe yeeres, hauing first laid good grounds of all Arts, and most especially of Religion. Let me speake of my selfe: When I beheld the mimicall gestures and cerimoniall shew of holinesse of the Roman Priests, (vnder the shaddow whereof they abuse the superstition of Laymen with vnspeakable Arts, to their owne ambition and couetousnesse), and on the contrary obserued their corrupt manners, I was so farre from being seduced by them, as I could not refraine from laughter, and wondered (as *Cicero* speakes of Southsayers), that one Priest did not laugh when hee saw another his fellow Priest. If you meete a faire painted face, the more neere and narrowly you behold it, the lesse it pleaseth, but if the beauty be true, then there is danger, least you or your sonne swallow the baite. Search corrupted Wares narrowly, and they will stinke at thy nose, which farther off, seeme to be odoriferous. Such is the painting of the Papists. The English and those of the reformed Church, who esteeme their Arguments as speares of bulrushes, permit their books to be read in our Vniuersities, but they perhaps guiltie of errours, will in no sort giue liberty to reade our bookes. We appeale to all that are skillfull in Languages for the truth of our translations, they by statute of the Iesuites Colledge, admit no young Scholler to study languages, till he haue taken an oath, that hee will vse that skill to the defence of the Roman translations with tooth and naile, wherein if they offend their consciences, they haue the Popes power of dispensation on their side. Therefore let the Papists feare to giue their followers leaue to heare vs in our Schooles or Churches, lest they be chained with the force of truth. And let vs securely permit our men to passe into the heart of *Italy*, so they be first of ripe yeeres, and well instructed. Vpon my word they run no other danger, then the escaping the snares of the Inquisition, of which discretion, I shall speake at large in the foure and twentieth Precept of Dissimulation, in the next Chapter. If any man obieced, that some of our young Schollers haue passed into their Seminaries beyond the Seas let him consider, that they were not seduced abroad, but first infected at home, in their parents houses, and our Vniuersities, which mischiefe Parents and Magistrates ought to preuent, by keeping the suspected at home: for the rest there is no danger.

But behold, when I thought to haue finished my taske, carpers consumed with enuie, who barke at traellers as dogs at the Moone, and thinking to gaine reputation by

other mens disgrace, they are not ashamed to say, that vagabond *Caine* was the first Traveller. Old Writers I confesse sometimes vse the word of Perigrination, for banishment; but God be praised, here is no question made of banished or cursed men driuen out from the sight of God. They which spend the greater part of their yeeres in forraigne places, as it were in voluntary banishment, may more iustly bee compared to *Caine*, and are not vnlike to rude Stage players, who to the offence of the beholders, spend more time in putting on their apparrell, then in acting their Comedy, (for life is compared to a stage, and our Parents and Kins-men expecting our prooffe, to the beholders). Therefore it is fit to reſtraine this course within due limits, to which the Romans (as *Suetonius* writes) prescribed (perhaps too strictly) three yeeres.

In the last place, they that detract from Travellers, to the end they may choke vs with our owne disdain, if not with arguments, send out their spies in their last skirmish to cast this Dart at vs. After so many dangers and troubles, how many of you, (after your returne) are preferred in the Common-wealth? To what purpose doe you tire your selues in attaining so many vertues? Is it to exercise them, leaning on a plowmans or shepheards staffe? I should enter a most spacious field of common griefe, if I should search the causes, why in our age great part of the Counsellours of States, and Peeres of Realmes, rather desire to haue dull and slothfull companions, then those that are wise and ambitious; and so in like sort, rather base and expert ready seruants, then those that are free and learned. Knowledge puffeth vp, and I remember of late a learned Physician, who being sent for by a great Lord, and he being offended at his long stay, freely and boldly answered; that knowledge could not dance attendance. Hence is our calamity, to omit the more curious search of this euill; whose first encounter astonisheth me, though I am not ignorant of the cause: but let him that cast this Dart, tell me, whether this ill be not common to all men of vertue, and if it be so, he must at least confesse with the Poet,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris:
Partners in griefe, doe solace giue.

And let all rare men in any kind of vertue, when they are despised or neglected, comfort themselves with this Philosophicall precept of *Aristotle*, that vertue is desired for it selfe, not for any thing else. So I say the fruit of trauell is trauell it selfe.

Hauiing thus retorted our enemies weapons vpon their owne breasts, because the common sort is more moued with examples, then arguments, it remaines, that in the last place I should adorne the triumph of this vertuous industry, with some few and speciall examples. Many haue beene found, who haue passed into remote parts of the World, onely to gaine health; farre greater is the number of them, who as the Poet saith;

Pauperiem fugiunt ultra Garamantas & Indos:
Who further runne to shunne base pouerty,
Then Garamants and Indians doely.

And greatest is the number of them, who following the standard of ambition, haue pierced to the very gates of hell with sound of Drummes and Trumpets. To conclude, as diligent Merchants gather precious wares into one storehouse, so Philosophers haue from the first ages of the World, passed by flockes into forraigne parts, to gaine knowledge, as the Egyptians into *Chaldea*, the Greekes into *Egypt*, and the Romans into *Greece*. *Pythagorus* walked farre and neere, not onely to learne, but also in diuers places to get Disciples whom he might teach: for the Poet saith well;

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc, sciat alter:
To know auaieth thee no whit,
If no man know, thou knowest it.

To be briefe, if wee will credit old monuments, (which I confesse to suspect), hee came in person, and sowed the precepts of his Phylosophy, even among the Brittaines devided from all the World. *Plato* hath written some-what too severely against Travellers, perhaps like *Alexander* the Great, who was angry with his Master *Aristotle*, because hee had published the *alexandria*, which hee had read vnto him, thereby leauing him nothing wherein he might excell others; so *Plato* hauing gotten the name of Diuine, by his very trauels would forbid or limit the same to others, that he might shine among the Phylosophers.

Velut inter stellus Luna minores,
As the bright Moone, among the lesser starres.

It is most certaine, that hee was not onely industrious, but euen curious in this course, so as he sayled into *Sicily*, the entrance of which Iland was vpon paine of death forbidden to strangers, onely that he might see the burning of the Mountaine *Aetna*. *Apelles* by drawing of a most subtile lyne at *Rhodes*, was made knowne to *Protophenes*. *Homer* being blind, yet ceased not to trauell: In our Age, they which are renowned at home for any Art, are not content therewith, except they may passe into forraigne Courts, to make knowne their skill. The most ancient Lawgiuers, got the experience, by which they had rule in their Cities; not by secure study at home, but by aduenturous trauels abroad, as the Poet saith;

Ingenium mala saepe mouent,
Aduersities doe often whet our wits.

Moyse, *Orpheus*, *Draco*, *Solon*, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, *Licurgus*, and almost all the Consuls of *Rome*, themselves had beene in forraigne parts, and granted ample priuiledges to strangers. Among Physicians we read, that *Aesculapius* and *Hypocrates* trauelled, and that *Galene* was at *Smyrna*, *Corinth*, *Alexandria*, in *Palestine*, at *Lemnos*, *Ciprus*, and at *Rome*; and *Auicenna* boasteth, that he had passed through the whole World. I know that many in our Vniuersities become learned Physicians, but no doubt they would haue beene more learned, if they had passed into forraigne parts. One Land yeeldeth not all things: A man shall hardly learne at home the diuers natures of hearbes, and other things, or the diuers dispositions of one and the same body, according to the difference of the clyme, aire, and diet. This the Spaniard wittily obserued, who hauing got the French Pox, sayled into *America*, and did there learne the cure of that disease, from those who first infected the Spaniards therewith. We praise Physicians especially for experience, as Lawyers for diligence, desiring to haue an old Physician and a young Lawyer, to giue vs counsell and follow our businesse; but experience is of seuerall things dispersed through the vniuersall World. It is written that of old the *Aegyptians* had seuerall Physicians for each seuerall disease, who would not haue returned more learned from their Lectures? Also they laid vp approued remedies of diseases in the Temples of *Isis* and *Vulcane*. What Scholler then returning from *Egypt*, should not haue gained great reputation to his skill? and we know that opinion many times auaieth with the sicke euen more then the medicine. In this sort ambitious men of old, by the onely opinion of their experience by seeing the world, did obtaine it to be numbered among the Gods. *Iupiter* of *Creta* in *Italy*, *Bacchus* in the furthest East, *Hercules* in the most remote parts of *Africke*, towards the West, planted monuments of their trauels. The voyage of the Argonautes, the wanderings of *Ulysses* and *Aeneas*; are sung by all Ballad-sellers. *Alexander* the Great passed the monument of *Bacchus* in the East. It were infinite onely to name the Roman Emperours, who excelled in this industry: For as the Wiseman said, that he was a Citizen of the World, so the Romans, by giuing remote Princes the priuiledge to be Citizens of *Rome*, and by sending Roman Citizens in Colonies, to inhabit remote places, vfed the whole World for a City, neither did they euer admit any to the highest dignities in the City of *Rome*, nor yet to the inferiour Magistrates thereof, who had

not first borne rule or Office in some remote Prouince. One *Iulius Caesar*, came, saw, and ouercame with his Army, among the Cimbrians, Germans, Spaniards, Britans, Grecians, Africans, and those of *Asia*. The very Western Emperours of later times, have been enflamed with the same desire. *Charles* the Great made happy warre beyond the Pyrenean mountaines against the Sarraſens, beyond the Alpes against the Lombards, and in *Germany* against the Saxons. Who hath not heard of the European Princes, like so many Floods carrying Armies into the East? To omit all other, (for I desire to be brieſe), *Charles* the fifth, inferiour to none of his Predeceſſours, and emulous of *Hercules* himſelfe, paſſed his pillars at the furtheſt ſtraight of the Mediteranean Sea, and added to his Armes the Mot of *Hercules*; *Non plus ultra*. No farther beyond this, onely leauing out the first word *Non*, becauſe he had paſſed the limits of *Hercules*, as *Alexander* the Great had done thoſe of *Bacchus*. Whereby notwithstanding ſome thinke that he did rather blemish, then increaſe the fame of his trauels, ſince that part of *Africke* was ſo neere adioyning to his Kingdomes of *Spaine*; but in the meane time they forget that he was borne at *Gaunt* in *Flaunders*.

Me thinke I haue ſaid enough, and too much in ſo cleere a cauſe, therefore I will onely adde ſome choyce examples of the holy Scriptures, and ſo conclude. *Abraham* left his Countrey at Gods command, and went to the Land of *Promise*, called alſo the Land of *Pilgrimage*: *Iacob* ſerued for his wiues in *Mefopotamia*, and in his old age paſſed into *Egypt*. The Iſraelites were brought by large circuit from the ſeruitude of *Egypt*, into the Land of *Promise*, that the protection of God might by aduerſity be more imprinted in their minds, and they be more ſtirred vp to keepe the Lawes of ſo gracious a God. The example of a woman the Queen of *Sheba*, is famous, who came to *Ieruſalem* to be an eye and eare witneſſe of *Salomons* wiſdome. To be brieſe, Chriſt himſelfe liued in the fleſh as a Pilgrim, chooſing no ſet place of aboad; when he was in the Cradle, three Wiſemen came from the Eaſt to worſhip him, and himſelfe being an Infant, was carried into *Egypt*, to ſhunne *Herods* tyranny. He commanded his Apoſtles to preach the Goſpell throughout the World. Among the Fathers, Saint *Auguſtine* wiſhed to haue ſeene three things, Chriſt in the fleſh, *Paul* in the Pulpit, and *Rome* in the flower. In our Age the Turkes and Papiſts ſo madly affect Pilgrimages, as they ſuperſtitiouſly thinke the ſame auailable to the ſaluation of their ſoules, with which extreame, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to know no meane, I will conclude theſe examples.

For my part, I thinke variety to be the moſt pleaſing thing in the World, and the beſt life to be, neither contemplatiue alone, nor actiue altogether, but mixed of both. God would haue made eternall ſpring, had he not knowne, that the diuers ſeaſons would be not onely moſt profitable to the workes of nature, but alſo moſt pleaſant to his creatures, while the cold Winter makes the temperate Spring more wiſhed. Such is the delight of viſiting ſorraigne Countreys, charming all our ſences with moſt ſweet variety. They ſeeme to me moſt vnhappy, and no better then Priſoners, who from the cradle to old age, ſtill behold the ſame wals, faces, orchards, paſtures, and obiects of the eye, and ſtill heare the ſame voices and ſounds beate in their eares; Not the ſong of the Cuckow, nor the craking of the Crowes, nor the howling of Wolues, nor the bellowing of Oxen, nor the bleying of Sheepe, no nor the ſweet voyces of Larkes and Nightingales. if they be ſhut vp in a Cage, doe ſo much pleaſe vs at home, as the variety of all, compoſed of diuers tunes, delights vs in the fields abroad. In like ſort, it is manifeſt that all the other ſences are not ſo much pleaſed with any thing, as variety. They are in ſome meaſure happy, who hauing but one houſe, yet haue change of chambers, to remoue as the ſeaſon of the yeere changeth: but I iudge Lawyers and Officers more happy, who haue their Termes to liue in the City, and their Vacations to returne into the Countrey, ſo often (as it were) renewing their marriage dayes: And of all, I iudge the Nomades moſt happy, (the compariſon holding in other things) who liue in Tents, and ſo by remouing, not onely eſcape the heat of Summer, the cold of Winter, the want of paſtures, all diſeaſes, and all vnpleaſing things, but at their pleaſure, enioy all commodities of all places.

Let vs imitate the Storkes, Swallowes, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely fetch

fetch their circuits; and follow the Sunne, without suffering any distemper of the seasons: The fixed Starres haue not such power ouer inferiour bodies, as the wandering Planets. Running water is sweet, but standing pooles stinke: Take away Idlenes, and the bane of all vice is taken away. Men were created to moue, as birds to flie, what they learne by nature, that reason ioined to nature teacheth vs. Nothing can be added to the worthy praises of him as the Poet saith;

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & orbes:

Who many Mens manners hath seene,

And hath in many Cities beene.

In one word, I will say what can be said vpon this subiect; Euery soyle is to a valiant man his owne Countrey, as the Sea to the Fishes. We are Citizens of the whole World, yea, not of this World, but of that to come: All our life is a Pilgrimage. God for his onely begotten Sonnes sake, (the true Mercury of Trauellers) bring vs that are here strangers safely into our true Countrey.

CHAP. II.

Of Precepts for Trauellers, which may instruct the vnexperienced.



Will follow my purpose, and giue precepts, not to expert men, (as *Phormio* did to *Hanniball* in military affaires), but onely to the vnexperienced, and that not curiously, as if I would prescribe them euery step they should goe, but such as may whet the wits and memories of other men, well knowing that many things may be added, which are slipped out of my memory, and which others may daily find out.

1 In the first place, as euery man in any course of life, so most of all a Traueller, who is subiect to many dangers, must by his daily prayers sollicite God for his gracious protection. All our actions must take beginning from God, the fountaine of all good, if we desire with the Israelites, to haue Gods Cloud and pillar of fier protect vs in our iournies and aboads. Let him daily commend himselfe to Gods protection, and euen in his iourneys, daily at morning and euening, not while he slumbers in his bed, but in priuate withdrawne from company, either kneeling as before his father, or standing as before his Master and Lord, make his prayers, though neuer so short, to his almighty and most mercifull God. And let no man take this for a needlesse precept, for I freely professe, that when I was most deuout in this kind, I found my selfe hedged about with the good Angell, as on the contrary when I neglected the same, I often obserued by some manifest accident, that I was left to error and danger.

2 Let each Traueller forecast with himselfe his owne purposes and ends: For they which are vnskillfull in the Arts of painting, caruing, and building, can neuer worthily praise, nor well imitate the rare workes they shall see of these kinds. Experience teacheth, that no action is wisely vndertaken, whereof the end is not forecast in the first place, howsoeuer it be last put in execution: but since it were infinit to apply my precepts to the seuerall ends of seuerall men, and no more possible, then for a Physician to cure the Patient, not knowing the causes and the progresse of his sicknesse, I professe to write especially in this place to the Humanist, I meane him that affects the knowledge of State affaires, Histories, Cosmography, and the like, and out of that I write, let other men apply to their vse, what they iudge fit for them. And if the Humanist iudge many things I shall write lesse necessary for him, let him know, that as an Orator and Poet must haue some skill in all Sciences, so the Humanist must haue some knowledge of all things which fall into practice and discourse.

3 Let

3 Let a Traueller obserue the vnderwritten things, & of them some curiously, some slightly, as he shall iudge them fit for his purpose. He shall obserue the fruitfulness of each Countrey, and the things wherewith it aboundeth, as the Mines of mettals and precious stones, the chiefe lawes and customes of the workers in those Mines, also Batches and the qualitie of the water, with the diseases for the curing whereof it is most proper, the names Springs and courses of Riuer, the pleasant Fountaines, the abundance or rarity of Pastures, Groues, Wood, Corne, and Fruits, the rare and precious Plants, the rare and proper Beasts, the prices of necessary things, and what he daily spends in his diet and horsemeat, and in hiring Horses or Coaches, the soyle of euery dayes iourney, the plenty of Fishes or Flesh, the kinds of meat or drinke, with the sauces and the rarer manners of dressing meates, the Countreys expence in apparrell, with their constancy or ficklenesse in wearing it, the races of Horses, as the Giannets of *Spaine*, the Coursers of *Naples*, and the heavy Horses of *Freeiland*, and how they manage and feed these Horses, the scituation of Cities and Prouinces, the healthfulness of the Aire, the Chorography, the buildings, the ritches, the magnificence of Citizens, their household stuffe, and in generall all speciall things, as Statuaes, Colosses, Sepulchers with the inscriptions, Lybraries, with the most rare Bookes, Theaters, Arches, Bridges, Forts, Armories, Treasuries, Monasteries, Churches, publike houses, Vniuersities, with their Founders, reuenewes, and disputations. To conclude, let him visit the most learned men, and those that excell in military Art or any vertue, and let him conferre with them, as his ends require. Thus did I visit *Beza at Geneva*, thus did I visit *Belarmine at Rome*, (being ready to take Horse, and in the habit and person of a Frenchman). Thus in my returne did I gladly see *Henry the fourth of Barbon*, King of *France*, famous for the feats of Armes and Wisdome; onely *Lipsius*, whom I loued for his Booke of constancy, and much desired to see for his vniuersall learning, did bereaue me of this hope, when I came into the Low-Countreys, by his inconstant flight to the Spaniards. The Traueller shall further obserue the policy of each State, and therein the Courts of each King or Prince, with the Courtiers entertainements, fees, or offices, the statutes of the Princes, their reuenewes, the forme of the Commonwealth, whether the Prince be a Tyrant, or beloued of the people, what Forces he hath by Sea or Land, the military discipline, the manners of the people, their vices, vertues, industry in manuall Arts, the constitution of their bodies, the History of the Kingdome, and since the soule of each man is the man, and the soule of the Commonwealth is Religion, he shall obserue the disposition of the people, whether it be religious, superstitious, or prophane, and the opinions of Religion differing from his, and the most rare Ceremonies thereof. He shall also obserue the trafficke of Merchants, and therein the commodities which they carry out, and most want, the Hauens and roades for Ships, their skill in nauigation, and whether they vse subiects or strangers for their Marriners. Lastly, the value of the Coynes in each Countrey, and the seuerall currant peeces, and whatsoever he shall thinke meet to adde hereunto.

4 And because the memory is weake, and those who write much, are many times like the Clerkes that carry their learning in their Booke, not in their braine, let him constantly obserue this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his vse, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne. Thus Students of *Rhetoricke*, at first seeking matter for words, rather then words for matter, at last attaine an easie stile flowing like a still River, and lay aside the affectation of words. Let nothing worth the knowledge passe his eyes or eares, which he draweth not to his owne possession in this sort. In the meane time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare obseruations; for hee lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he that omits one serious thing, and after when his iudgement is more ripe, he shall distill Gold (as the Prouerbeis) out of this dung of *Ennius*. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and at euen in his Inne, within writing Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke ouer them at his pleasure. But great caution must be had, especially in places of danger, how he carry about him these papers, the subiect whereof, cannot but in many places

Places be offensive and perhaps dangerous, if once vpon suspicion he chance to bee searched. Therefore as he sends his booke and heauy things for carriage, halfe yeerely, either into his owne Country, or to some place in the way by which hee is to returne, there to bee kept for him, so hee shall doe well to send these paper booke there with. And for abundant caution, lest any thing he notes by the way, should in any place vpon mischance preiudice him, he shall doe well to write such things in Ciphers and vnknowne characters, being also ready to giue a fained interpretation of them to any Magistrate, if neede be.

5 Also I aduise him to leaue a trusty friend at home, who will keepe good credit with the Merchant that furnisheth him with mony abroad, lest his friends ill payments leese him his credit, and so driue him to disgracefull wants. For if his friend pay readily, nothing shall be wanting to him, but Merchants will neuer trust those which breake their day. And for his exchanges, and other waies of receiuing monies, at fit times and places, as also for the value of gold and siluer coynes, let him reade the former last Chapter of the first Part, treating thereof.

Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was beyond sea, to beare the charge of a Trauellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two iournies yeerely, in the Spring and Autumne, and also to serue him for moderate expences of pleasure, so that hee imitated not the Germans, who drinke and banquet as much abroad, as at home, nor the Italians, who liue they among Christians or Pagans, yet cannot restrain their incontinency; nor the Polonians, who being perhaps the sonnes of *Castellani*, (I meane such as haue the keeping of Castles, or like entertainements from the King onely for their life), commonly spend more prodigally in *Italy*, and like places, then at home, so as many times they spend their whole patrimony abroad. In which kind I cannot but commend our COUNTRYMEN, who howsoeuer at home they may haue spent prodigally, yet going beyond seas, rather dispose their expences to repaire this former prodigallitie then otherwise, and practise the rule of the Poet,

Intra fortunam quemque manere suam:

Each man his cote to fir,

As his cloth will permit.

But I returne to the purpose, & since it is couenient, for him that trauels, to make two iournies yeerely in the Spring and Autumne, and since in these iournies his expences will be greater, then when he abides in Cities, as wel for the hiring of Coches and horses, as for his diet in common Innes, hee must bee carefull to take the opportunity to moderate his expences, when hee settles himselfe to abide some moneths in any place. They which haue seruants to attend them, must make accompt, that each seruant shall spend as much for his diet as himselfe, especially in *Germany*, where passengers of all sorts sit at the same Table, and pay the like shot.

For the danger or security of carrying money about him in all parts, I shall speake at large in the three & twentieth precept of this Chapter. In generall, he must bee warie not to shew any quantity of money about him, since Theeues haue their spies commonly in all Innes, to inquire after the condition of passengers. If his iourney be long, let him not tell (no not to his companions in his iourney) the furthest end thereof, but rather from Citie to Citie professe that he intends to goe no further. Suppose he bee at *Paris*, if he professe his iourney is from thence to *Rome*, it is all one as if he shewed his purse, since all men know, he must haue great store of money for that iourney, so as it were more fit he should professe onely to goe for *Strasburg* in *Germany*, or for *Lyons* in *France*, and when he shall come thither, he shall either perhaps haue new consorts of his iourney, or else may professe to his former consorts, that there he met with letters, which force him to goe further.

6 That hee may the better premeditate those things which formerly I aduised to bee obserued by him, and the like, he shall doe well before he set forth, to get some skill (at least superficial) in the Art of Cosmography, for if he be altogether ignorant thereof, he shall, like a blind folded man, not know where he is, or which foot first to set forward. No man can reade with profit and pleasure the voyages of other men, old

Histories

Histories, and the marching of Armies, except hee have some skill in this Art, how much lesse shall he be able himselfe to performe such actions, if he have no skill therein. I containe vnder this Art, Corography, and the knowledge of those Kingdomes which he is to passe, they being most necessary for his vse. Also it is fit for him, as well to obserue the old as the new names of each place, which giues great light in the reading of old writers.

7 For the Precepts before hee set forth, in the last place I aduise him to make his will, which no wise man staying at home will haue vnmade. In which I commend our Progenitors, who made their wills if they tooke a iourney but from *Yorke* to *Londen*, the same being much more necessary in this our age, when we vndertake far more dangerous iournies. And that the rather, for that there be many difficulties in vnderstanding the lawes and manners of making willes in forraine parts, and the force they will beare at home, besides that very death, and that in a strange place, is like too much to distract the minde, though it be not afflicted in that sad hower with worldly cogitations.

8 When he hath once begun his iourney, since at the first step the ignorance of language doth most oppresse him, and hinder the fruite he should reape by his iourney, while he being as it were deafe and dourne, and astonished with this Babylonian confusion of tongues, can neither aske vnkowne things, nor vnderstand other mens speeches, by which hee might learne much. My aduice is, that in each Kingdome which he desires most to know, and the language whereof is of most vse in his owne Countrey, he goe directly to the best Citie for the puritie of language, namely, in *Germany* to *Leipzig*, *Straßburg*, or *Heidelberg*, and in *France* to *Orleans*, &c. where hauing learned the language, at least as much as is necessary to vnderstand, and to bee vnderstood, he shall make his next iourney more profitable by discourse, and in the same make his language more perfect. Hearing much increaseth knowledge, what canst thou learne, if at least thou vnderstandest not those who should instruct thee, howsoeuer thou beest hardly, or not at all vnderstood by them, except thou hast an interpreter with thee, which a man of small meanes cannot maintaine, and yet in that case doth the rich, onely borrow his knowledge, and take it at the second hand.

I confesse, that rich men (hauing such consorts, and making good vse of them) may with more ease attaine knowledge, while they haue the helpe of other mens Eyes, Eares, Feet, and vnderstandings, and may sucke from them the Quintessence of their obseruations. But poore *Cleanthes*, while in the day time he drew water to gaine his liuing, did by night more earnestly thirst after knowledge, and gaine it, which all rich men doe not, whose wits vse to be corrupted with their fortunes. And I would think that euen for these rich men, it were more honourable and safe, to be able to vse their owne senses and vnderstandings, then other mens, since we see that Princes Ambassadors and Peeres of other Realmes are more welcome and esteemed, and lesse subiect to contempt, if they doe but only get the formes of saluting and calling for necessities in the language of the Countrey, as if they would not seeme strangers.

And first in the learning of a Language, labour to know the grammar rules thereof, that thy selfe mayst know whether thou speakest right or no. I meane not the curious search of those rules, but at least so much, as may make thee able to distinguish Numbers, Cases, and Modes. Merchants, Women, and Children, neglecting these rules, and rushing into the rash practice of Languages, doe many times pronounce the tongue, and speake common speeches, more gracefully then others, but they seldom write the tongue well, and alwaies forget it in short time, wanting the practice. On the contrary, they who learne the rules, while they be attentiu to the congruity of speaking, perhaps doe lesse gracefully pronounce the tongue, but in the meane time they both speake and write pure language, and neuer so forget it, as they may not with small labour and practice recover it againe.

In the next place, I aduise him to gather the choice phrases, that hee may speake and write more eloquently, and let him vse himselfe not to the translated formes of speech, but to the proper phrases of the tongue; for euery language in this kinde

hath

hath certaine properties of speaking, which would be most absurd, being literally translated into another tongue. To this end the stranger must reade those Bookes, which are best for speeches in familiar conference, in which kind, as also for the instruction of his soule. I would commend vnto him the Holy Scriptures, but that among the Papists they are not to be had in the vulgar tongue, neither is the reading of them permitted to Laymen, and were not the phrases so known to those who vse to read them, as they would be vnderstood by discretion without knowledge. Therefore to this purpose hee shall seeke out the best familiar Epistles for his writing, and I thinke no Booke better for his discourse then *Amadis of Gaule*, for the Knights errant, and the Ladies of Courts, doe therein exchange Courtly speeches, and these Bookes are in all Languages translated by the Masters of eloquence. In the third place I aduise him to professe Pythagoricall silence, and to the end he may learne true pronuntiation and the properties of each language, not to be attained but by long obseruation and practice that he for a time listen to others, before he aduenture to speake. As in generall to all liuing in forraigne parts, and desiring to search out the knowledge of them, not to be had so well from any, as from the Inhabitants, so particularly to him, that would learne the language, my counsell is, that hee shunne for the time the conuersation of his owne Countrey-men, onely visiting them in their lodgings, and that not often nor long, but that he liue not in the house with any of them: For the Dutch Trauellers conuerling, drinking, and lodging with their owne Countreymen, hardly attaine any small skill, and neuer the perfect vse of any forraigne Language, be it neuer so easie. So as my selfe remember one of them, who being reprehended, that hauing been thirty yeeres in *Italy* hee could not speake the Language, he did merrily answere in Dutch; *Ah lieber was kan man doch in dreissig Iaher lehren?* Alas good Sir, what can a man learne in thirty yeeres? But the true cause of his not speaking the tongue, was his perpetuall conuersing with his Countrey-men. I professe freely, that I neuer obserued any to liue lesse together in forraigne parts; then the English, nor any who made more profit of their trauell then they: but I returne to the purpose. When he that desires to learne any Language, hath obserued the former rules, then let him hier some skilfull man to teach him, and to reprove his errors, not passing by any his least omission: And let him not take it ill, that any man should laugh at him, for that will more stirre him vp to endeouour to learne the tongue more perfectly, to which end he must conuerse with Wcomen, Children, and the most talkatiue people; and he must cast of all clownish bashfulnesse, for no Man is borne a Master in any Art. I say not, that he himselfe should rashly speake, for in the beginning he shall easily take ill formes of speaking, and hardly forget them onetaken. The very Artificers of *Polenia* can speake Latin, but most rudely and falsly; and I speake of experience, that the Schollers of our Vniuersities, conuersant in reading *Cicero*, howsoeuer they seldome speake Latin, but onely in disputations, yea, and shunne the occasions of speaking it, yet when they come abroad, and are forced necessarily to make vse of the latin tongue, they doe perhaps at first speake it lesse readily, but in short practice they speake it more eloquently and more easily, then the said Polakes, or any other abroad, who haue practised the tongue from their young yeeres, and so they might speake readily, neither cared for the quantity of sillables, nor the purity of phrase, nor the strict keeping of Grammer Rules. Moreouer I speake by experience, that it is commendable at home before setting forth, to learne the reading and vnderstanding of a language, and the writing thereof, yet cannot then bee profitable to practice the speaking of the tongue, till hee can haue the foresaid commodities in that part where it is naturall. And for this cause, I prescribed Pythagoricall silence, and to listen to others, before the practice of speech, and to take more care to speake well, then much: but at last the learner must beginne, and hee that neuer did a thing ill, can neuer doe it well.

But whereas many boast, and haue the fame to speake many tongues, as well as their mother tongue, I doe not thinke but know, that it is false. The French haue a good Prouerbe.

Entre les aveugles, les borgnes sont les Roys:

Among the blinde, the pore blind are the Kings.

And thus they which have no skill in tongues, will boldly say, that this or that man doth perfectly, and without stamering, speake many tongs. But howsoever a stranger living some six or more yeeres in any forraigne part, may perhaps speake that tongue as perfectly as his own, yet he that trauelleth in few yeeres, through many Kingdoms, and learnes many languages, shall neuer speake all, nor many of them, with naturall pronuntiation, and without errours, and some stamering, and slownesse in speech. Yea he that learnes one tongue alone, and that with many yeeres practice, shall more hardly attaine the perfect properties and elegancies thereof, then an vnskilfull man would thinke. For *Theophrastus* hauing liued many yeeres at *Athens*, was knowne to bee a stranger, of an old woman selling herbes, onely by the pronuntiation of one sillable. For my owne particular, I remember that I passed from *Genoa* to *Milan* on foote, in a disguised habit, and that in an Inne not farre from *Pauiā*, I met an Englishman. Wee sat downe to supper, where he voluntarily and vnasked, did rashly professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, whereupon I saluted him in Dutch familiarly, till hee betraied manifestly his ignorance in that language, and excused himselfe that he was no Dutchman, but borne vpon the confines of *France*, where they speake altogether French. Then I likewise spake to him in French, till he was out of countenance, for his want of skill in that language. So as my selfe being a man in his case, dissembling my Country and quality, ceased further to trouble him. And wee after discoursing in the Italian tong, he chanced to speake these words; *Io mi repentiua*, whereas an Italian would haue said, *Io mi ne pentiua*. And by this little difference of adding the sillable *re*, I knew him to be an Englishman, for I had found before that he was no Frenchman, which Nation together with the English addes that sillable. Thus when supper was ended, I tooke him aside, and spoke English to him, whereat hee reioyced, and imbracing mee, swore that he had been in the stable, and commanded his man to make ready his horses, and would presently haue rid away, if I had not discovered my selfe to him. And so wee lodged in one chamber and bed. See how small a thing will make it manifest, that we are not that Country men whereof we speake the language.

The knowledge of tongues hath euer been highly esteemed. *Aulus Gellius* writes, that *Mithridates* spake the languages of two and twenty Prouinces, which were subiect to him, so as he neuer spake with any subiect by an Interpreter. *Themistocles* in one yeere got so much knowledge in the Persian tongue, as hee was able to speake with *Artaxerxes* without an Interpreter. *Ennius* said, he had three hearts, meaning three languages. *Claudius* the Emperour put a Grecian Prince from being a Iudge, because he could not speake Latine, and sent him into *Italy* to learne the Tongue, as *Suetonius* writes. To conclude, who hath not heard the worthy fame of that Heroicall Woman, *Elizabeth* late Queene of *England*, among whose rare vertues, her skill in Languages was not the least, being able to conferre with most Ambassadors or Princes in their owne tongue. And whereas some Kings thinke it a base thing to speake in a strange tongue, and take it for honour, if they can induce any Ambassador to speake their tongue, they seeme to me like vnto those, who being poore and proud, speake much against rich apparrell, and extoll stufes and furnitures of small price, that they may seeme to doe that of election and iudgement, which they doe onely for want. Yet I would not be so vnderstood, as if I thought fit, that one Ambassador at a treaty, should consent to haue the same written in the language of another Ambassador, but rather that it should be written in a third tongue, equally knowne to them both, as in the Italian Tongue, the Treaty being betweene *England* and *France*. But in the meane time, I thinke it honourable to the most mighty King, to be able to entertaine familiar speech with any Ambassador or Prince of neighbour Kingdomes, though lesse potent then his owne. Let vs be encouraged by these noble foresaid examples, to labour diligently, that we may attaine this rich Iewell of speaking Tongues. In the last place I aduise the Traueller, that if he can haue leasure, he ioyne (for greater ornament) the learning to write the hand of each Nation, with the knowledge of each Tongue,

tongue, especially of that which is most of vse in his Countrey.

9 For Englishmen, they shall doe well at their first setting forth, to passe into *Germany*, and there spend some time: for since we vse too much the helpe of our seruants, so as we will scarcely make our selues ready; and since wee vse to despise the company of meane people at bed or board, there wee may learne to serue our selues, where hee that comes into a shoemakers shop, must find out the shooes will fit him, and put them on himselfe. There we may learne to admit the company of meane men, where many times poore fellowes, yea, very Coachmen shal be thrust to be our bedfellows, and that when they are drunke; and like men will often sit by vs at the Table, and in some places (as most part of *Low-Germany*) they drinke alwaies round, so as wee shall be sure to pledg like men, and drinke to them in the same cup; and if wee haue a seruant of our owne, would rather haue him sit next vs, then any other. There wee may learne to feed on homely meat, and to lie in a poore bed: There among many other things wee may learne, to moderate our aptnesse to quarrell, whereof I will speake more in the proper place. To conclude, all in generall that passe *Germany* as strangers, are free among that honest people from all colinages and deceipts, to which in other parts they are subiect aboue others, especially vnexperienced.

10 As it is good before his setting forth, to be reconciled with his enemies, that they may practice no ill against him, or his friends in his absence, and that his mind may be more religiously composed against all euent; so while he is abroad, let him often write to his friends of his health, which precept if *Thesius* had not forgotten, hee had not beene Authour of his most deere Fathers death, by bearing the false signe of a blacke sayle: And this is no lesse good to himselfe, then to his friends, since he that writes often, shall often receiue letters for answer: for one hand washeth another, and the Poet saith well;

Vt amaris Amabilis esto,

Who wilt beloued be, that thou bist louing see.

For indeed, there can hardly be giuen a more certain signe of loue or contempt, then the frequent, rare, or no writing, or especially answering of Letters: whereof the Italians haue a Prouerbe.

Chi scrue a chi non risponde,

O egli è matto, o egli ha di bisogno:

Who writes to him, that answers not againe,

He is a foole, or neede doth him constraine.

11 When he wil obserue the scituation of any City, let him (if he may without ielousie of the Inhabitants,) first climbe one of the highest steeples, where hauing taken the generall scituation of the City, he shall better remember in order the particular things to be seene in the City. To which end, let him carry about him a Dyall, which may shew him the North, South, East, and West, which knowne, he shall lesse erre in the description of the City, and this he may obserue publikely onely with his eyes, for auoiding of ielousie, and after, being retired into his Inne, may draw it in paper, if he thinke good. And lest for the want of a guide, to shew the markeable things in each City, he should omit any thing worth sight, let him confidently visit some chiefe Doctor, or man of principall account, (especially in *Germany*, where they are most affable): For if he shall say, that hee comes to see them, as the liuing monuments of that City, I will be bold to promise, that they will giue him a guide, to shew him any thing worth sight, and to instruct him in such things as are fit for him to know: For as Weomen easily belecue such as tell them that they are faire, though indeed they bee deformed, so men of best quality will easily belecue, that their name is knowne among strangers, and they take these visitations for honours done vnto them, yea, many (especially in some places) are vitiously proud, that their neighbours should see strangers thus visit them.

12 Many desire to haue their Countrey men and friends to bee their companions in these their iourneys: And it is well said;

Coxae faciendus in via pro vehiculo,
 A pleasant consort by the way,
 Is like a Coach that glides away.

But why should he not rather desire comforts of the same Nation, of whom he may learne the language, and all other things worthy to be obserued. My selfe could neuer see any profitably spend their time abroade, who flocked together with their owne Countrey-men, neither doe I attribute the little proficiency of the Germans, and their giuing themselves to drinke, euen amongst the sober Italians, to any thing more, then to their liding together in forraigne parts. For an Italian, conuersing abroad with Italians, shall neuer learne bashfull chastity: How shall any man cast off a vice proper to his Nation, if he doe not disuse it by little and little, which he shall hardly doe among his Countrey-men inclined thereunto. Neither is there danger of learning forraigne vices by leauing to conuerse with his Countrey-men, so hee propound to himselfe the foresaid end to learne vertues and cast off vices, and if he bend himselfe wholly to attaine that end. Moreouer, in places of danger, for difference of Religion, or proclaimed warre, whosoever hath his Countrey-man or friend for his companion, doth much increase his danger, as well for the confession of his companion, if they chance to be apprehended, as for other accidents, since he shall be accomptable and drawne into danger, as well by his companions words or deeds, as by his owne. And surely there happening many dangers and crosses by the way, many are of such intemperate affections, as they not onely diminish the comfort they should haue from this consort, but euen as Dogs, hurt by a stone, bite him that is next, not him that cast the stone, so they may perhaps out of these crosses grow to bitterness of words betweene themselves, yea, sometimes filthily end their old friendship with new iniuries, if not in single combates.

Besides, if this deare friend and consort should happen to dye by the way, and if other ill accidents should increase this euill, whereof many may bee imagined, as namely, if by dying among enemies or Pagans, hee cannot haue so much as the honour of a graue; surely I speake by experience, nothing can bee added to this calamity. This grieue threatens sicknesse vnto thee, and to how many ill that State is subiect in forraigne parts, I shall shew in the Precept of preserving health. And this euent will take from thee all the pleasure of remembering thy dangers past, after thou returnest home, yea, will make that bitter vnto thee, which vseth to bee most comfortable to others. Therefore I commend the English, who withdraw themselves from consorting with their Countrey-men abroad, not shunning them vnnaturally out of hate, but onely lodging in diuers houses, and onely spending some howers of the weeke in their company to nourish acquaintance, that they may bestow the rest of the time among those of the same Country wherein they liue, and so better their language, and learne the state of the Countrey. For my part, if I were to suffer ill, I had rather be alone, then haue a friend partner with me, howsoever the Poet saith,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.
 The miserable man doth grieue the lesse,
 If he haue partners in his sad distresse.

Which is to bee vnderstood of enemies, or vnknowne partners, for I cannot thinke that my torment could bee asswaged by the like miserie of my friend. Others object, that it is the vspeakeable comfort of marriage, that man and wife like well paired Heyfers, beare all burthens together. Surely if other kinds of ill could bee diuided into equall parts, as burthens may, I might bee of their opinion, but many kindes of ill are like the soule, which is all in the whole body, and all in euery part thereof, neither is the torment of the soule eased, by the bodies suffering with it. Therefore if I were to suffer pouerty, banishment, or torment, I had rather bee a single man, then married, since the compassion of my wifes and
 children

childrens suffering with me, would infinitely increase my misery.

These things being granted, I confesse it followes, (for of contraries the consequence is contrary) that the Traueller is to impart his good successes to his friends, whereof *Cicero* in the dreame of *Scipio* so disputes, as if a man seeing all the pleasures of Paradise, could take no delight therein, if he were alone, and had no man with whom he might communicate them.

But in conclusion, since Trauellers meet with more dangers then pleasures, it is most fit for them to take such comforts abroad, as the way yeelds, and to deterre the imparting of their good successes to their friends, till their happy returne home, at which time, as their absence hath sharpened their friends desire to see them, so the discourse of these pleasant accidents, may sweeten their conuersation.

13 In stead of a companion, let the Traueller haue alwayes with him some good Booke in his pocket, as wee reade that *Alexander* the Great laied *Homer* vnder his pillow, and let this Booke be either such, as fits his ends or study, or such as containeth precepts or sentences, which by daily vse he desires to make familiar vnto him, alwayes bewaring that it treat not of the Common-wealth, the Religion thereof, or any Subject that may be dangerous to him: By this companion he shall make the solitude of the Innes and many irkesome things lesse vnpleasing to him.

14 As we reade that *Alexander* the great let on fier with his owne hands the wanes of carriage taken from *Darius*, and that by his example all the Macedonians cast away the spoyles they had taken from the Persians, lest they should hinder them in their expedition against *India*. So the Traueller (comparing small things with great) must carry onely most necessary things with him, especially in such places as the Low-Countries, where boates and waggons are changed many times in one dayes iourney, and where (as also in *Italy*) they bring him not to his Inne, but onely to the water side, or to the gates of the City: for in such places heauy carriages will be a great burthen or charge to him.

15 Let him enquire after the best Innes, especially in *Germany*, and also at night in *Italy*; for he may take a short dinner in any Inne of *Italy*, so hee lodge safely at night. In the best Innes, with moderate and ordinary expences, he shall auoid the frauds and iniuries of knaues, and shall sleepe safely, both for his person and the goods hee hath with him. In all Innes, but especially in suspected places, let him bolt or locke the doore of his chamber: let him take heed of his chamber fellowes, and alwayes haue his Sword by his side, or by his bed side; let him lay his purse vnder his pillow, but alwayes foulded with his garters, or some thing hee first vieth in the morning, lest hee forget to put it vp before hee goe out of his chamber: And to the end he may leaue nothing behind him in his Innes, let the visiting of his chamber, and gathering his things together, be the last thing he doth, before hee put his foote into the stirrup.

16 Some aduise that a Traueller should learne to swimme, but I thinke that skill is more for pleasure at home, then of vse abroad, and yeelds small comfort or helpe in a storme at Sea. Let other men haue their free opinion, as I haue mine, yet I know that *Cesar* deliuered himselfe and his Commentaries from perishing, by his skill in swimming, but neither are all as fortunate as *Cesar*, neither are all Seas like that of *Africke*. My selfe haue knowne many excellent swimmers, whereof some in the sight of the wished Land, haue perished by the rage of the Sea waues, and others haue sunke by the waight of their fearefull companions knowing their skill, and so taking hold of them, while at the same time others, hauing not the least skill in swimming, but trusting to the hold of broken parts of the shippe, or light chests, haue escaped that danger, and came safely to shore: But if any man put his trust in swimming, let him conceale his skill, lest others trusting therein take hold of him, and make him perish with them.

17 In like manner some perswade a Traueller to vse himselfe first to hardnesse, as abstaining from wine, fasting, eating grosse meates, and going iournies on foote. But in

my opinion, they shall better beare these things when necessity forceth, who cherish their body while they may. Neither doe I commend them, who in forraigne parts take iournies on foote, especially for any long way. Let them stay at home, and behold the World in a Mappe, who haue not meanes for honest expences; for such men, while they basely spare cost, doe so blemish their estimation, as they can enioy no company, but that of such poore fellowes as goe on foote with them, who can no way instruct them; or better their vnderstanding. Besides, that by wearying their bodies, they are apt to fall into sickness; and basely expose themselves to the dangers of wild beasts, theues, and their poore companions. I dare bee bold to say, that all murders in *Germany* by the high way, are committed vpon footemen; for they who are well brought vp; when they are wearied by going on foote, will spend more to cherish themselves in their Innes, and make longer staies therein, by which meanes they not onely spend almost as much, as if they had hired horses or coches, but also bewray their plenty of mony to their foote companions, who being needy, it oftens happens, euen among the Germans otherwise of honest disposition, that they plot mischief against them, which once intended, the vast solitudes of the Woods in *Germany*, offer many opportunities to put their wicked purpose in practice. And it is a hard remedy to be prescribed to one of good education, that after his weary journey, he should also suffer in his Inne. Moreouer, the Germans account of strangers according to their outward habit, and their bold or dejected countenance, and doe altogether dispise passengers on foote. To conclude, the solitudes of the way, by reason of few Townes or Villages, make a iourney on foote most tedious in *Germany*. But in *Italy*, if any where; this going on foote may bee borne with, by reason of the pleasant and fruitfull fields, the frequent Cities, Townes, and Villages, the safety from theues, (except it be vpon the confines of Princes, where holmen and footemen are in like danger) and by reason of the Italians opinion, who respect a mans behauiour, not his habit. Alwaies prouided that these iournies bee short, and sweetned with a pleasant companion. But for my part, I thinke the best going on foote, is (according to the French Prouerb) when a man leades his horse in his hand, and may mount him at pleasure. And I must confesse, that I haue obserued some of our Countie men to erre in this kinde, of whom though few vndertake these foote iournies, yet they generally thinke, that it is a point of frugalitie to suffer in forraigne parts, as if our abode there should be lesse profitable vnto vs, except we should (like *Menedemus*) vex our selues with vnecessary sufferings of ill.

18 The Traueller must haue great care to preserue his health, neither is it the last point of wisdom to follow the aduice of *Cicero*, who bids him bee an old man quickly, that desires to bee an old man long. But most of all is this care necessarie for a Traueller: for those that are sicke by the way, suffer many discomforts in all places; and our Country men in *Italy* and *Spaine* runne high dangers, where howsoeuer being in health, they may discreetly shunne the snares of the Inquisition, yet when they are sicke, Confession, the Sacrament in one kind, and the adoration thereof as changed into the body of Christ, and Extreme Vnction at the point of death, are thrust vpon them by the Priests. Men ready to die can ill dissemble, neither is any waight so heavy, as that of a wounded conscience, wherewith if the sicke man bee so affected, as hee professeth himselfe to bee of the Reformed Religion, then the Physition and the Apothecarie are forbidden to helpe him; and very Kitchin phisicke is denied him by the Priests command, and if hee recouer, hee shall bee sure to bee brought into the Inquisition: but if hee die, his body shall be buried in the high-way, not in any Church-yard: of which euents, and the examples thereof, I shall speake more largely in the Treaty of Religion in *Italy*. Formerly I haue shewed, that sickly men are vnfit for this course of life.

Now the preservation of health consists in the vse of sixe things, namely, of Ayre, Dyet, Purging, Exercise, Sleepe, and Accidents, or Passions of the mind.

mind. To shunne the incommodities of the Aire, hee must respect the seasons of the yeere fit for iournies, and the changes of diuers climes. The Spring and Autumne are the most fit seasons for iournies, and he shall doe well, to goe first to cold climes in summer times, and to hot climes in the winter, that hee may vie his body by little and little to these changes. They who take iournies in Countries continually couered with snow, vse to weare some greene thing before their eyes, to comfort the sight, and to carry hot odors to comfort the braine. In *Moscow* subiect to great cold, Men couer their neckes, eares, and vitall parts, with furies; and in time of snow, weare a cot or couer for their noses, and also rubbe their noses and faces with snow, before they enter into the hot stoue, lest sudden heate should putrifie the same, as men of good credit report.

On the contrary, in hot regions, to auoide the beames of the Sunne, in some places (as in *Italy*) they carry Vmbrels, or things like a little Canopy ouer their heads, but a learned Physician told me, that the vse of them was dangerous, because they gather the heate into a pyramidall point, and thence cast it downe perpendicularly vpon the head, except they know how to carry them for auoyding that danger: Also in the hot clymes of *Turkey*, they were thicke garments, but loose, and a thick Tulbant vpon their heads, but hollow, and borne vp from their heads, and they shake their heads, all to make the Sunne-beames to haue lesse power vpon their bodies.

Touching the change of diet, as also of the Aire, a young man may change them by little and little, but to old men the least change of them is dangerous. Therefore let the Traueller vse himselfe before his iourney to these changes by little and little, but in no extremity, which he had better endure onely for the time when necessity forceth them, vsing the best remedies, as Antidotes against poyson; namely warme clothes against cold, and the like: And in this he must vse moderation, for little ill doth little hurt. In the morning before he takes his iourney, let him take a small breakefast, that ill smells may not offend him; let him dine sparingly, lest his afternoones motion hinder digestion: for the precept to make a light supper, is for those that stay at home. In his dinner, often drinking and supping warme brothes, helps the purging faculty: The seasons of the yeere, and the nature of the clime, are to be respected in diet, as well as in the change of Ayre. In Winter and cold Regions, let him take hot comfortable things, but in Summer and hot Regions, let him take things that coole the blood: It is dangerous to drinke when his body is heated, except hee first make water, and wash his mouth, and when he is heated, let him not suddenly expose himselfe to cold. In his Inne let him haue care to drie his feet and necke, if they be wet. The rules of health are infinite, therefore let him take the Physicians aduice, according to the state of his body: I will onely adde, that some very curiously thinke the Art of Cookery necessary for a Traueller: It is not amisse that hee haue the skill to make a Cawdell, or dresse some dish hee liketh. *Homer* bringeth in *Achilles* dressing his meate in the Campe, and wee reade that King *Antigonus* did see the Poet *Antagoras* seething a Conger in the Campe, and said to him; that *Homer* of *Agamemnon* spent not his time in dressing Congers, who answered; that *Agamemnon* vsed not to goe about the Campe to obserue who dressed Congers: And indeed this Art is more necessary for a Souldier then a Traueller: For the Traueller vseth not to goe into barbarous regions, but to ciuill places, where for the most part hee findes Ministers for this purpose, but the warre wastes all Countries, and carries desolation with it.

Touching the purging of the body, as all repletion is ill, and *Socrates* well aduised to take heed of those meates, which inuited men to eate when they were not hungry, so when the humours are growne through intemperancy, it is good to purge them. He that fees any change in his body, let him not neglect it, but take physike, which doing, he may with a small remedy preuent great sicknesse, and keepe his body in health afterwards, not oppressing himselfe with meate, nor enflaming his blood with violent motion. This I speake of experience, for my selfe thus taking phy-

sike once or twice, had my health in forraigne parts for seuen yeeres, after which time at last, care which brings gray heires had almost killed me by grieve, conceived for the death of my most deare Brother in *Asia*. In the morning and at noone let him offer thus to purge naturally, in which nature, for the most part yeelds to custome. Nothing is a more certaine signe of sicknesse growing, then the obstruction of the body, against which in *Italy* I tooke each morning, while I was so disposed, a spoonefull of the sirrop of Corinthian Currants. Damasco Prunes boyled, and other moist things, as Butter and Hony, are good for this purpose, as a German Phisitian writes, whom I follow in this point. And since my selfe (God be thanked) was neuer sickly, neither haue the Art of Phisike, and since I professe in the beginning of this Booke, not onely to relate things obserued, but also those I haue gathered by reading, I trust I may without offence adde the said Doctors aduise for Trauellers instruction to my obseruations. My experience hath taught mee; that it is most dangerous to stop the Flux of the body, which experience I dearely bought, by the losse of my foresaid Brother, and there is no better remedy for it, then rest. But if it continue many daies, and too much weaken the body, Rice well boyled, hard Egges, Water tempered with Steele, red and sowrish Wines, and Marmalate, are good to bind the body.

Touching exercise, since it must be gentle, and onely till we raise colour into our faces, not til we sweate, it may seeme ridiculous to prescribe the same to Trauellers, who are almost continually in motion. Therefore I will onely admonish the Traueller, to auoide extremity therein, and that he neither drinke when he is hot, nor suddenly expose himselfe to cold, and that when he is extremely cold, hee likewise warme himselfe by little and little, not suddenly at a great fier, or in a hot stoue, and that after dinner he rest a while.

Touching sleepe, breeding by excesse raw humours, and watching that dries the body, they are happy who keepe the meane, and they are the Phisitians friends, who delight in extremes, and to their counsell I commend them.

In the last place, touching accidents or motions of the minde, I will onely say, that mirth is a great preseruer of health, and sadnesse a very plague thereunto. The bodie followes the temper of the mind, as the temper of the mind followes that of the body. My selfe haue been twice sicke to death in forraigne parts, first when I lost my dearest Brother *Henry* in *Asia* (whose death I must euer lament with the same passion, as *David* did that of *Absolon*, who wished to redeeme his life with his owne death; and surely I freely professe, his life had been more profitable then mine, both to our friends, and to the Common-wealth.) The second time I was sicke to death at home in *England*, vpon a lesse iust but like cause, namely, grieve. Thus being at the gates of death twice for grieve, I found the Poet to say most truly, that care maketh gray headed; and *Seneca* no lesse truly, that he who hath escaped *Stix*, and the infernall Hags, to him in care hee will shew Hell it selfe.

To speake something of preseruing health by Sea: He that would not vomit at all, let him some dayes before he take ship, and after at Sea, diminish his accustomed meat, and especially drinke, and let him take the following remedies against ill smelles and weakenesse of stomack. Some aduise, that he should drinke Sea water mingled with his Wine, and some more sparing, that he drinke Sea water alone, which dries cold humours, and shuts the Orifice of the belly and stomack. But I thinke they doe ill, who altogether restraine vomiting, for no doubt that working of the Sea is very healthfull. Therefore I would rather aduise him, to vse his accustomed diet, till he haue sailed one day or two into the Maine, or till he feele his body weake, and thinkes it enough purged, then let him take meates agreeable to the Sea in small proportion, as powdred Beefe, Neates-tongues dried, and like salt meates, and after eating, let him seale his stomack with Marmalate. Let him often eate Pomegranates, Quinces, Corianders prepared, and such meates as are sharpe, and comfort the stomack, and let him drinke strong Wines, and sometimes hot Waters, but sparingly, and let him dip a piece of bisket in his Wine. And to restraine the extremity of vomiting, till he be somewhat vsed to the Sea, let him forbear to looke vpon the waues of the Sea, or much to lift vp his head.

head. To auoid the ill smells of the ship, hee may in Summer carry red Roses, or the dried leaues thereof, Lemmons, Oranges, and like things of good odour, and in Winter hee may carry the roote or leaues of Angelica, Cloues, Rosemary, and the foresaid Lemmons, Oranges, and Rose leaues. To conclude, if there bee no Phisitian in the ship, let him that is sickly, take counsell of the Phisitian at home, for the remedies of that weakenesse to which himselfe is most subiect, and of diseases most proper to Seamen, especially if he take any long voiage.

19 To teach the Traueller how to behaue himselfe in forraigne parts, is a large and intricate precept, whereof I will handle many branches in this, and the next following Precepts. It is an old saying,

*Cum fueris Romæ, Romano viuito more,
Cum fueris alibi, viuito more loci.*
Being at Rome, the Roman manners vse,
And otherwhere, each places custome chuse.

Surely a Traueller must liue after other mens fashion, not his owne, alwaies auoiding extremities by discretion, according to the Italian Prouerb,

Paese doue vai, v'sa comme trauai.
The Country where thou goest,
Vse thou as doe the most.

Now in this so great varietie of fashions in all Nations, it seemes vnpossible to giue any set rules, since the French say well,

Tant de pays, tant de guises.
As many Nations, So many fashions.

And since no man is able to number these diuers euents, first, I aduise the Traueller in generall to be so wary, as he aduenture not to doe any new thing, till the example of others giue him confidence. Let him reprove nothing in another mans house, much lesse in a strange Common-wealth, in which kind it is not amisse to seeme dumb or tongue-tied, so he diligently imploy his eyes and eares, to obserue all profitable things. Let him be curteous, euen somewhat towards the vice of curtesie, to his Host, the children, and his fellow sojourners in the house. I doe not aduise him to imitate them, who will put off their hat to a very Dog; for in all actions basenesse must bee shunned, and decency embraced, but it is veniall somewhat to offend in the better part, applying our selues to the diuers natures of men. If hee shall apply himselfe to their manners, tongue, apparrell and diet with whom he liues, hee shall catch their loues as it were with a fish-hooke. For diet, he needes lesse care, but for apparrell he must fit it to their liking; for it is a good precept as well at home as abroad, to eate according to our owne appetite, but to bee apparrelled to other mens liking. I haue obserued the Germans and French in *Italy*, to liue and conuerse most with their owne Countymen, disdaining to apply themselves to the Italians language, apparrell, and diet, and the English above all others, to subiect themselves to the Lawes, customes, language, and apparrell of other Nations.

And hence it is that the conuersation of the English abroad, is wonderfullie pleasing vnto strangers. Onely because they are forced to dissemble their Countrie among Papists, I haue found by experience, that other Nations, whose habit and name they take, haue reaped the commendation of this their vertue; and it is certaine, that the Germanes, whom the English do often personate, haue thereupon beene often praysed in forraigne parts for their temperance, and other vertues lesse proper to them. In the meane time the English who are thus pleasing for this vertue, while they dissemble their Countrie, are by other accidents lesse agreeable to the liking of strangers in diuers places, when they confesse what Countrie-men they are: as in *Italy* for the difference of Religion; in the *Low-Countries*, for that many of them haue gone away in their debts; in *France* and *Scotland* for the old hatred of both Nations.

tions: and in the *Hans* or sea-bordering Cities, for the many iniuries they pretend to haue receiued from English men of warre at Sea.

Perhaps seuerer and froward censors may iudge it an apish vice thus to imitate other nations, but in my opinion, this obsequiousnes of conuersation, making vs become all things to all men, deserues the opinion of a wise man, and one that is not subiect to pride: but he must alwaies shunne extremity, lest while he affects to be affable, hee incur the infamy of a flatterer.

20 He must be humble, so it be with decency, and without basenes; yet I thinke in *Germany* he shall doe well to seeme, but not to be proud, where they will take a man to be of base condition, if he be courteous and officious, as in reaching any thing to another, or doing like offices of seruice, and where they respect especially the outward habit, esteeming a frowning proud countenance, for graue and generous, lastly, where they that sit last at Table, pay the same shot with the first, who haue the best meate, the cleaneft beds, and best bedfellowes, which my selfe experienced, when I did trauell from *Stoade* to the Low-Countries, in the disguised habit of a seruant. In the meane time a stranger may not in any place altogether vse the same boldnesse, as one of the same Nation may. On the contrary, I would rather offend in humility among the Italians, who respect nothing lesse, then the apparrell and outward habit, and are ready to obserue with knee and cap a proud stranger, though they scoffe at him behind his backe, and the hosts will not faile to put their obseruance and reuerence into the reckoning, making him pay for his pride. And from hence it is, that the Polonian Gentlemen (as I said before the summes of Gouvernours of Castles for life), being of their owne nature proud, doe in the space of one or two yeeres spend all their patrimonie among these officious and flattering Italians, which they do not among the Germans, though many of them liue long in their Vniuersities, and giue themselves to drinking as much as the Germans, though not so daily, and that because the Germans cannot in their nature so obserue them and nourish their pride. In generall, he shall doe best, that keepes a meane;

—: neque Altum

Semper urgendo, neque dum procellas

Cautus horrescit, nimium permendo

Littus iniquum.

Not alwaies bearing to the Mainie,
Nor while to shun stormes thou dost straine,
Beating too much on shore againe.

Liberall modesty is decent, but clownish bashfulnesse disgracefull.

21 And because the youths of our age, as they hold ciuill behauour to consist in bold speaking, and proud lookes, so they place the opinion of wisdom in the volubilitie of the tongue, I must remember the Traueller of two good Italian Prouerbs:

In bocca serrata mai non entrò mosca.

Keepe close lips, and neuer feare,
Any flies should enter there.

La lingua nou ha osso: ma fa rompere il dosso.

The tongue is bonelesse, yet doth make,
The broken backbone oft to ake.

It is an old saying, sometimes it repents to haue spoken, neuer to haue held thy peace, therefore let him haue a slow tongue, let his mind bee locked vp, but his forehead bee cleare and chearefull. Let him speake sparingly, and seldome speake of his owne common-wealth, priuate estate, or good qualities, which otherwise knowne will giue him more grace, then his owne boasting. Nothing doth more preserue a Traueller from falling into dangers, or sooner deliuer him in any danger, then the moderate discrete vse of his tongue. It is an old prouerb, that men go to *Rome* by asking the way of those they meete, but I may say, that the way to goethither, and to returne safely thence, is silence. The Italians say well,

Cassai sa, chi nulla sa, se tacer' sa.

Who knowes no thing, yet knowes his fill,
To hold his peace if he hath skill.

There is great Art to shunne talkatiue companions, or not to seeme to heare their questions. Two things are necessary to be obserued; That he haue a chearefull countenance, as an argument of innocency, to free him from suspicion of any wickednes, or of being a spie. The other, that he shun vicious silence, as well as Clownish bashfulness. He may sparingly and as it were carelessly inquire after things worthy to be obserued, and what he learns in this kind, let him diligently note in his Itinerary.

22. Curiosity to see the burning of the Mountain *Vesunius* (now called *Somma*) made *Pliny* perish, and the like curiositie to see the burning of *Aetna*, bred like mischief to *Empedocles*. Likewise the inquiring after the secrets of Religion, and desiring to be present at those Rites, hath made many perish. Therefore he must be wary and discrete in this point. Yet I know not how, as *Cicero* praised some affectation of speech in a young Orator, so I cannot but allow some curiositie in a Traueller, and thinke the same to be of great vse to him, since hee runs through the obseruation of many things in short time, the infinitenesse whereof no memory can comprehend, neither is he like euer to see them againe. Therefore in my opinion, let him be, so hee seeme not to be curious.

23 Some dissuade men from being patient in their conuersation, saying, that he inuities a new iniury, who beares the old patiently, according to the Italian prouerb:

Chi pecora si fa, il Lupo se la mangia.

The man who makes himselfe a sheepe,
The Wolfe will eate, whilest he doth sleepe.

But howsoeuer I may grant, that in thy owne Country thou shalt bee so much esteemed of others, as thou esteemest thy selfe, yet he that liues in forraigne parts, must with *Diogenes* beg an almes of an Image, that hee may learne patience. The thunder-bolt strikes not that which yeelds. I aduise young men to moderate their aptnesse to quarrell, lest they perish with it. We are not all like *Amades* or *Rinaldo*, to incounter an hoste of men, we haue not the enchanted bodies against wounds, which *Achilles* and *Orlando* had, wee shall not finde abroad the same Iudges or iudgement, which wee might haue at home, nor the same indulgence or approued customes of single fights.

In *Italy* twelue or more armed men will assault one enemy vnarmed, and perhaps sleeping in his bed. For the Italians in our age, hauing for the most part placed all their happinesse in the earthly paradise of *Italy*, and the pleasures of this world, are not giuen in their nature to vndergoe dangerous and equall combats. howsoeuer honourable. And since the Fathers in the Councell of *Trent* (lest they should seeme to haue done nothing) did strictly forbid these combats vnto them, they willingly obey therein, to shaddow their want of daring, yet can they not put off their naturall pride and desire of reuenge, but according to the nature of proud men, are apt to take reuenge vpon al dishonorable aduantages of number or Armes, and that with strange cruelty; so as at this day more perish there by these treasons, then euer perished before the Councell of *Trent* by single combats. When they haue a quarrel, they presently arme al their bodies, and, as they vulgarly say, their very shinbones, and hinder parts, with males of Iron, and then, compassed with their friends, seruants, and hired Fencers (called *Braui*) will not stick to fall vpon their enemy in this sort, though he bee an vnwarie stranger, wanting friends; and when they haue done a murther, they flie without any impediment to the confines of neighbour Princes, liuing there as banished men for a time vpon robberies, till they can obtaine pardon, which escape a stranger cannot so easily make. But if they haue a quarrell with Italians, vsing like practises, it is a thing most ridiculous to see, with what proud bragging they thus walke armed, and guarded, and with what warinesse and foolish tumult the contrary parts thus walke about the Citie, keeping as farre the one from the other as is possible, till by the intercession of friends, or authority of the Magistrate, they be made friends, which must be done with infinite cerimonies, and cautions of honour, no way blemished but by themselves.

Where-

Whereas a stranger in *Italy* may not without licence from the Magistrate, weare a sword in their Cities, no nor so much as a dagger either in the Cities or high-waies of the Popes State. How much lesse will it bee permitted to any stranger thus to arme himselfe, if hee would (since wee are of opinion, that it were better once to dye, than alwaies to feare death, euen in our priuate chambers, and to be continually so loded with iron Armes, as a man can hardly walke or breath.) Therefore a stranger must be very wary not to haue a quarrell, and if any be thrust vpon him, he must be no lesse wary to shun the danger, by leauing the place or City in *Italy*. Neither would I aduise a stranger to fight for his money, if hee be assaulted by theeues (called *Banditi*) in *Italy* (except the way from *Rome* to *Naples*, where hee hath a guard of souldiers to ioyne with) since they are men of desperate fortune, and when they assaile the passenger, haue not only their bodies armed as aforesaid, but carry Muskets, and haue ready meanes of escape, euer lying vpon the confines of Princes. But in my opinion, he shall doe better to carry letters of credit for receiuing money in great Cities as hee passeth, and willingly to yeeld them that which hee hath about him, especially since they vse not to kill any not resisting, being content with the spoile of them. Yet in generall for *Italy*, I remember not that euer I liued in any place, where fewer wrongs and causes of quarrell are offered then there; for they haue a Prouerb,

Portar rispetto a tutti e no' hauer paura di nessuno.

Giue good respect to all, Feare neither great nor small.

So as the Italians offer mutuall honour more then is due, and nothing is more easie, then to abstaine from words of reproch, which a ciuill man should hate, as well in respect of himselfe, as others. The chiefe cause of quarrels there, is either making loue to other mens priuate concubines, or the keeping of a priuate concubine to a mans selfe. For it is proverbiably said,

Chi Asini caccia e donne mena,

Non è mai senza guai e pena.

Who driues an Asse, and leades a Whore,
Hath toile and sorrow euermore.

And the stranger who will intangle himselfe in this mischiefe, seemes worthy to beare the punishment, since there is plenty of grasse in the open fields, though a man neuer breake into inclosed pastures.

As in *Italy*, so in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Denmark*, the Magistrate neuer pardons any murther, nor man-slaughter vpon hot blood, nor him that killes in single combat vpon those termes which some call honourable, neither is there any way to scape punishment, but by flight. And this is common to all these Nations, that onely the Officers of Iustice, either stop or lay hands vpon a Murtherer or any offender against the Lawes. And this makes great respect of persons, for a poore man hauing killed one that hath rich friends, shall bee pursued with light horses, while either not at all, or slowly, they follow others, and giue way to their escaping. Let a stranger consider, how difficult his flight will be in a strange Country, and how hotly he is like to be pursued.

The Germans are apt to quarrell, and sometimes they fight after their fashion, which is a slash or two with the edge of the sword, and if one of their fingers bee hurt, they straight shake hands, and go to the Tauerne to drinke, but to stab or make a thrust is vulgarly called *ein schelmstück*, that is, the act of a villaine, and the very iudges esteeme it a most abominable act. It is ridiculous, that hee which is wounded neuer so slightly, though it be at the first incounter, straight shakes his aduersary by the hand and both returne againe to the Citie, where he that is hurt payes the Wine to the other, for a new or renewed league of friendship. In *Germany*, *Bohemia* and *Denmark*, no man wil part a quarrel, nor put himself betweene them that are at variance. Neither will they doe it in disputations (that I may mingle iest with earnest), where the argument is seldome or neuer taken vp by the Moderator; for in truth they are not so fierce in any of these kinds, but that they can compose the matter themselves. The little danger in their manner of fighting, makes their quarrels very frequent. In these places, as

every

every where, it behoues a Traueller with his best iudgement to shun quarrels, and if he must needs aduenture his body, yet to forecast meanes of escape after victory. Besides the lye, and such words as we account most disgracefull, with many in *Germany* are made familiar speech, and clounish rudenes esteemed for the neighbor vertue. For the Cochmen, when they are drunke, will easily giue ill words, especially to a stranger, and they will not stay a minute for him, either in the Inne, if he be not ready to take Coach, or by the way, if he haue any necessary cause to light. Herewith thou being incensed, thinkest him worthy to be strucken, but the Magistrate thinks not so, and will rather beare with him & his partakers, if they tumultuously reuenge thy wrong. Who would not with silence and fained deafenes slip his necke out of such base and dangerous brawles. A stranger needes not feare theeues in *Germany*, for they are most rare, but if any such assault him, let him defend himselfe the best hee can, for they alwaies kill those whom they rob, either out of their nature apt to insult vpon the conquered, or because their punishments are most cruell by the Law, neither is there any pardon for capitall crimes. The Sweitzers for the most part Souldiers, and stiffe drinkers, yet seldome or neuer haue any quarrels, because the Lawes impose great penalties vpon those that offer iniury, and the seuerer Magistrate neuer spareth them, there being through all Cities and Villages (with most wise and religious carefulnes) officers appointed, who particularly intend the execution of this iustice. Theeues or murtherers are very seldome or neuer heard of among them, as well for the seueritie of the Law, and the serious execution thereof, as because they are industrious at home, and to shun pouerty, are more inclined to serue in forraigne war, then to liue by infamous courses at home. In *Poland*, the Gentlemen are most prone to quarrels, cumbats, and murthers, especially if they be heated with drink, as many times they are; and that because of the vnfit priuiledges they haue aboue others, and because they haue power of life and death in their owne Territories, neither can be called in question for criminall matters, but in the publike Parliamēt, held once in three yeeres or thereabouts, where they are also tried by Gentlemen, who for consanguinity, friendship, or the common cause, are like to be fauourable to them. And they care not greatly vpon what vnequall termes they offer violence, nor how many they be that set vpon their aduersarie. Some Gentlemen who haue been in forraine parts, are much more ciuill then the rest, but in generall there is no place where a stranger ought more to auoid quarrels, especially if hee stand not vpon equall termes, as not hauing one or more Gentlemen on his part. In the meane time, all that can here offer violence being Gentlemen, to whom the rest are slaues, either for feare of infamy, or for the aboundance they haue of all things for life, robbers by the highway are very rare in *Poland*, and a passenger may safely carry ready money about him, especially if he conceale it.

It were in vaine to giue any precepts for quarrels in *Turkey*, where a Christian not onely may not quarrell, but not so much as carry a sword, nor looke a Turke in the face without a Bastinado. For the Turkes among themselues, they seldome or neuer fight a combate. The Citizens and men of inferiour degrees stand in as humble awe of their souldiers, as the Christians doe of them, neither dare lift vp the head or hand against a common Souldier, though they were one hundred against one. And the Souldiers, howsoeuer they brawle among themselues like butter-wiues, yet they neuer strike one another, the Lawes being most seuerer in the punishment thereof. Theeues are lesse to be feared there, because passengers neither goe nor ride alone, but in Carauanes, that is, a multitude of men and loaded Cammels: yet the Christians commended to the protection of those that leade the Carauans, not onely by friends, but by bribes, and chancing to meet by the way any Ianizaries, shal be forced to giue them such victuals as they carry, especially wine, except they haue a Ianizary to protect them, whereof one will serue to defend them against the iniuries of a thousand chancing to meet them, but they seldome doe the Christian passengers any other wrong, then this consuming of their prouisions. Howsoeuer in all euents I would aduise no Christian of the better sort, hauing meanes for his expences, to goe any iourney without a Ianizarie to protect him, especially

since at *Constantinople*, from one Christian Ambassadour or other, he may easily obtaine a Ianizarie to attend him faithfully, and at a very easie rate. At which Citie it is most fit for a Christian to begin his iourney into other parts of *Turkie*. Howsoever hee may likewise obtaine such a Ianizarie of some Christian Consull, either at *Halepo* in *Spria*, or at *Cayero* (called also *Babilon*) in *Egipt*, and at other frequented places vpon the Sea coast. And this Ianizarie for some eight Aspers a day wages, will faithfully helpe the Christian of whom hee is hired, not as a companion, but rather as a free kinde of seruant.

Englishmen, especially being young and vnexperienced, are apt to take all things in snuffe. Of olde, when they were fenced with Bucklers, as with a Rampier, nothing was more common with them, then to fight about taking the right or left hand, or the wall, or vpon any vnpleasing countenance. Clashing of swords was then daily musicke in euery streete, and they did not onely fight combats, but cared not to set vpon their Enemie vpon aduantages, and vnequall termes. But at this day when no nation labours more then the English (as well by traauailing into forraine Kingdomes, as by the studie of good letters, and by other meanes) to enrich their mindes with all vertues, I say in these dayes, they scorne such men, and esteeme them of an idle braine, who for ridiculous or trifling causes runne the triall of single fight, and howsoever they behaue themselves stoutly therein, yet they repute them to haue lost as much opinion of wisdome, as they haue gayned of daring. Much more doe they despise them, who quarrell and fight in the streetes publicly, and doe not rather make priuate triall of their difference, as also those, who make quarrels with men of base condition, yea they thinke them infamous who with disparity of number doe many assaile one man, and for this beastly quality comparing them to Hogges, whereof when one grunts, all the Heard comes to helpe him, they thinke them worthie of any punishment: besides that vpon killing any man, mercie is seldome or neuer shewed them, howsoever in other faire combats, the Princes mercie hath many times giuen life to the man-slayer. And the cause why single fights are more rare in *England* in these times, is the dangerous fight at single Rapier, together with the confiscation of man-slayers goods. So as I am of opinion, contrarie to the vulgar, and thinke them worthie of praise, who inuented dangerous weapons, as Rapiers, Pistols, Gunnes, and Gunpowder, since the inuention, whereof much smaller number of men hath perished, by single fights, or open warre, then in former times: and conquests and such inundations of barbarous people as were those of the Gothes, Hannes, and Longobards, are much lesse to bee feared. Nothing did in olde time more animate strong Tyrants and Gyants to oppresse weaker men, then the huge waight of their Clubs, and of their armes, wherewith *Goliath* had easily quelled *David*, if God had not put in his minde to fight against him with a new kinde of weapon more suteable to his strength. I returne to the purpose, and doe freely professe, that in case of single fights in *England*, the Magistrate doth fauour a wronged stranger, more then one of the same Nation, howsoever the Law fauours neither, and that a stranger so fighting, neede feare no treason, by any disparitie or otherwise. But in the meane time, here & in all places happy are the peaceable. Let me adde one thing of corrupt custome in *England*, that those who are not gowne men, neuer haue the opinion of valour, till in their youth they haue gayned it with some single fight, which done, they shall after liue more free from quarrels: But it were to be wished, that a better way were found to preserue reputation, then this of single fights, aswell contrary to the Law of God, as a capitall crime by the Lawes of men. Theeues in *England* are more common then in any other place, so farre as I haue obserued or heard, but hauing taken purses by the high way, they seldome or neuer kill those they rob. The true man, hauing strength, armes, and courage, may cheerefully resist them, hauing the Lawes, Magistrates, People, and all passengers, together with a good cause on his side: but this is peculiar to the English, that not onely the officers of Iustice, but all priuate men, present or meeting him by chance, are bound to apprehend a murderer, or any theefe, & that the next Constables or vnder officers are bound to pursue them by hue and cry, from Village to Village, and City to City.

And

And howsoeuer the English are for a great part descended of the French, and so partaking with them nature and manners, haue also like customes, more specially in quarrels and single fights, yet in *France* they haue not this custome to pursue and apprehend malefactors. Onely they haue Marshals in seuerall Prouinces, to pursue malefactors with light horses, but otherwise onely the officers of Iustice vse to apprehend them in Cities. And of late, to repress the malice of men after a long ciuill warre, breaking out into single fights and murthers, they haue made seuerall Lawes, and imposed great penalties vpon those that quarrell, especially if any blood be shed, whereas in *England* onely man-slayers are called in capitall question, and small or no punishment is inflicted vpon one that lightly wounds another. For the rest, the French and English haue the same aptnesse to quarrels, and the same brauerie in these single fights.

Also the Scots are therein like the English, saue that the Scots will take parts, and assaile an enemy with disparitie of numbers and armes, wherein also the Northerne English are not at this day fully reformed.

In this kind the Barbarous Irish doe offend in *Ireland*, but the English and Irish-English there haue the customes of the English. And in times of peace few or no theues rob by the high waies of *Ireland*, but the stealths of Cowes, Horses, and Sheepe, are frequent. All I haue said of this subiect is onely to this purpose, that the Traueller being informed of the condition of Iustice, Combats, and Roberies in forraigne parts, may better learne to apply himselfe to patience, and to vse moderation, according to the necessitie & danger more proper to him then others, in diuers places.

24 Being to write of simulation, I am at a stay, and grope for passage, as in a darke Labyrinth: for the voyce of the Vulgar, esteemes the vice of dissimulation proper to a Traueller, and highly doth reproch him therewith. Shall we then say, that hee who knowes so to liue with Italians, Spaniards, and very barbarous Pagans, as he can gaue their well-wishing, will be at home and among his friends subiect to the odious vice of dissimulation, the very plague of true friendship? Surely by trauell, the good become better in all kinds of vertue, and the ill more wicked in all vices. But let the indifferent Iudge tell me, if the greater part of Clownes vnder their rugged cotes, and most Lawyers, and Merchants, vnder the shadow of faire words, and sometimes wicked periuries, haue not more skill to dissemble (if that be to deceiue), then any Traueller whatsoever, not excepting *Plato* himselfe. No doubt simulation in fit place and time is a vertue. He that cannot dissemble, cannot liue. But hee that so dissembles, as he is accounted a dissembler, indeed hath not the skill to dissemble, but is noted with that infamy, so as another shall better bee belieued vpon his word, then hee vpon his oath. *Cicero* commendeth the saying of *Epicharmus*, Remember to distrust, and calles it the signe of wisdom, and the Italians haue a Prouerb,

Da chi mi fido, mi guarda Dio:

Da chi non mi fido, mi guarderò io.

From him I trust God helpe me at my neede;

Of him I trust not, my selfe will take heede.

Antigonus prayes God to defend him from his friends. Let me speake of mine owne experience. My selfe was neuer deceiued by the Italians, whom I suspected, but by a German (which Nation hath a cleare countenance, and generall reputation of honesty), I was at *Lindaw* stripped and cousoned for a time of all the gold I carried about me. Therefore it is a point of art for a Traueller to know how to auoide deceit, and how to dissemble honesty (I meane to saue himselfe, not to deceiue others.) Let him haue a cleare countenance to all men, and an open brest to his friend, but when there is question of his Countries good, of his enemies lying in waite for him, of his owne credit or life, let him shut his bosome close from his inward friends. That Counsell thou wouldest haue another keepe, first keepe it thy selfe. A Traueller must dissemble his long iourneys, yet onely in dangerous places, and among suspected persons. My selfe haue obserued some too warie in this kinde, who in most safe waies, vsed grosse caution, to hide from their neere friend the purpose of their iourney, and sometimes

in Cities would conceale where and what hower they dined and supped. In like sort a traeller must sometimes hide his money, change his habit, dissemble his Country, and fairely conceale his Religion, but this hee must doe onely when necessity forceth. Let mee insist vpon some examples, which are most proper to manifest the truth in a darke argument. My selfe in *Italy* many times passed for a *German*, and then consoorted my selfe with Germans, faithfull companions, as they bee all in generall, haters of drunkennes, as some of them be, either drinking altogether water, or vsing the French diet, and of the same Religion with me, as those are of the Palatinate of *Rhene*, and in some other Prouinces. Then I couenanted with these my consorts, that when any man spake Dutch to me (though I had some skill in that Language, especially for vulgar speeches), and most of all if wee were in any long discourse, one of them should take the answer out of my mouth, as being slow of speech, though it were done somewhat vnmanerly. Secondly, that if I were discovered (in any dangerous place) not to be a German, as I professed, they should say that I was vnknowne to them, and by the way fell into their company, and so withdrawing themselves out of danger by leauing the place, should leaue to me the care of my selfe. And with these consorts I went to *Naples*, and there confidently, though lesse wisely, in respect of the warre betweene *England* and *Spaine*, I entered to view the strong Fort kept by the Spaniards, and after went to *Milan*. Another time vnder the name of a Polonian, I went to the Duke of *Lorraine* his Court at *Nanzi*, where being curiously sifted by the guard at the City-gate, and being asked many questions about the King and Queene and State of *Poland*, I so satisfied them, as they admitted me into the City, but when at the very entrance they bad me hold vp my hand, which ceremony the French vse in taking of othes, I was much affraied, least they should put me to my oath for my Country, but when they had asked me if I came not from any place infected with the plague, and I had answered no vpon my oth, they let me passe into the Citie.

There is great art for a Traeller to conceale his Religion in *Italy* and *Spaine*, with due wisdom and without offending his conscience: for if a man would seeme (as I may say) a Puritan Papist, (which sort they call *picchia petti*, that is, Brest-beaters), there is danger to fall into the suspicion of an Hypocrite. For the Italians well know,

Chi te carezza piu che far' no' suole,

O che gabbato i' ha, O che gabbar' te vuole.

Who more then he was wont doth court and woe,

He hath deceiu'd thee, or faine would so doe.

And they haue often read that of *Tacitus*.

Quo magis ficta sunt quae faciunt, eo plura faciunt.

The more any doe dissemble,

The more to doe they are nimble.

Also the Traeller must beware not to fall into such errors, as I obserued two of my familiar friends (yet in a safe place and free of danger) grossely to fall into. Of which one being a German, and liuing in the State of *Florence*, when hee returned after dinner to his lodging, and his hostesse asked where hee had been, made answer, that hee came from hearing of a Masse, whereas Masses are onely sung in the morning and when the Priests are fasting. The other being an Englishman, and going to *Rome* in a disguised habit, did weare apparrell of so many colours, and so strange fashions, as by the same being most strange and vncomely not onely in the sight of his owne Countrymen, but also of the Italians, he drew the eyes of all Iesuites and Romans vpon him, so as they began to inquire after him, and he hardly escaped thence by speedy flight, and when they pursued him, had fallen into their snares, if he had not been forewarned of his danger by an Italian friend. To these I will adde a third, who being an Englishman and by freedome of speech voluntarily professing himselfe a Frenchman, was discovered by me at that time also disguised, and by chance falling into his company, but hee learning at that time, that nothing was more safe then silence, after-

afterwards escaped dangers, into which otherwise he might easily haue fallen.

My selfe liued in *Italy*, and for the space of one yeere neuer heard a Masse, but daily I went out of my chamber in the morning, as if I had gone to the Masse. At my very first comming into *Italy*, I presently went to *Rome* and *Naples*; and so at my first entrance passed my greatest dangers, that hauing satisfied my curiositie, it perhaps in my returne I should happen to feare any danger, I might more contentedly and speedily escape away. For they who stay at *Padua* some moneths, and after goe to *Rome*, may be sure, that the Iesuites and Priests there, are first by their spies aduertised, not onely of their comming, but also of their condition, and the most manifest signes of their bodies, whereby they may bee knowne. Moreouer, I being at *Rome* in Lent time, it happened, that some few dayes before Easter, a Priest came to our lodging, and tooke our names in writing, to the end (as he told vs) that we might receiue the Sacrament with our Hosts family. Therefore I went from *Rome* vpon Tuseday before Easter, and came to *Sienna* vpon good Friday, and vpon Easter-euen (pretending great busines) tooke my iourney to *Florence*, where I staid onely Easter day, and from thence went to *Pisa*, and before the ende of Easter weeke returned in haste to *Sienna*, where I had a Chamber, which I kept when I was at *Rome*, and where I meant now to abide for a time. Thus by often changing places, I auoyded the Priests inquiring after mee, which is most dangerous about Easter time, when all men receiue the Sacrament. Yet indeede there is lesse danger of the Inquisition in the State of *Florence*, then other where, as there is no danger thereof at all in the State of *Venice* to him that can hold his peace, and behaue himselfe modestly.

One thing I cannot omit; that some few dayes before Easter, when I was ready to come from *Rome*, I aduentured to visit *Bellarmino*, and that in the Iesuites Colledge, professing my selfe to bee a Frenchman, and wearing Italian cloties, and that after their manner, which is a matter of no small moment; for if I had not been wary therein, the craftie spies of *Rome* would easily haue knowne mee by some gesture or fashion of wearing my clothes, which they know to bee proper to the English, as the muffling a mans face with his cloke, or the like. But especially I tooke heede, not to gaze on the Colledge walles, a manifest signe of a stranger, nor to looke stedfastly in the face of any Englishman chancing to meete mee, whereof some were like to haue knowne mee in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, least by such beholding of them, I might draw their eyes to looke earnestly on mee, for one looke inuites another. And with these cautions, I did happily satisfie this my curiositie. Also vpon good iudgement I made my selfe knowite to Cardinall *Allan*, when I first came from *Naples* to *Rome*, and when hee had promised mee his protection, holding my peace, and abstaining from publike offence, I rested thereupon for the worst euent, yet withall, to auoide the conuersation and familiaritie of Priests and Englishmen, yea euen of those that were of the Cardinals family, I first left the common Inne, then changed my hired chamber, taking another in a poore house close vnder the Popes Pallace, as a place least like to be searched.

I doe not commend the curiositie to be present at seeing the rites of a contrary Religion, which was the death of two young men, and gaue occasion to the first Macedonian warre, the people of *Rome* assisting the murtherers, and the King of *Macedonia* desiring to reuenge the death of the two young men. In former times, and now to this day, the Turkes vse to sling stones at the Christians (whom they call vnwalhed dogs, because they vse not Baths) when they come neere to their Moschees or their Sepulchers. The Papists doe no lesse persecutethe Reformed Church with fier and sword. And howsoeuer one of the Reformed profession may liue in *Italy*, and yet neuer communicate with them in their rites, by the foresaid governing of the tongue, by going out of his chamber each morning, as if hee went to Masse (for the Italians generally thinke they are not safe till in the morning they haue worshipped the Hostia at the eleuation thereof, which their deuotion is done in a moment), and by changing places of abode, with like discrete carriage, yet since it is dange-

rous to see their rites, yea, perhaps sinfull, why should he not reſtraine his curioſity to heare their Maſſes, & ſee their ceremonies, eſpecially all the monuments of the Churches being to be ſcene at another time of the day. But if any will needs be preſent at their Maſſes, either to pleaſe his companions, or for his owne pleaſure, as going to ſee a ſtage-play, or for curioſitie, wherewith many are led. Of two evils he muſt chuſe the leaſt, namely, rather to ſigne himſelfe with the croſſe, or negligently to make offer, as if he dipped his hand (or his gloue vpon it, as their manner is) into the holy water-Box, rather then by omitting theſe common ceremonies, to fall into ſuſpicion, and being called into queſtion, either be driuen to denie his Religion vnder his hand writing, or be burned with fier.

Let them ſtay at home who are ſo zealous, as they will pull the *Hoſtia* or Sacrament out of the Prieſts hand. They ſhould doe better to auoide the adoring thereof, by ſlipping out of the way, or reſtraining their curious walks: for inordinate deſire of Martyrdome is not approueable, for the auoiding whereof and all ſnares, we are bid- den ioyn the Serpents wiſdome to the Doves ſimplicity. Saint *Paul* was not ſo furious, for he did not caſt downe the Altars in *Athens*, but taking occaſion by the Altar which *Epimenides* erected in the time of a plague to an vnknowne God, he preached Chriſt peaceably vnto them, though he were an Apoſtle, and ſo had greater authoritie then the blind zealous of our time. For my part, I know no reaſon, why one of the reformed Church may not ſay his prayers in the Churches of Papists, and I know the greater part of the Maſſe (I meane the Diuine Office) is good, but the chiefe miſchiefe is the adoration or communication of the *Hoſtia*. *Iſmenius* an Ambaſſadour of the Thebans being willed to adore the Perſian King, let fall his Ring from his finger, and taking it vp, made a ſhew to adore the King, yet was not iudged to haue offended againſt the Freedome of the Greeke Nation.

The Papists at the tinckling of a little Bell, liſt vp the conſecrated Bread, to bee adored for the true body of Chriſt, at which time all that are preſent fall on their knees, and mumble a ſhort prayer, and onely the more deuout ſtrike their breſts, but all Papists beleue Chriſt to bee there corporally preſent. No doubt they erre in that thought, but the queſtion is of the outward reuerence exhibited, how farre that may offend the conſcience of the ſtranger, who otherwiſe knowes the truth of that point, and beleues it.

The Lutherans, though they doe not beleue tranſubſtantiation, yet they beleue Conſubſtantiation, which is a corporall preſence, yet I neither reade nor heare any follower of *Caluins* doctrine, who hath poſitiuely forbidden one of their profeſſion and liuing among Lutherans, to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments with them, if he may not with his owne, and am ſure that with common conſent they confeſſe, the Lutherans to haue true Sacraments. *William Perkins* a late Writer of ſingular learning and piety, doth teach, that the preaching of the Word, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, differ not in ſubſtance, and that the Word preached by Hereticks is the true Word of God, as their Sacraments alſo are true. He teacheth, that the Pharifees, though in part hereticks, and Apoſtataes, yet by Chriſts command were to be heard, as ſitting in the chaire of *Moses*, ſo men tooke heed of their falſe doctrine. He concludes, that the Word hath his power among hereticks. Then ſo haue the Sacraments, which himſelfe ſaith doe not differ in ſubſtance from the Word? Hee teacheth, that ſome of the Leuits were Heretikes, and did teach after a ſort the breach of the Morall Law, and beleued Iuſtification by workes, and yet that the Circumciſion adminiſtered by them was true. He teacheth that *Judas* was an hypocrite, and was called a diuell by Chriſt, yet that hee truly preached and baptized. From all which points he collecteth, that Infants are not to be rebaptiſed, becauſe the Sacraments are true, the right forme being vſed, which are adminiſtered by Papists. Laſtly, hee concludes, that howſoeuer the Church of *Rome* is no true Church, yet it hath true Sacraments, becauſe in that Church the true Church is, though it lie hidden, to which theſe Sacraments onely belong. Yet he denies that it followes thereupon, that it is lawfull to communicate the Supper of the Lord with Papists. I will onely adde one poſition more

more of this godly man, in another discourse of his, namely, that in the externall worship of God, the particular gestures are not prescribed by the word of God, so they be done decently and modestly, according to the laudable customes of each Church, either standing, sitting, kneeling, or lying prostrate.

Some may inferre from this discourse, and the last positions thereof. That the Gods of the Gentiles are Idols to Papists, Protestants, and to all Men, but howsoever the Papists Hostia is an Idol to them, who thinke erroneously of it, yet of it selfe and to others rightly iudging of it, that it is a true Sacrament, and so is to haue due reuerence, according to the custome of the Church wherein a man doth liue. That in like sort a Papist praying before the Images of Christ or of the Apostles, doth sinne, because he bends his knee to them, and thinke them to be worshipped, but that if another abhorring from such idolatry, should pray in a chamber or Church where such Pictures are, and should kneele before them, yet he should not sinne, hauing no mind to worship them, or kneele to them. That God will be worshipped with holinesse, not with faction: That some honest kind of dissembling Religion (within due limits) is tollerable; yea, that the outward gesture and reuerence used in the Churches of Papists, euen to the Sacrament eleuated, is if not lawfull, yet not impious.

For my part, God is my witnesse, that I abhorre from denying my Faith, or my blessed Sauour in any point of my Faith, and would not for a World employ my tongue or pen to giue encouragement to any wickednesse, yet not to leaue the consciences of such as sojourne among forraigne Papists altogether vpon the Racke, giue me leaue to say: That the former positions being granted, I cannot but thinke that there is great difference, betweene those who superstitiously worship one true God in three Persons, (which Article of the Trinity cannot be denied to be held by Papists), and the Heathen Idolators worshipping imaginary Gods, yea very Diuels. That we are not tied to write our Faith in our foreheads, and thrust our selues into the hands of Inquisitors, but may with godly wisdom auoide their snares. Yea, that I cannot condemne the bare kneeling and prauing, or outward reuerence in the Churches of Papists, as simply impious, no other circumstances concurring to aggrauate such actions, especially they being done in forraigne parts, where no offence is giuen to weake brethren, (which the Apostle 1 Cor. 8. 13, bids vs auoide); but rather the offence of those is auoided, who are Christians, howsoever superstitious. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because none of our Teachers haue (to my knowledge) euer dogmatically forbidden vs to heare a Papists Sermon, at which if wee may be present without sinne, no doubt we may not without sinne omit the reuerence in our gestures due to the word of God from the Chaire of *Moses*, howsoever spoken by the mouth of Pharyses: But for the maine question of hearing a Masse, of adoring the Hostia therein, and of communicating that Sacrament with them, I must confesse. That I hold the hearing of a Masse, being alwayes ioined with kneeling to the Hostia, to be questionlesse a sinne, which the godly must bewaile, who by curiosity or any vaine affection haue beene seduced thereunto, because thereby they haue communicated in prayers to Saints, without precept or promise, and so without faith; and haue further exhibited the reuerence of kneeling to the Hostia, which howsoever it is due to God at the receiuing of the Sacrament, yet to beholders onely of the eleuation, where the Priest onely receiues it, no pretence is left for such outward reuerence or worship. Also I must confesse, that whatsoever may be concluded out of the former and like positions to proue that the Papists haue a true Sacrament of Baptisme, yet in the Lords Supper they want the true forme required by Master *Perkins* to make a true Sacrament, and in my opinion this one thing alone, makes it most vnlawfull for vs to communicate the Lords Supper with them, namely, that they mangle it and make it lame, by giuing it only in one kind of bread, without the other kind of wine, contrary to the institution. And so much may suffice for this kind of simulation.

Moreouer I aduise no man to beleue that, which some by wofull experience haue of late found most false, namely, that men of any Religion may freely come to *Rome* in the yeere of Iubily: For the priuiledge of that yeere belongs to men banished and indebted, not to Heretikes, (as they terme vs); In summe they who feare God from

their hearts, who see before their eyes the misery of them that are infected with the French disease, and who know the chaste pleasures of marriage, they may with honest dissembling and little art keepe their chastity in *Italy*, where a stranger is not lesse esteemed for not being vicious in that kind, as they commonly are, so he be not an austere and bitter reprover thereof to those with whom he liueth: yea, rather he shall auoide many dangers by not being riual to any of them in their loue. In like sort, when hee liues in other Countries, nothing is more easie, then by honest dissimulation to auoide the communicating with them in the proper vices of the Countrey, onely the Germans are like fier, which conuerteth all into his owne element, for singular art must be vsed by him, that will preserue himselfe from drunkenness among them: And let no man wonder that I say it is easie to preserue chastity in *Italy*, and most hard to be sober in *Germany*, since the first is a solitary vice, and hates the riual, but the second is communicatiue, and requires the emulation of companions, wherein they strue for victorie as in games for the wager. Of the art to shunne drinking, I shall treat in the following Chapter of the Germans diet, by which it will appeare that some dissimulation is honest and vertuous, the vice whereof is to be auoyded both at home and abroad, and cannot iustly be imputed to a Traueller of this kinde. To conclude, he that will safely liue abroad, and so returne home, must carry himselfe wisely and warily, so shall he not onely auoide vices, without the blot of rude austerity, and shall without danger both conuerse with Papists and euen be present at their rites, if hee be so affected, but also with *Whiffes* shall haue the skill, euen to steale away the Image of *Pallas* from the Troyans his enemies, without feare of surprisall.

25 It remaines that to a Traueller returning home with experience, I should not giue precepts, as to a nouice, but friendly admonitions, as to a fellow Souldier. First his discourse must not be generally and continually in dispraise of other Nations: for so he shall bewray want of iudgement, except he adde some good reason for all generall and seuerall imputations: Thus the Italians erre, who comming into *England*, and seeing the familiar conuersation of our Weomen, doe reputethem for Harlots, who are much chaster then their Weomen would be, hauing like liberty as ours haue. Thus strangers may easily iudge amisse, of the weomen in *Freeeland* giuing kisses to each man to whom they drinke, and taking kisses of each whom they pledge. As also of the Virgins in *Holland*, who hand in hand with young men, slide vpon the yce farre from their Fathers house, and there lodge in a strange Towne or Village: for these old customes of particular places, are no certaine signes of vnchastity. The Italian *Sansouinus* grossely erreth in this kinde, being otherwise a man of great wit and iudgement, who affirms that Parents in *England* take the pillowes from the heads of their children ready to die, out of tender pity and charity, to put them out of their paine; because perhaps hee heard that some weomen, hired to keepe some that were sicke of contagious diseases, and therefore sent with them into solitary places, had sometimes committed this notable villany. What could he haue said more? if he had liued among the Indians, who eate their Parents, that the wormes may not eate them I haue heard some complaine of *England*, for the deare rates of diet, and for the peoples inhumanity to strangers, because they had beene ill vsed at *Grauesend*, (where the very English are rudely and ill serued), and by some obscure Hosts of *London*, who vse to entertaine and wrong strangers, hauing otherwise neuer visited the Citizens of *London*, the Schollers of the Vniuersities, Gentlemen, or learned men, nor hauing euer gone further then *London* into the Countrey, which if they had done; they should haue found these men, and the very Countrey people not onely curteous, but too much giuen to admire strangers, so they could make themselves vnderstood, or had with them a guide skilful of the language & fashions. Others I haue heard speake very ill of *Italy*, whereas there is no Countrey in the World more commodious, to him (as they say) *Chi sa far i fatti suoi*, that is, who knowes to doe his owne businesse: We betray our ignorance or our selfe loue, when wee dispraise forraigne things without true iudgement, or preferre our owne Countrey before others, without shewing good reason thereof.

They

They erre no lesse, who like critickes or the Poet *Aristarchus*, omitting the vertues of other Nations, discourse onely of all their vices. Againe, it is no lesse vnit to praise forraigne things without good iudgement, as I haue heard some, beyond measure extoll the bridge of *Prage* in *Bohemia*, the monuments of *Saint Dennis* in *France*, and poore antiquities of *Rome*. This argues a vulgar man, since the vulgar praise small things, admire meane things, and haue altogether no feeling or apprehension of great things.

28. Also I admonish him, after his returne home, to renew his old friendships: and as Souldiers in a good Common-wealth, when the warre is ended, returne to the works of their calling, (like the followers of *Mercury*, as well as of *Mars*), so that he returning home, lay aside the spoone and forke of *Italy*, the affected gestures of *France*, and all strange apparrell, yea, euen those manners which with good iudgement he allowes, if they be disagreeable to his Countrey-men: For we are not all borne reformers of the World. Dancing teacheth good carriage of the body, yet we must not alwayes dance; so diuers strange manners teach vs good behauiour, yet we must not vse inconsistency of manners: Thou didst wisely forbear abroad to offend strangers, with whom thou didst liue but from day to day, either with thy apparrell or diet, or austerity of thy Countrey manners, and why shouldest not thou much more forbear, at home to offend thy own Countrymen, with whom thou art to spend al the rest of thy life, or prouoke them to scoffe at thee for the foresaid vanities disagreeable to them. *Alexander* the Great himselfe, though he were a most powerfull King, and most gracious in his Subiects loue, could not vse the Persians apparrell and fashions, whom hee had ouercome, without the great offence and repining of his Macedonians.

Many at the first sight may iudge me to erre, in that I perswade the Traueller, when he returneth home, not to vse those manners which in good iudgement hee allowes, in case they be not approued, and vsed by his Countrey-men: But this is good in my iudgement, for confirmation whereof I will onely yeeld one example. The Italian being a great and somewhat viciously curious obseruer of ceremonious complements, when hee hath saluted one, and begunne to entertaine him with speech, if he chance to espy another man, with whom he hath very great businesse, yet will hee not leaue the first man without a solemne excuse: But an Englishman discoursing with any man, (I meane in the house or any chamber of Presence, not in the streetes), if hee spy another man with whom hee hath serious occasion to speake, will suddenly without any excuse turne from the first man, and goe to conferre with the other, and with like negligence will leaue and take new men for discourse, which an Italian would take in ill part, as an argument of disrespect. This fashion, and the like curiosities, I would haue an Englishman to leaue when hee returnes out of *Italy*, as tasting of affected nicenesse, and not in vse: Except hee bee of such place, authority, and grace at home, as he may haue confidence to bring any good forraigne custome or manner into vse and fashion in his owne Countrey: for wee seldome commend or follow any man of meane sort, taking vpon him to bring in new words into our language, or new manners into practice, or clothes into wearing: And except hee shall leaue the foresaid curiosities, his company is like to be shunned, as of a nice obseruer of mens actions and manners, and most men will thinke that he doth not so much out of iudgement allow forraigne things, as out of pride dispise his owne.

Yet I doe not giue this admonition so much, that he may not offend others, as that he may not be offended himselfe by others: For I will be bold to maintaine this position against the vulgar opinion, namely, that sharpe sences, subtile wits, curious behauiour, and like nice properties, fauouring of either extreme, are to be accounted among the owners calamities, and that a certaine dulnesse (in some meane, not in extremity) doth giue the owner great ease and quietnesse. For since all the objects of humane life, are more often accompanied with noysomenesse, then pleasure, it comes to passe, that he who hath a quicke smell, is troubled with more stinkes, then hee is refreshed with sweet odours, that an eye offended with any the least errour in building; with the very household stuffe neuer so little disposed out of order, with negligent attire,

tire, (though it be not slovenly or sluttish), and with like vnpleasing sights, is more often offended, and sometimes redeemes the pleasing of his eye with extraordinary charge to the purse: That one of a nice taste, finding few things that like his appetite, seldome is pleased with any meat, Cooke or Host, while in the meane time they who haue more dull senses, vse many things with pleasure, and are more rarely offended; That a subtil wit, by all arguments and meanes enlarging each il accident, makes them seeme vnsupportable, and therewith is driuen into phrensie, whiles other men of more dull apprehension; though indeed they be oppressed with worse fortunes, yet being not able to search the bottom of their distasters, by blockish obliuion giue their soules much rest: For discussing hereof, out of one particular learne to resolue of all. As honour is not in him that receiues it, but in him that giues it, so loue is not the excellency of the party beloued, but the fancy of the louer. Hence it comes, that witty men wound themselves with the edge of their owne wit, while in the meane time they snort in sound sleepe, which are more dull then that loue or like fancies can disturbe their rest: yea, since selfe loue is the very roote of loue, this blind loue of all that our selues doe or thinke, makes the Ouidian enamoured persons faine in their winding imaginations a gracefull comelinesse in meere deformity, as they who see an Æthiopian Woman blacke, yet loue her vpon the concept of her white teeth and soft skin, and so they repute their Mistresse much fairer and more vertuous then indeed shee is, and the more they feed and nourish these fictions of their owne braine, the more they loue her for them, euen to desperate madnesse and meere Idolatry, while in the meane time the duller louers more trusting to their eyes, then to their wits, cannot find out these subtil arguments to deceiue themselves, and so make them loue a blacke More, a squint-eyed, lame, or deformed Mistresse. Hence it is also, that howsoeuer there is but one true beauty, yet diuers fancies find seuerall beauties in each complexion, or rather imagine them such to please their owne fancies.

To conclude, hence it is, that he who at home ties himselfe to the curious manners of *Italy*, and finds that others obserue not the like towards him, is often enraged, as if he were disrespected, and so takes euery thing for an iniury, being distracted with these falsly conceiued offences, which are taken by him, but not giuen by them who obserue not the same nice rules of behauiour as he doth: And my selfe, though neuer very ceremonious, speake this of experience, which hath confirmed my iudgement; that a Traueller must cast away all customes smelling of vnpleasing curiosity, and howsoeuer hee doth well to obserue curiously all forraigne customes and ceremonies, thereby to enrich his knowledge and confirme his iudgement, yet hee must vse them sparingly in his conuersation at home.

27 Lastly, I aduise him, that after his returne, he sparingly & not without intreaty, relate his iourneys and obseruations. Such must a Traueller be, as may be hired with a crust of bread to hold his peace or to speake: how little then doth it become him to be so talkatiue, as he would hier one to heare him? My selfe haue heard many, who had scarce seene the Lyons of the Tower, and the Beares of Parish-Garden, (as I may well say in comparison of their small iourneys and experience with other mens), so ingrosse all the talke of the Table in relating their aduentures, as if they had passed the pillars of *Hercules*: nothing could be asked which they could not resolue of their owne kuowledge, hauing well learned the precept of *Ouid* to Louers:

Et quæ nescieris ut bene nota refer;

What thou know'st not, boldly relate, as if thou knew'st thereof the state.

And this they did with great applause of the ignorant, and no lesse derision of experienced men, who in their discourse had often found them lyers, and well knew that as many hastning out at one gate, passe more slowly, so vessels full of good liquor, sound not so much as the emptie, and they who vnderstand much, are not so free in imparting it. And these be the men who haue branded Trauellers with the tytle of Lyers, but a wise man ought to distinguish such sponges, from praise-worthie Trauellers. For in all arts, professions, and courses of life, some take vpon them the skill and facultie of the best, who are commonly most ignorant and impotent therein, and

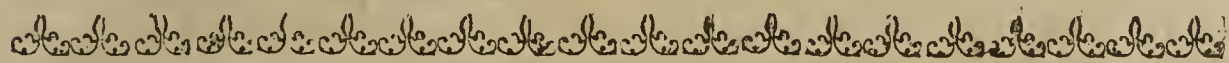
and it were great iniustice to ascribe the weakenesse of the one, to any defect in the other, or in the art and course it selfe. Therefore,

Nauita de ventis, de Tauris narret Arator.

Let Marriners of the winds force,

And Plowmen of their Bulls discourse.

but I would haue a Traueller after his returne (like an Orator or Poet) so well instructed in all subjects of discourse, as nothing should be altogether strange to him, yet so discrete also, as hee should not but vpon some faire occasion speake of those things; whereof he could discourse most eloquently and iudicially. And since stale Harlots by this art make their putrified wares saleable, how much more shall Trauellers, whose discourse more pleaseth in the stomach then in the mouth, make the very stones and insensible creatures to daunce and hang vpon their mouthes, as they are said to haue been moued by the eloquence and musick of *Vlysses* and *Orpheus*.



CHAP. III.

Of the opinions of old Writers, and some Prouerbs which I obserued in strange parts by reading or discourse, to be vsed either of Trauellers themselves, or of diuers Nations and Prouinces.



LD Writers affirme, that the Northerne men, in respect *Voracity* of their heate kept in by the cold, are generally greater eaters then Southerne men. Thus they proue it; Because all men haue a better stomacke in Winter then in Summer, because Northerne men passing towards the South, daily leese their appetite; and because both men and beasts of the South are more leane, then those of the North. This opinion is of it selfe true, but the arguments for prooffe admit some exceptions; for the Turkes towards the South be fatter generally, then our men of the

North, not that they eat more, but that they are Eunuches, and giuen to idlenesse, I say therefore, that the opinion is generally true, but by many accidents proues false, namely, in places which suffer not the extremity of cold in the North, or of heate in the South, and comparing barren Pastures in the North, with fertile pastures in the South, and vpon like accidents, hindring the true effects.

The fortitude of the minde, and the strength of the body for the same reason *Fortitude and Strength* they attribute to Northerne men, and shew by Histories that hereupon they were euer Conquerours, as the Medes against the Assirians, the Assirians against the Chaldeans, the Greekes against the Persians, the Parthians against the Greekes, the Romans against the Carthaginians, the Gothes against the Romans, the Turkes against the Arabians, the Tartars against the Turkes, the English against the French, euen in *France*, though the French called in by the English could neuer conquer them.

Lastly, they conclude that the Scythians are most valiant, and the best Souldiers of the World: The truth is, that the Romans were ouerrunne by barbarous people of the North, yet not for their want of valour, but by their dissention, and the vastnesse of their Empire, falling with his owne weight: yet the same Romans subdued, and long held in subiection many Nations of the North, as *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Britanny*. And no doubt the hope of spoile, not valour or strength, made the barbarous people ouerrunne the Romans, who might haue beene quiet from them if they had been poore. No man will fish with a golden hooke for a halfe penny fish. Againe, the riches of the Romans, made them effeminate, which likewise encouraged the barbarous people to assaile them.

But it were fitter to say, that wisdom and wit, rather then heate or cold, make men

to be valiant. For no man contemnes death, or hath due respect of honour but hee, with whom reason preuailes more then nature. Nature hath his force, as the Eagle begets not a Dove, but reason, rather then nature, is the cause, that when common Souldiers runne away, yet Gentlemen chuse rather to dye, then escape by flight. Not so much because they are borne of a Noble race, as because they will not be reproach to themselves, and their race. Not because Gentlemen dye with lesse paine then the common sort, but because they better vnderstand that the soule is immortall, that he dies in a good cause who fights for his Country, and that an honorable death is to be preferred before a disgracefull life. In all great Empires, valour and learning flourished together, and decayed together, with the ruines of the Empires following their decay: as in those of the Assyrians, Persians, Medes, and the Empires more knowne to vs by Histories, of the Greekes, and Romanes. Therefore howsoeuer strength, and an innated boldnesse, are propagated, and come by Nature, yet true fortitude is not found in the North, nor in the South, nor proceedes from nature, but where learning flourisheth, and cowardise is reputed basenesse, and where the word of God teaching the immortality of the soule, and the vanities of mortall life, most raigneth, there men are most valiant.

*Wit and
wisdom.*

Also they affirme, that the Southerne men are more wittie, and more wise, then Northerne, because the barbarous Gothes and Northerne people, when they got great victories, yet could not make true vse of them, but lost Provinces for want of wit and wisdom, in as short a time, as they got them by their valour and strength.

Surely variable fortune did exercise and tossie part of the Gothes, and vaudales, yet other part of the Gothes, and the Longobards, subdued the plaine Country of Italy, and there setled a long lasting Kingdome, calling it Lombardie. And though *Hannibal* were a Southerne man, yet of him, after the field woone by him at *Canna*, it was first said. *Hannibal* thou knowest how to ouercome, but thou knowest not how to make vse of thy victorie. Besides that wit and wisdom cannot generally be thus ioyned in one subiect, except we will graunt that women commonly most wittie, are also commonly most wise. There is a mediocrity required in wisdom. *Noli altum sapere.* Be not too wise, euen as *Salomon* aduiseeth not to be too iust, (meaning in outward appearance, for the inward man cannot be too iust.) But mediocrity (perhaps) will be iudged rather to be found in the inhabitants of the worlds middle regions. Againe, howsoeuer wee may graunt, that the Italians, in the founding of their Empire, by valiant acts and learned writings, left notable marks and evidences of their wisdom, yet in our age they may (perhaps) be preferred to others, for some indowments of Nature, but must yeeld the preheminance of valour and learning to some other Nations. The vaine wisdom of man tires it selfe in vaine, while it attributes so many and so great changes in the world, to this or that Clime, or Starre, or any naturall cause, rather then to looke backe to the first mouer of all humane things, and acknowledge his finger in the disposing of them.

Crueltie.

They affirme that the Northerne people are most cruell, and *Tacitus* accuseth the Germanes, Transiluanians, and olde Brittaines, of cruelty. *Bodine* disputes wittily against this opinion, first because fat men, as the Northerne, are better men then those who are leane, as the Southerne men be, and he calls *Cesar* to witnesse, who was not afraid of the fat men, *Anthony*, and *Dolabella*, but of the leane men, *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

In my opinion, fat men, whose heate is decayed, are thereby lesse bold for any great enterprise. Onely I admire *Luther*, who alone, and weake, did wonderfully oppose himselfe to the great multitude of Papists, and power of the Popes. But I remember that *Melancton*, a leane man, and skilfull in the Greeke & Hebrew tongues, and vniuersally learned, did assist him, yea the Germanes say that *Melancton* was more learned, and *Luther* more bold. So as, according to the course of the world, it is likely, that *Melancton* did much in that great worke, whereof *Luther* bare the name. Besides that we must attribute the happy and wonderfull reformation of Religion, to higher causes then those vnder the Moone, namely, not to the naturall heate of men,

men, but to the boldnesse proceeding from the diuine heat of the holy spirit.

Bodine affirms, that Northerne men, because they are fat, are lesse prone to the extremities of good or euill, and so concludes them to be lesse cruell, which he shewes by examples, in that the Carthaginians, and other people of the South, vsed to pull out eyes, to pull off the skinne, to burne with a slow fier, and to impale or set vpon stakes, and to vse like cruelties towards condemned men, and that those of *America*, vse to smeare their children with the blood of their enemies: whereas on the contrary, the Romans were mercifull, first beheading condemned men, then by the law of *Porcius*, forbidding Citizens to be beaten with rods, after punishing by staruing, & by banishment. In my opinion he might haue added the lenity of the Britans, being more northward, where the greatest offences are punished with hanging, except treason, for which drawing and quartering are added, yet the severity thereof is commonly mitigated, by letting them hang till they be dead. *Bodine* addes, that Northerne men did alwaies assaile with open force, and were soone pacified, whereas Southerne men assailed with Fox-like craft, and were cruell to those that submitted to them: But in the end, while he confesseth, that the Germans being Northern, break the bones of condemned men vpon the wheele; and that the Greekes being southerly, put to death by poyson of the Hemlocke, and that in *Chios* they mingle water to make them die without paine; by these contradictions he rather obscures then illustrates that which he would proue.

For my part, while I consider these and like examples, so contrary in both kindes, together with the great changes of the World in diuers times, so as they, who in one age were cruell, become in another age mercifull. While I consider the old integrity of the Romans, when they reproched the Carthaginians to be breakers of faith, and find them after to become greater breakers thereof, concluding that no faith is to be kept with Heretikes, with which note they brand any enemy at pleasure, and bringing in diuellish equiuocation, the plague of integrity, which takes away all faith among men; and lastly, prouing these things not with words, but with fier and sword. Vpon these considerations, I am induced to conclude, not onely for cruelty, but for all vices and vertues: That Southerne men, as more witty, if they be good, proue best, if ill, proue worst, and that the degrees of good or ill, proceed not from wit, but from the application of it to good or ill. Therefore not the North, nor the South, but Phylosophicall precepts, godly lawes, and the knowledge of Gods word, or otherwise the wants thereof, make men good or ill, and where knowledge, religion, and good lawes flourish, there vertues are practised, but among barbarous and superstitious people, liuing in Cimerian darkenesse, all vices haue euer, and will for euer flourish. *Abraham* conceiued iust feare lest for his *Wives* beauty he should suffer violence and death, onely because the feare of God was not in those places where he sojourned: for this feare of God in himselfe mercifull, and so commanding his children to be mercifull, doth restraine the most fierce natures from offering any wrong to their neighbours. Also Phylosophy did keepe the very Heathen within limits of honesty and Iustice, which as the Poet saith;

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus;

Doth soften manners with remorse,

And keeps them from a furious course.

In like sort old Writers affirme, that Northern men are most perfidious: but nothing is more easie then in all sorts of men to find examples of perfidiousnes. *Hircius* witnesseth that the old Egyptians were naturally most perfidious, yet are they most southerly. In like sort, the Southerne Carthaginians were of old most infamous for treacherous acts. On the contrary, many Histories taxe northerne men, for breaking leagues: Also the Northerne Gothes & Southerne Spaniards, objected mutuall breaches of faith one to the other. Therefore (as I said) knowledge and religion are the causes of all vertues, as ignorance and atheisme or superstition, are the causes of all vices, neither are these causes hereditary to any clime or nation, but are dispersed through the world by supernal distribution diuersly at diuers times.

They write that Southerne men are rather sparing and frugall then couetous, and that Northerne men are prodigall and giuen to rapine, but the Egyptian Cleopatra passed the Romans and all others in luxury: And at this day nothing can be added

H h h

Couetousnes and prodigality.

to

to the rapacitie and couetousnesse of the Turks, and more specially of those most towards the South, daily exercised both against Christians and among themselves. And this seemes to be attributed to their corrupt and tyrannicall forme of government, and to their ignorance of Religion, as also of liberall and manuell Arts, not to the situation of the Prouinces. I confesse that in generall Southerne men are now more frugall in diet and apparrell then Northerne. But the Iewes and Southerne men are and euer haue beene great vsurers, extortioners, and amassers of treasure, so as they must also be reputed couetous. And as the Italians are most frugall, so haue the Romanes in their riches beene monsters for Luxurie. So as the clime cannot be the cause. But indeede riches are cause of Pride and Luxurie, as the examples of all times and nations doe teach. And the same riches are cause of couetousnesse, according to the Poet. *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, As money growes so groweth auarice. Prodigality at this day, not for the climes sake but for some other causes, may iustly be imputed to Northerne men, yet this vice dispersing treasure vitiously, is not so great a vice as that of rapine and couetousnesse, hiding those treasures, and burying them from vse.

Iealousie.

Olde Writers taxe Southerne men most for Iealousie. No doubt the most sharpe sights are sometimes dimmed, and so for what cause so euer, it must be confessed, that the sharpe witted Southerne men are to this day madly iealous, alwayes tormenting themselves with this restless passion, and vsing their wiues like slaues, yet no whit more freed thereby from fatall hornes, though to preserve their wiues chastitie they permit the Stewes, and that because they liue among men, who no lesse vex themselves in finding meanes to enioy these forbidden Lones, then the other are vexed in the courses to preuent their enioying thereof, and because their wiues so watched, thinke themselves to bewray simplicitie and ignorant folly, if they omit any occasion of offending this way, though it were with neuer so base a man.

Suspition.

Having taxed the wittie Southerne men with iealousie, yet they in generall conclude, that Northerne men are most suspitious, and that vpon a contrary cause, namely the defect of wit. No doubt they who are most guilty of their owne defects, take in worst part the whisperings & priuate laughters of those that are in their company. Yea I wil say of experience, that I found the Italians nothing nice to shew their strong Forts to me and other strangers, and that in Northerne parts the same were not to be seene by strangers, or at least with great difficulty. By which and like arguments easie to be brought, I am induced to thinke that want of true iudgement is the cause of suspition, but not the sole nor yet the chiefe cause thereof. To omit many other causes, sometimes an ill conscience makes men suspitious, as we reade that our tyrant *Richard* the third, vpon the least shadow or shaking of a leafe, had his hand vpon his dagger. Again the best and wisest men are iustly suspitious, when they liue among wicked men, or haue necessarie affaires with them. Therefore let Southerne men consider, whether they vse not more to wound their owne consciences with guiltinesse of wicked deedes, then Northerne men vse to doe, and whether they be not more iustly to be accused of treacheries, poysonings, and like high crimes, then the other. For no doubt the iealous Southerne men by guiltinesse of these crimes in spite of their wit and wisdom, shall become in all kinds most suspitious.

Madnesse.

Olde Writers affirme, that Southerne men are more prone to madnesse then the Northerne, and they report that infinite numbers of mad men are found in *Affrique*, where many Almes-houses are built onely to receiue the sicke of this kinde, and that the South parts of *Spayne* doe abound with distracted men. And this is agreeable to nature, and the Rules of naturall Philosophie. For howsoeuer the situation of places cannot properly be the cause of any vertue or vice, yet it is probable, that it may cause diseases or health.

Venerie.

Bodine against the iudgement of *Hipocrates*, proueth that Northerne men are more venereous then Southerne. First, because our bodies haue greater inward heate in Winter then in Sommer, and so in Winter are more apt for the act of generation, the same reason being of a Northerne and Southerne bodie, as of Winter and Sommer. I should thinke that the hot and dry Southerne men are most prone

to venery, but that the colde and moist Northerne Men are most potent therein.

Againe *Aristotle* saith, that they who ride most, are most venerious, which *Bodine* also objecteth against *Hipocrates*, who falsely holds that the Northerne mens riding makes them lesse fruitfull in generation. It is most certaine by our and all mens experience, that great part of *Asia*, and especially the Southerne Prouinces, lie at this day waste or little inhabited, though Poligamy be permitted among them, (I meane the hauing of many wiues for one man), and that all Europe on the contrary is wonderfully populous, and especially in the most Northerne parts, though no man hath more then one wife allowed him: By this one argument it is most manifest that the Northerne men are most potent for generation; And it is no lesse manifest that Southerne men haue more desire, by the multitude of their wiues, their libidinous vsing the loue of boyes, and all mens consent so generall, as it needs no further prooffe: yea, men of experience say, that Northerne men only traueilling towards the South, are more and more troubled with this restless desire.

Bodine disputes that Southerne men are longer liued then Northerne, (contrary to the opinion of *Pliny*): First because Elephants, who (as *Aristotle* saith) haue the longest liues of all other, are onely found in the South. I remember that the Turkes at this day repute them old weomen, or past the age of loue, who are come to the age of 25 yeeres; and that my selfe did see few or no men in *Asia*, who had gray beards, and if any had grey hayres, it was not for the number of their yeeres, but because they grow old sooner then Northerne men. I cannot so well speake of other Nations, where I liued a short time, and as a stranger; but I remember, that in *Benerly* a Towne of *Holdernes* in *England*, there liued in our age one *Iemings* a Carpenter, whom the men of those parts report, to haue liued 120 yeeres, and that he married a young woman some few yeeres before his death. by whom (being of good fame) he had foure children, and that his eldest sonne by his first wife, then liuing, was 100 yeeres old, or thereabouts, but was so decrepite, as he was rather taken for the father then the sonne. And lest I should seeme by one Swallow to make summer, as the Prouerbe is, the men of *Hereford-shire* can witnes, that such examples are not rare in *England*, where in the raigne of King *James*, they made a morris-dance of fifteene persons, all borne in the same County, or within the compasse of 24 miles, who made 1500 yeeres betweene them, some being little lesse then 100 yeers old, and some faire passing that age. Many such examples are not wanting in *England* and *Ireland*, to proue that Northerne men are longest liued. My selfe haue knowne some, and haue credibly heard of many more weomen, of one 100 yeers age, in these Kingdomes. The Irish report, and will sweare it, that towards the West they haue an Iland, wherein the Inhabitants liue so long, as when they are weary and burthened with life, their children in charity bring them to die vpon the shoare of *Ireland*, as if their Iland would not permit them to die. In our time the Irish Countesse of *Desmond*, liued to the age of about 140 yeeres, being able to goe on foote foure or fife miles to the Market Towne, and vsing weekly so to doe in her last yeeres, and not many yeeres before shee died, shee had all her teeth renewed. Againe, *Bodine* may best be confuted with his owne argument: for as he saith that Surtherne men are longest liued, so he confesseth that they are most giuen to venery, whereas they that are like the Cocke Sparrow, cannot be long liued: And whereas old writers affirme that the Inhabitants of the middle regions are of shortest life, because Southerne men vsed to great heate, and Northern men vsed to great cold, can easily beare them both: but the Inhabitants of the middle regions, being oppressed both with cold and heate, are subiect to these changes of the Ayre, which breed diseases and old age. This seemes to me as if they should say, that custome makes extreme things, but not temperate things, to be tollerable, since these of the middle regions are no lesse vsed to the changes of their temperate ayre, then the others are to the extremities, and their changes.

Giue me leaue to say, contrary to the vulgar opinion, that the purenes or any properties of the ayre, doe not so much cause long or short life, as the changes of ayre by long iournies, or by remouing mens dwellings from one ayre to another, which

changes are more powerfull, the more violent they are, and that to men of all climes, whether they iourney or remoued dwelling, from the North to the South, or from the South towards the North. This experience teacheth by many examples. First, of great trauailers, whereof infinite numbers in youth die before they retorne home. Secondly, of those that dwell in the Fennes of *Lincolnshire*, and of *Essex* in *England*, where they that are borne, and liue all their dayes in those Fennes, and in that vn-healthfull ayre, liue to be of very olde age, and with good health; but if they remoue dwelling to a purer ayre, soone die, as likewise they that are borne in purer ayre, and come attter to dwell in those Fennes, liue very short time. This in generall I say, because many very aged people are found in those Fennes, but particularly I am confirmed in this opinion, as by many other, so by one pleasant example, of a Husbandman, whom my selfe did see in *Essex*, who dwelling in the Fennes not farre off, was threescore yeares olde, healthfull, and like to liue long, and within few yeares past had married and buried eight wiues, all which hee had brought to his house in the Fennes, vpon one Nagge of some fortie shillings price, for these women borne in purer ayre, soone died after they came to dwell with him in the Fennes.

Religion.

Many proue that Southerne men are most religious, by their sumptuous Churches (in which it is a great trespassse so much as to spee,) by the very Princes of *Affrick* entering the profession of Monkes, by their Fasts, frequent praying, whipping of themselves, lawes made against irreligious persons, and the Pontificall habit of their Kings. On the contrarie they affirme that Northerne men (as women and children soone make and as soone breake leagues of amitie) doe soone and greedily imbrace any Religion, and no lesse speedily cast it off againe. As the Ostrogothes and Visigothes, being driven from their seate, became Christians vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Valens*, and soone after terrified with burnings, fell from the Christian Faith. And the Gothes in *Italy* first became Christians, then Arrians. Yea, *Gotland* soone receiued the Christian Faith, and presently returned to their Idolatrie. And the Turkes soone fell to the Arabians Religion. As also *Tartares* were easily drawne on both hands for the point of Religion. And lastly, the Germanes taxing the Papall frauds (together with their neighbours) did of their owne accord fall from the Popes obedience, without any force or violent constraining. But on the contrarie, that Southerne men euer did slowly imbrace any new Religion, and howsoeuer they were often deuided into Sects, yet could neuer be drawne to change their Religion without miracles and force of Armes. So as *Antiochus* by no torment could draw any one of seuen brethren, or their mother that exhorted them to be constant, so much as to tast Swines flesh. It is easie to oppose examples and arguments to the fore-said examples and arguments. If we behold the Temples, Monasteries, Bels, and other old ornaments or religious vestures of our Northerne Iland *England*, no doubt they farre passe those of the South, where neither the present Churches building, nor the ruines of like olde building, shew the like (if any) magnificence. Yea, rather the Sepulchres then the Moschees (or Churches) of the South, may be thought sumptuous. Neither want we examples of Northerne Kings (as of the Saxons in *England*, and Gothes in *Italy*) who put on Monks habits: nor yet of Nations in *Europe*, who haue violently with much suffering maintained their rites of Religion. Moreouer, see how these men omit to distinguish superstition from Religion. They confesse that the Northerne men first discovered the Papall fraudes, yet they will also haue them more simple, whence it followes, that the sharpe-witted Southerne men did first see these fraudes, and couer them for feare of the Popes persecutions, or because they esteemed Religion onely a State policie, and knowing the truth yet abstained from reformation. Surely *Petrarch*, *Dantes*, and other free wits of *Italy* did see the Papall frauds before the Germanes, and though fearefully, yet plainly pronounced *Rome* to be *Babylon*. But our Northerne *Luther*, when at *Rome* he had seene the licentious Romanes, and their criminall frauds, could not abstaine, but he must needes diuulge these impostures of Religion, and being weake for his defence, yet could not but oppose himselfe to most powerfull enemies. Northerne men are soone drawne with the loue of Religion, the out-side whereof the Southerne men can skilfully paint ouer, that vnder the pretext of

of feare due to God, they like Foxes, may command ouer Lyons, which our good *Epimethei* at last by the euents perceiuing, doe so much abhorre all hypocrisie and whorish painting of Religion, as by no danger they can bee frightened from professing truth, whose constancy in suffering persecution for the same is abundantly witnessed, by the multitude of them burnt in *France*, as *Sleyden* writes of his owne sight, and by the more violent, at least, more lasting persecution of them by fier vnder *Marie*, late Queene of *England*. Therefore let vs say, that Northerne men are easily drawne to the true Religion, and by no terrors can bee kept from reforming corruptions growing therein: for in that without torments, and of free will they are drawne to professe the truth, this proues them most religious; and in that Southerne men still hold their old opinion, this proues, that they preferre the peace of the World, before the peace of Conscience. And in that the Northerne Magistrates (I speake of our Reformed Churches) seker rather to teach and perswade Religion, then to force it by fier and sword, this proues that they are more godly and milde, then those of the South, who tyrannically persecute their owne subiects differing from them in Religion. Shall I attribute it to the constancy of the Spaniards, that they dare not lift vp a finger against the tyrannie of their Clergie? or rather to the basenesse of their minds, and the vnspeakable tyranny of the Inquisition, punishing innocent and nocent without distinction if they neuer so little crosse the ambitious pride and couetousnesse of the Clergie-men. They who liue in the Kings, and generally approued Religion of their Countrie, inioying all priuiledges, these in this particular may rather bee thought secure then religious, and they who dare professe the Religion which they iudge to bee true, though it bee done against their Kings Edicts, and with losse of goods and life, (of which kind wee haue notable examples in Northerne parts) these men doe more feare God then man, and truly deserue to be called religious. Besides it must not bee granted, that all Northerne people haue thus voluntarily and speedily yeelded to the profession of the reformed Religion: for in *Ireland* farre towards the North, few or none are found of the Natiues, who in this so cleare light of the Gospell haue cast of the Roman Religion. Yet is not this to be attributed to their constancy in Religion, but rather to the lenitie of the reformed profession, which thinkes that the conscience must not be forced, or perhaps to the Magistrates fault, hauing taken small or no good orders to haue the people instructed in the truth, or lastly and most of all to the ignorant blindnesse of this Nation, which doth not willingly receiue any Rules and Lawes of ciuill life, or religious reformation, or rather frowardly opposeth the same, and so as children prise their bables, they more obstinately retaine the outward Pharisaicall holinesse of the South, in burning wax light, hauing Images, and externall pompe of Copes and Processions, and like humane traditions. Lastly, if we shall consider well the aboue mentioned position of old Writers, namely, that Northerne men are more blockish and ignorant, by that reason it will follow, that Northerne men are more hardly drawne from any receiued opinion. For ignorant men are also suspicious, and hardly adinit any that bring innouations, the rather because they are lesse capable of their perswading arguments. So the Philosopher said of a Citie in *Greece*, that the Citizens were so blockish, as they could not be led by eloquence. In like sort the Professors of Alchumy seldome deceiue any ignorant persons, who would answer as *Cicero* speaketh of Southlayers: thou promist mee Kingdomes, and yet beggest a groat of mee: but wee daily see, that witty men and learned, are often caught and drawne to expence by their abstruse darke arguments. Therefore in my opinion it should bee said, that the Religion of Southerne men, by the outward ceremonies, is, like Sepulchers, sumptuous without, but that the Religion of the Northerne men is glorious within. Or if, setting humane experience aside, we will waigh this by the holy scales of the Sanctuarie, wee shall finde vndoubtedly, that wee can neither in North nor South come to God, or flie from him at our pleasure, but that God in what Countrie soeuer, imparteth his light to his chosen children, which hee hides from potent Kingdomes, and men more wise and mightie in their owne sight.

*Softnesse of
skinne.*

Old Writers affirme, that Northerne men haue softer skinned then Southerne men, as women haue them in generall softer then men. Whereupon *Bodine* saith, that the transalpine men coming into *Italy*, are much troubled with Fleas, and biting Flies. But in my opinion, howsoever we may truly say, that Northerne men haue whiter skins, and many times by the accident of fatnes softer then the common sort there, yet the Ethiopians and other people of *Affrique* dwelling neere the extremest South on this side the line, as they haue properly white teeth, so is their skinne (howsoever tanned) farre softer then the skinned of any nation whatsoever, by the common consent of all men.

Cleanlinesse

They account Southerne men to be most cleanly and neat of body, as well for their frequent vse of Bathing and continuall washings, as for that they will not endure any the least filth or spot vpon their apparrell, especially the Turkes vpon their Tulbent (or white linnen worne vpon their heads,) and keepe their houses in like sort from all filth, but aboue all are curious in keeping their Churches, in which it were no small trespassse so much as to spet, (which in common conuersation they take for an offence, as if he that spets were wearie of their company, and in deede by the Nature of the Clime and continuall bathing in hot Bathes, they take away the rheume, so as they are not troubled with coughing and spetting.) If any man object that the Germanes vse bathing, if not so continually as the Turkes, yet very often, surely the Germanes vse it not for cleanlinesse, but to dry vp the grosse humours which they get by intemperate drinking, and they are otherwise more slovenly in their apparrell, in their Stoues and all manner of linnen, if they be compared with Southerne nations, and nothing lesse then cleanly if they be compared with other Northerly nations of *Europe*.

Luxurie.

They write that of olde, the Southerne men passed all other in luxurie, as well of apparrell as diet, and they alledge that the Romanes had Oysters out of *Britanie*, and that *Anthony* himselfe being a Romane, and much giuen to this luxurie, yet was farre surpassed therein by *Cleopatra*, a more Southerly Queene of *Egipt*. But at this day it may be confidently said, that they are nothing lesse then luxurious in either kinde, as shall be shewed more at large in this volume, and in the Chapter treating of the diuers diets and apparrell of severall nations.

Leuitie.

The French in *Europe*, and the Syrians in *Asia*, but most especially the Greekes in *Europe*, being all inhabitants of middle Regions, are by olde Writers taxed with leuity. *Bodine* confesseth that the French are more quicke and nimble, and as inhabitants of a middle Region, also more chearefull, since the Northerne men by grosse humours, and the Southerne men by Melancholly, are made more slowe, and in this sence he is content leuity should be imputed to them, for otherwise he brings many arguments, why Northerne men should be light or inconstant, Southerne men should be obstinate, and the inhabitants of middle Regions, (among whom he contains the French) should be constant. But howsoever he cannot haue the patience, to haue leuity (that is inconstancie in word and deede) attributed to the French, yet no doubt by the generall consent of Nations, the French, in apparrell, gesture, in counsels of peace and warre, and more specially in the raising of ciuill warres, are nothing lesse then constant and graue, if they be compared with the wise Italians, and delatoric Spaniards. Besides that leuity, which they put in swiftnesse and nimblenesse, must be attributed to the Irish, aboue any Nation, of the middle, or whatsoever Regions.

*Fortunate-
nesse.*

The olde Writers affirme, that the Southerne Nations are more fortunate, which they proue by many arguments, yet among those, whom they iudge thus fortunate, the Egiptians were euer slaues to more Northerne nations, excepting those ages, wherein their Pharoes, Ptolemies, and Sultans (Rebels to the Emperour,) ruled ouer them. And for the most part Southerne men haue had the fortune to serue others, and no doubt slaueerie is no badge of good fortune. If they object the olde saying, that all ill comes from the North, it is true that Northerne men haue commonly conquered the South, and so they bring ill to others, rather then haue it themselves, and ill may be said to come from the North, rather then to be in the North.

But

But if they iudge the South happy, because it first had the knowledge of Gods word; the Art Militarie; learning, policie, ciuility, and Empires. Some are of opinion that these, and all good or ill things, are circularly caried through the world; and communicated to all Nations at diuers times. And (perhaps) *Inslus Lipsius*, in our age, observing this, by the reading of Histories, did thereupon prophete of an Empire from the West, as if the Spaniards with their West-Indians, should haue the Empire of the World, and all good things that follow it, which hope of theirs, though formerly feared, our age hath broken. I vndertake not to know future things, as he did, but for the old Writers opinion, this I know that the aboue named fortunate things, came from the East, rather then the South: And if they will needs haue them to come from the South, yet as it first had them, so it first lost them, neither is it so great happines to haue had any good, as it is misery to haue lost it: so as the South may be said to haue beene fortunate of old, but to be miserable now, and the North now inioying these things to be fortunate for the present, yet not to haue been miserable of old in the want of them, which then they knew not, and so neuer desired them: For as the Poet saith; *Ignoti nulla Cupido*: Vnknowne, vnderired.

Lastly, old Writers affirme, that few or no Diuels are in the South, by reason of the plentiful light, which was thought to driue them away, and the subtilnesse of the Ayre, which could not beare them, and that whole Armies of Diuels and Witches were in the North. They are very tender hearted to the Diuels tormented with fier, in giuing them the cold North to inhabit: yet of old, they say the gate of hell was at the Lake of *Auernus*, in the territory of *Naples*: Haue the Roman Bishops possessed this gate with their squadrons, so as Northerne men can no more passe that way? Hath wickednesse increased? or are they more vnkinde to vs then the Heathen Romans, that now in the age of the World they force Northerne men to find out a new gate at the Mountaine *Hecla* in *Iceland*? But to speake seriously: The Platonists, and some of the Christian Fathers following them, doe giue bodies both to good and ill Angels. *Aristotle* and his Peripatetikes, and our Schoolemen following them, hold that Angels are simple and abstract intelligences, and substances altogether without bodies. *Zanchius* comparing all their arguments, concludes, that Angels may take bodies, and are not in many places at once, but in one place, and moue with these bodies as swiftly as the windes, so as nothing can hinder their motion, being made in time vnperceiueable by vs. By which it may be gathered, that their substances, not taking any body, are so subtile, as they need not to be sustained by the Ayre: And if they imagine that Ayry Diuels are sustained by thicke Ayre, yet watry and earthy Diuels, (for such bodies they also giue them), are not hindered by any subtilnesse of Ayre, to compasse the Earth. If Southerne men haue such store of light as they write, let me merrily aske them, why the Southerne, as well Papists, as Turkes, burne so many candles by day-light, which Northerne men vse not in these dayes, nor euer vled, but as receiued from them: but I grant that the light of the Gospell, (not any other light), driues away Diuels, since the Diuell is the Prince of this World, but not of the Children of light: And the want of the Gospels light makes so many Witches in *Lapland* vpon the Baltike Sea, which are most rare in *England*, (so farre in the North, as the old Romans said they were diuided from the World). Before the preaching of the Gospell, the Druydes in *France*, the Heathen Priests pronouncing Oracles, and the German weomen foretelling things to come, were as I thinke witches, but all these witchcrafts ceased after the comming of Christ. For Witches and Coniurers, I will not denie them to be here in the North, as in all the World; for the Diuell is euery where ready to deuoure his prey: but prophane Histories, and euen the Holy Scriptures witnesse, that the Egyptians and Chaldeans, were of old most famous Sorcerers: yea, the very Northerne Weomen, which goe about and tell fortunes, are for the reputation of their Art called Gypses, and haue their faces tanned, that they may seeme to be Surtherne Weomen, (which sort are in *Italy* called *Singari*). In *Tripoli* of *Syria*, at *Haleppo*, and in the Cities of *Cilicia*, they shew places at this day, where frogs and the very sand are enchanted, with pillars erected ouer the places, lest they should grow,

*Diuels, and
the possessed
with diuels.*

and destroy the Countrey, and where they confidently affirme treasure to be hid and guarded by spirits. When I returned from *Constantinople*, a Gentleman came in my company, who brought the great Turkes Letters (after his siege of *Agria*) to our Queene *Elizabeth*, the copy whereof he did shew me, translated into Latin, wherein I remember these words; That day, because we perceiued the inuisible spirits to be on our left hand, wee did forbear to fight with the Germanes, but the next day the same spirits being turned on our sides towards the East, my most valiant Souldiers encouraged with this helpe, assailed the Christian Army, and with our exceeding glory defeated it. To conclude, the Romane Priests of later times, inuented and taught vs in the North, to hallow Water, Crosses, Belles, and Candles, by incantations, and at this day, either there be in *Italy* very many possessed with Diuels, or else many say that they are so possessed, perhaps hired by the Priests, that they may glory in healing them, (which is not incredible.) For my selfe at *Loreto* in *Italy*, (in the Church whereof the Papists vse no lesse superstition, then the Heathen did at the Oracle of *Delphos*), I say my selfe did see a Priest casting a deuill (as they said) out of an old woman with strange inchantments, and hee did so familiarly call that Diuell and all his Legion by their names, as I much wondred thereat; for wee Northerne men haue not such exquisite knowledge of the hellish Squadrons. And it is ridiculous but true, that while I seemed thus astonished, a young Priest without a beard came to me, and told me a long fable, of a horrible Diuell which had been there cast out, yet before his departure, shewed to the Priest a stone in the next window, vpon which the Angel *Gabriel* stood, when he foretold the Virgin *Marye* of Christs Natiuitie, crying that hee was cast out by the holinesse of that stone, not of the Priest. This I heard with great attention, and with shew of astonishment, but with my selfe I thought it strange, that they should in this beleue the Diuell the father of lies, and I could not but see the singular craft of the Priests, who by this art found a new idoll for the people to worship, and greedily drew great and new oblations to themselues, not content to haue the opinion of holinesse, in seeming to cast out that diuell, except they should also obtrude this fraud to the people. For if the Diuell had beene the Priests most faithfull friend, hee could haue found nothing more profitable to them, then this diuillish inuention. But I returne to the purpose. As an old Father said, that he saw but one Diuell in the Market-place, where most of the buyers and sellers were his owne, but many Diuels in the Church, that they might lay snares for them that rebelled against the power of Hell: let those who defend this opinion, and thrust whole Armies of Diuels into our Northerne parts, so and for the same reason say, that one Diuell is in the South, and Legions in the North. Or if they like not this assertion, let them say, that ayrie Diuels are in the North sustained by the thicke ayre thereof, and confesse, that the subtile ayre of the South not bearing them, yet there be whole Legions of watry and earthy bodied Diuels, liuing within the same walles among men.

Proverbiall speeches of Nations in generall.

Old Writers reproch the French with Gluttonie, the Iewes with Ennie, the Persians with Perfidiousnesse, the Egyptians with Craft, the Greekes with Deceit, the Saracens with sauage Crueltie, the Chaldeans with Leuntie, the Africans with desire of change, the Lombards with Vaine-glory, the Hunnes with Crueltie, the Sueuians with Slouenlinesse, the French with Fiercenesse, the Saxons with Foolishnesse, the Pistes with Hardnesse, the Scots with Lust, the Spaniards with Violence, the Brittons with Anger, the Normans with Rapacitie.

In like sort for grace they attribute, Prudency to the Hebrewes, stabilitie to the Persians, subtile practising or policy to the Egyptians, sapience (that is, knowledge Diuine and Human) to the Greekes, grauity to the Romans, quicknesse of spirit called sagacity, to the Chaldeans, wittines to the Assyrians, firmenes to the Galles, fortitude to the Francks, fidelity to the Scots, quipping subtilty to the Spaniards, hospitalitie to the Brittones, communion of all things to the Normans.

Aulus Gellius in his seuenth booke, and the sixteenth Chaptes, thus reckons the daintie

various meates of Cities and Nations. The Peacocke of *Samos* and *Phrygia*. The Cranes of *Meluz*, the Kid of *Ambracia*. The fish called a Thinnye of *Calcedonia*. The Lamprey of *Tartessus*. The *Aselli* (a kind of Codfish of the colour of an Asse) of the Pellinuntians. The Oysters of *Tarentum*. The little Scalop of *Chios*. The fish called Elops of *Rhodes*. The fish that cheweth like a beast called Carus, of *Cilicia*. The Nuts of *Thasia*, the Palme of *Egypt*, the Acorne or Mast of *Iberia*, (that is of *Spaine*.)

They write, that the Divine Law came from *Italy* to the *Transalpines*, from *Greece* to *Italy*, from *Egypt* to *Greece*, from the Hebrewes to *Egypt*, from Gods owne mouth to the Hebrewes. (In like sort I would say, that military discipline came to vs from the Assirians and Persians, and that liberall sciences came to vs from the Chaldeans.)

The Nations of the World were called Gentiles by the Hebrews, and Barbarians by the Greekes, and at this day the Northerne Nations are called *Transalpini* (men beyond the Alpes) by the Italians in a kind of reproch.

They say that *Charles* the fifth Emperour of *Germany* was wont to say, that the King of *Spaine* ruled ouer Asses, doing nothing without blowes and violence. The King of *France* ouer men, and the Emperour ouer Kings. And when one of the standers by said, that the Polonians also had their King. I grant said he that he is their King (meaning, that his power was limited by them.)

The same Emperour is said to haue thus spoken of the languages; in the Italian tongue. *La lingua Todescha è per comandare, l'Italiana per far' amore, la Francese per far' mercantia, la Spanuola per far' misericordia*: that is in English. The Germans tongue is fit to command, the Italian to make loue, the French to trafficke, or buy and sell, the Spanish to moue mercy.

To passe ouer grieve, the Italians sleepe, the French sing, the Germans drinke, the English goe to Plaies, the Spaniards lament, as likewise the Irish (saue that rudely they utter their grieve by cries in the open streetes), the Low-country-men or Flemmings, the Bohemians, the Danes, the Polonians, and other farre Northerne Nations vse the same remedy of drinking, which the Germans vse. This Prouerbiall speech I containe in these two verses;

Somnæ Itali cantu Galli, vinoque Alemanui,

Scena Angli planctu maestri recreantur Hiberi.

Italians sleepe, French sing, Dutch drinke away their grieve,
English at Plaies, Spaniards lamenting, find reliefe.

The Greekes in bed, the Italians at Table are accounted most neate of all other.

The French are said to excell in singing and dancing, the Italians in fencing and riding great Horses, the Dutch or Germans, like Bulles, neuer to assaile, but repell force by force.

The Germans are said to woelike Lyons, rather by commanding then obsequiousnes, the Italians like foxes stealingly creeping into their sweet-hearts affections, the Spaniards like religious Friers, worshipping the idoll of beauty with astonishment. The French like Bees presently stinging. Of like variety of loues affections in diuers Nations, these verses are vulgar.

Gallus amat celerem pede non remorante puellam,
quæ lenis est, certis & satis apta modis.

Hispano magis illa placet, cui forma benigna est,
cui Venus ex oculis semper amica nitet.

Italus at timida letatur amore puella,
dulcia quæ veneris prælia sepe fugit.

Virgo sed audaci quæ prouocat ore Magistrum,
Ille est Germano dulcis amica viro.

The Frenchman loues a nimble lass,
that gently as you cast her lyes.

Spaniards loue her, that like a glasse
darts beauty at him from her eyes.

Italians

Italians loue a fearefull wench,
that often flies from Venus sport.
To her that at the drinking bench
challengeth loue, the Dutch resort.

In loue the Germans are said to be ambitious, the French light, the Spaniards impatient, the Italians iealous to their great torment.

The Germans gesture or behauiour is said to bee Fencerlike, the Frenchmans soft and gentle, the Italians graue, the Spaniards proud.

The German is said to walke like a dunghill cocke, the French in hast speedily, the Italians somewhat slowly, the Spaniards disdainfully.

The Germans looke or countenance is said to be fierce, the French mans flattering, the Italians constant, the Spaniards loftie.

The Germans speech is said to be manly, the Frenchmans sweet and fluent, the Italians winning the Auditors, the Spaniards flexible.

The German's manners are said to be rusticall, the Frenchmans light, the Italians gracious, the Spaniards magnificall.

The Germans apparrell is said to bee constant without any curiosity, the Frenchmans luxurious and carelesse, the Italians neate, the Spaniards decent, (me thinks their hose and ruffs are nothing lesse then comely.)

For singing Art, the Germans are said to houle, the Flemmings to sing, the Spaniards to sob, the French to deskant, the Italians to bleate. Or otherwise: The Italians to lament, the Germans to crie, the French to sing: or otherwise The Spaniards weep, the Italians sigh, the English bleate like Goats, the Germans bellow, the French sing.

In speech the Germans are said to be simple, the French ready, the Italians subtle, the Spaniards bragging.

Towards strangers the Germans are said to be vnhospitall (I thinke otherwise), the French Gentle, the Spaniards flattering, the Italians officious (no doubt, if you respect outward Offices)

In conuersation the Germans are said to bee imperious and intollerable (I should say they are peaceable when they are sober, and diuersly affected according to their seuerall natures, when they are drunken), the French mild (I would rather say trifeling and cerimonious), the Spaniards wary, the Italians wise.

In hatred the Germans are said to be reuengefull (I should grant that they bee cruell vpon Victory), the French threatening (sure they depose hatred when the bloud is cold), the Spaniards obstinate, the Italians secret (no doubt, and both they and the Spaniards great reuengers vpon any vnequall termes.)

In businesse, the Germans are said to be industrious, the French carefull, the Spaniards vigilant, the Italians circumspect.

The Germans are said to bee singular in manuell Arts, the French in Ciuility, the Spaniards in Nauigation, Italians in Learning. But with fauour, I should thinke the Italians were of old more famous for learning, then now they are. And howsoeuer the Spaniards had the fortune to find out the new world, yet they must yeeld to the Brittans and Flemmings in the Art, or at least the practice of Nauigation.

The Italians and Spaniards are said to be wise before the act, the French in the act, the Germans after the act. Otherwise it is said in the Italian tongue: *I Spanuoli paiono sauij e sono pazzi: I Francesi paiono pazzi e sono sauij, l' Italiani paiono e sono sauij. I Portughesi ne paiono ne sono sauij*: that is, The Spaniards seeme wise and are fooles. The French seeme fooles, but are wise. The Italians seeme and are wise. The Portugals neither seeme nor are wise.

In France the Kings Treasurers, in England Dukes, are said to bee fatally miserable.

The Germans are said to invade their enemies land like Life (that is slowly), the French like Fleaes, (now biting, now driuen away), the Spaniards like Crablife (sticking fast.)

The Italian women are said to be giuen to the study of humanity, the French to the learning

learning of languages, the Flemmings especially to the skil of languages, the Germans to houlhold affaires.

In apparrell the Italian women are said to be neate and graue (onely the Venetians shew their necks and breasts naked) the French light & variable, the Spaniards proud, the Germans foolish (perhaps because they weare extreme straight sleeues on their armes, and guard one and the same gowne with many and diuers coloured guards), the Flemmings fine (no doubt they, and especially the Brabanders, excell for white and fine linnen, and for generall comlinesse of their garments.)

The Italian women are said to bee sharpe witted, the Spanish blunt (I should hardly thinke it), the French simple (I should rather say most crafty, as most women are euery where), the Germanes good mothers of family (yea exceeding good.)

The Spanish women are said to be painted, the Italians somewhat lesse painted, the French seldome painted, and sometimes the Germane Virgins (neuer that I obserued, except those of *Prussen* haue perhaps borrowed this vice of the Mosconites their neighbours.)

She is said to bee a faire woman, that hath the face of an English woman, the bodie (from the neck to the nauell) of the French, the other parts of the Flemmish. To this purpose are the verses in Latin;

Triginta hac habeat qua vult formosa vocari

Fœmina: sic Helenam fama fuisse refert, &c.

She must haue thirtie things that faire is counted,

In which they say faire *Helen* surmounted, &c.

the rest I omit for the wantonnesse of them.

The Italians say in their tongue; *Queste cose si richiedono nel viandante, l'occhio di Prouerbiall Falcone (per veder lontano), l'orecchie d'Asino (per udir bene), il viso di simia (per essere speeches of pronto al viso), la boccia di porcello (per mangiar d'ogni cosa), le spalle di Camelo (per portar Trauellers some con patienza), le gambe di Cervo (per fuggir pericolo) e un sacchone pien pieno di danari in generall. (perche chi ha danari, signore e chiamato.)* That is in English; These things are required in a Traueller, the eye of a Hawke (to see farre off), the eares of an Asse (to heare the least whispering), the face of an Ape (to bee ready to laugh in soothing), the mouth of a Hogge (to eate whatsoever is set before him), the backe of a Camell (to beare burthens patiently), the legge of a Hart (to flie from danger) a huge great purse top full of gold (because he that hath mony, is called Lord.) We in England vulgarly say; that a Traueller to Rome must haue the backe of an Asse, the belly of a Hogge, and a conscience as broad as the Kings high way.

The Italians say,

Cinque hore dorme un viandante,

Sette un studiante, noue ogni surfante.

A Traueller fiew howers doth craue

For sleepe, a Student seuen will haue,

And nine sleepes euery idle knaue.

The Italians aduise a Traueller: *Ch' il suo cavallo sia gouernato d'amico, ma caualcato da nemico*: That he should meate and dresse his horse like a friend, but ride him like anemie.

The Italian Trauellers say, *Dal' hoste nuouo, & da la putana vecchia Dio ti guarda*: From a new host, and an old Harlot, God deliuer vs.

Of the Cities in Germany, they say in the vulgar tongue: *Vlm die reichste, Augspurg Prouerbiall die koffertigste, Trier die elteste, Nurnberg die Witzigste, Strashurg die edleste*. That speeches in is: *Vlm* the richest, *Augsburg* the proudest, *Trier* the eldest, *Nurnberg* the wittiest, particular of Germany, *Strashurg* the noblest. Bohemia, and Sweitzerland.

That all Germany is blind, onely *Nurnberg* hath one eye.

Of the Bishopricks vpon the *Rheine*. That *Chur* is the highest (because it is seated vpon the highest Alpes, neere the Spring head of the *Rheine*), *Cosnetz* the amplest,

Basel

Basil the sweetest or pleasantest, *Strasburg* the noblest (because no man is a Canon of that Church, which is not an Earle or a Baron of seuentene discents) *Spire* the most religious, *Metz* the most venerable (as the chiefe among the Electors Clergy-men), *Colin* the richest, *Trier* the most ancient.

The Italian Curtisans say, that a German makes loue like a Clowne, doth that worke like an Asse, and paies like a Prince: which the Germans also say in the same words of their vulgar tongue; *Eine Deutscher bulet wie ein bawer, fuchst wie ein esel, und bezalt wie ein fürst.*

The Germans say, that *Suenia* alone hath whores, *Franconia* robbers and beggers, *Bauaria* pilfering theeves, *Heluetia* hangmen and Baudes, *Frisia* and *Westphalia* periured persons, and *Saxony* drunkards, more then enough to serue al long and broad *Germany*.

That the Students of *Gena* ply the Citterne, those of *Wittenberg* the pot, and those of *Leipzig* the playing at Cards.

That the Citizens of *Lubeck* are Lords, those of *Luneburg* Gentlemen, those of *Hamburg* Clownes, and of the Hamburgers these verses are vulgar;

Hamburgenses sunt velut enses, semper acuti,

Prælia poscunt, nec bene nocent ensibus uti.

Hamburgers be, like swords we see, sharpe to dandle,

Haue warres they will, yet haue not skill, swords to handle.

That West-Phalians deuoure gammons of bacon, and haue poore Innes (vulgarly *arme wirtshausen*), browne bread (vulgarly *cranck broat*, that is, sicke bread), thin drink (vulgarly *dinne bier*) & long miles (vulgarly *langhen meyllen*.) And to this Prouerbiall speech is added in the vulgar tongue; *gloubst du nicht, lauff da, zu beschawen*: that is, If thou beleueest not, walke thither to trie it.

Of *Hessen* Land they haue this vulgar rime:

Hoke berg, und tieffe thall, grobe speisse vberall.

Hart bett, und sawre wein, wer wolt ihm land zu hessen sein.

High Mounts, and Vallyes deepe, with grosse meates all annoide:

Sowre wine, hard beds for sleepe: who would not *Hessen* land auoide?

The Silesians in reproch are called *Esellfrasser*, that is, deuourers of Asles, and the Silesians Shie-Asse, is called the mother of Hares. And if any German will put the Asse vpon another cunningly, he will say, that the other was neuer in *Silesia*.

The Sweitzers are by the Germans in reproch called *ku'milcher*, that is, Cow-milkers, because the men vse to milke Cowes.

Bohemia I passed with speede, and was vnskilfull in the language, so as I neuer obserued any prouerbiall speech among them of this kind, neither hath it been my chance since that time to reade any such speeches in approued Authors.

Prouerbiall
speeches of
Netherland
or the Low-
countries.

Among the Cities of *Netherland*, *Harlem* is called great (though at that time the designed building of *Amsterdam* made it much greater in circuit.) *Leyden* is called faire, *Delph* rich, *Torg* Catholike. Those of *Bruxelles* are called deuourers of *Pullin*, or Capon-eaters, the Hollanders rude (vulgarly *plump*) and the Netherlanders in general *hasen kopen*, that is, Hare-heads, and because they feede much on butter, they are called butter-mouthes, and because daily passing to and fro in ships, they vse for auoiding of greater expences in Innes, to carry with them boxes of butter, they are also called butter-boxes by the English.

Of Den-
marke and
Poland.

As I passed hastily through *Denmarke* and *Poland*, being ignorant in the languages, I did neuer heare any such Prouerbiall speeches among them, neither had I euer the hap to find any such in approued Authors.

Prouerbiall
speeches of
Italy.

Touching the Cities of *Italy*, it is prouerbially said among them. *Roma la santa*, *Padua la dotta*, *venetia la ricca*, *Fiorenza la bella*, *Milano la grande*, *Bologna la grassa*, *Rauenna l'antica*, *Napoli gentile*, *Gennoa Superba*. That is: *Rome* the holy, *Padua* the learned, *Venice* the rich, *Florence* the beautifull, *Milan* the great, *Bologna* the fat, *Rauenna* the ancient, *Naples* the Gentile, *Gennoa* the proud.

In generall, the Italians are said to be mad twice in the yeere, at Shroftide (for their vnspeakeable

vnſpeakeable luxury in meate, wantonneſſe, and all pleaſures), and in Lent (for theno leſſe wonderfull ſuperſtitious of that time) For ſpeech the Hetrurians are ſaid to bee elegant, the Milanefi voluble, the Venetians ſlow, the Genoefi and Bergmaſchi ridiculous. The Milanefi are ſaid to excell in the ſtudy of the Ciuill Law, the Florentines in naturall Philoſophy, the Calabrians in the Greeke tongue, the Neapolitans in the Hetrurian or Tuſcane tongue, thoſe of *Lucca* in Diuinitie. thoſe of *Bologna* in the Mathematicks, the Venetians in Muſick, thoſe of *Ferraria*, *Padua* and *Salernum* in Phiſick, thoſe of *Sienna* in Logick, thoſe of *Peruſum* in the Canon Law of the Popes, and thoſe of *Pavia* in Sophiſtrie. They ſay, that the Merchants of *Florence* are crafty, thoſe of *Lucca* couetous, the Venetians moſt bold (hazarding all in one ſhip), thoſe of *Milan* honeſt (ſo as if they bee put to it, they will confeſſe, that the houſe they ſell is infected with the plague) The Calabrians are ſaid to be officious to ſtrangers in hope of gaine, the Neapolitanes to loue all that excell in any vertue, thoſe of *Lucca* to reuerence ſtrangers, and to defend them from wrongs. The Florentines to be officious towards them without hope of gaine, and to communicate their fortunes and counſels to them, if they ſtay long there. The Venetians to be officious in words. Thoſe of *Padua* to be inhospirall, and likewiſe thoſe of *Genoa*, euen towards thoſe who haue deſerued well of them. The Bergomaſchi to be ſo inhumane as to hate ſtrangers. The Milanefi to be officious towards them, euen to their owne damage. Thoſe of *Parma* to be couetous, but within ſhort time to be weary of them. And thoſe of *Ferraria* to be ſecret towards a ſtranger, though they haue eaten a buſhell of Salt with him: The Milanefi are ſaid to be little iealous, and to hate fat women. The Mantuans to loue women that can dance. The Florentines to loue a modeſt woman, and one that loues home. The Neapolitanes to loue a ſtately high-minded woman. Thoſe of *Lucca* are ſaid to loue conſtantly, the Venetians contrarily, and to deſire fat women with great dugs, but to loue without choiſe, and to force them if others haue inioyed. The Ferrarians to hate their riual. Thoſe of *Sienna* to be rapt with faire faces. Thoſe of *Peruſum* to loue them white teeth and grey eyes. Thoſe of *Padua* to loue women with little breſts, which makes their women uſe the iuyce of Plantane to keep them from growing. Thoſe of *Genoa* to loue ſeruently, & to deſire fat women, to be temperate in the uſe of them, and to hate thoſe that ſmell of perſumes. Thoſe of *Piacenza* to be iealous, and once offended; to practice the murder of their Miſtriſſe and riual. Thoſe of *Cremona* to loue one ſkilfull in muſicall Inſtruments. Thoſe of *Rauenna* one ruled at a beck. The Piſanes a plaine dealing open harted wench. Thoſe of *Crœtona* to think themſelues neuer beloued enough, and to kill themſelues if they cannot enioy their loue. Thoſe of *Piſtoia* ſeldom be iealous, but to hate the very wife of him that is of another faction. And thoſe of *Viterbo* when their luſt is ſatisfied, to ſet their Miſtris to ſale for profit. The Neapolitanes are ſaid to wooe by Horſemanſhip and tilting. Thoſe of *Milan* with feaſts, and by ſlandering the women that reſuſe them. Thoſe of *Ferraria* by praiſes. Thoſe of *Mantua* by masks or dancing. Thoſe of *Peruſum* by threatning. The Venetians by boaiſting and magnificence. Thoſe of *Bologna* by gifts. The Florentines by Sonnets. Thoſe of *Sienna* by fained teares. Thoſe of *Lucca* by obſtinate louing. Thoſe of *Verona* by obſequiouſneſſe. The Romans and Aretines by witty ieſts. In diet, the Neapolitanes are ſaid to be gorgeous or honorable (ſpending more ſugar then bread). The Florentines ſparing, but wonderful cleanly. Thoſe of *Lucca* (therein as in al things) to keepe the golden meane. The *Tyberine* peares, and Martiolane cheeſes, are accounted dainties. Thoſe of *Genoa* to be of a moſt ſlender diet, and no clenlines. The Mantuans to feede on baſe peaſe. Thoſe of *Ferraria* to be inhospital. Thoſe of *Padua* to ſup with an half-penny worth of fiſh. The Venetians to ſpend little for meat. Thoſe of *Sienna* to keepe an honorable diet, and to hold Kids fleſh, and freſh Cheeſes for great dainties. Thoſe of *Milan* to haue a plentiful diet, and to inuite appetite with ſharpe things. The Nouocomians to eat without end, and drinke ſtoutly. Thoſe of *Piemont* to eate after the French manner, and thoſe of *Ancona* to liue moſt baſely for their diet. The women of *Lucca* are accounted honeſt, and ſkilfull in Cookery. Thoſe of *Sienna* faire and well affected to Poets. The Florentines delicate, and good at the needle, and matters of the Family. The Piſtoians deceiuers. The Peruſians delicately handed, and delighting much in fiſhing. The Nouocomians to bleſſe their husbands with the Rams horne. The Romans to ſeeme religious. The Cayetans to be painted & luſtful. The Capuans proud, & excellent in nothing. The Neapolitanes delighted in flocks of maid ſeruants & louers. The Beneuentans to be of rude beauty. The Picenes deſirous to be obſerued by their husbands. The Bononians

nonians to be somewhat browne coloured with a body full of iuyce, and louing sighes and teares of their sutors. The Ferrarians robbers of those they loue. Those of *Perbino* seeming of a rude nature, but none being more gentle. Those of *Parma* couetous and hard. Those of *Piemont* euer begging. Those of *Genoa* lecherous, talkatiue, faire, bountifull to their Louers, and alwaies adorned with sweete flowers. Those of *Sienna* (*lisciati fin' alla fossa*), painted to the very graue. The Venetians of a variable disposition, very iealous, and some of them giuing the vse of their bodies freely without reward (but I should thinke there be few such, for they pleasantly scoff at our English women, that they giue the fruit of loue to their louers for charity (vulgarly *per amor' di Dio*, as they giue almes to beggers) and affecting to haue yellow haire, white skins, and cherry cheekes, all by art, and to haue short legs. And of the Venetian most famous Curtizans, it is prouerbially said, *Sen grasse di stracci, bianche di calcina, rosse di belito alte di zoccole*: They are fat with cloutes, white with chalke, red with painting, and high with shooes. In generall it is said of the Italian weomen: *Sono gazze a le porte, Sante in Chiesa, capre n' i giardini, Diauoli in casa, Angeli in strada, Sirene alla fenestra*. They are Magpyes at the doore, Saints in the Church, Goates in the garden, Diuels in the house, Angels in the streete, and Syrens at the window. Of *Rome* this verse is prouerbiall.

Particu-
larly of
the Itali-
an Ci-
ties.

La corte Romana non vuol pecora senza lana, Curia Romana non querit ouem sine lana:

The Court of *Rome* cannot abide, To haue a sheepe with a shorne hide.

The old Romans by these letters, *S. P. Q. R.* did signifie *Senatum Populum Que Romanum*, the Senate and people of *Rome*, and they being grauen vpon the gates of the City, one did pleasantly thus interpret them: *Stultus Populus Querit Romam*: That is; Foolish people seeke *Rome*. These verses also are prouerbiall.

Roma vale, vidi, satis est vidiſſe, reuertar,

Cum Leno, Macus, Curra, Cynedus ero,

Rome farewell, I haue thee seene, well for me;

And then I will returne againe to thee.

When Lecher, Iester, Ingle, Bawde ile be.

Of *Genoa* it is said: *Mar' senza pesci, montagna senza legni, huomini senza fede, Donne senza vergogna, Mori bianchi, Genoa superba*. That is: The sea without fish, Mountaines without wood, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Mores, *Genoa* the proud. *Sienna* is said to abound with Fountaines, Towers, and faire women: And they say in the vulgar tongue; *Sienna di sei cose piena: Di Torre e di campane, di scolari e di putane, di becchi e di Ruffiani*. *Sienna* is full of sixe things, Towers and Bels, Schollers and Whores, Cuckolds and Bawdes. They of *Sienna* haue a Prouerb: That a stranger once drinking of the Fountaine *Brando*, must needs stay there (as surprized with the loue of the City). But the Florentines in their reproch say;

Chi beue di Fonte Brando, diuenta malto.

Who of the Fountaine *Brando* drinckes, becomes a Foole.

The Florentines are said stoutly to reuenge the breach of Faith, and to be mindfull of benefits, to haue Armes of Iron (for their industry), and the bodies of Antes, (for their spare diet). It is vulgarly said of them: *Chi disse Fiorentino, non disse burla, che di tre cose ti fanno dotitia. A Dio, A Reuederci, vuoitu nulla?* He that spake of the Florentine; said well, that they giue plenty of three things: God keepe you, Health till we meet againe; Will you any thing with me? It is vulgarly said: *I Bergomaschi hanno il parlar' grosso, & il far' sottile*: Those of *Bergamo* are grosse in speech, but subtrill in action. Again, *Il bianco & il nero (cioe pepe & cotone) hanno fatto venetia ricca*. Blacke and white, (that is, Pepper and Bumbast), haue made *Venice* rich. Again, *Il Podesta di Semigallia, comanda, e poi fa*. The Mayor of *Semigallia*, commands, and then doth it himselfe. In reproch of *Modena* it is vulgarly said: *Menar l' Orsina Modena*. To leade Beares at *Modena*. Again, *Dala Marca Asinie Pedanti famosi*. The Marchians haue famous Asses and Schoolemasters: And they say vulgarly that a great lie is, *Bugia Marchiana*, that is, a Marchian lie. As I hastily passed the vast Empire of the Turks, and being ignorant of the vulgar languages, I neuer heard any such Prouerbe, neither think that the vnlearned Turks trouble their braines with these Laconicall sentences. Onely among the Italians I heard this Prouerbe in their tongue. In *Cipro* three things are good cheape, Salt, Sugar, and Whores. In *France* they say prouerbially: *Qui feit Picard, il feit la bart (dit le Norman): Pour pendre le Norman Couard (dit le Picard)* who made a Picard, made a rope (saith the Norman): To hang the coward Norman (saith the Picard.)

Of Tur-
key.

Of
France.

Again

Againe, *Qui fait Francois, il fait curteis: Qui fait Breton il fait larron.* He that made a Frenchman, made a curteous man; He that made a Britan, made a theefe.

The French in reproch to the Normans, salute them with this counterfet or made word; *Fla-va-gou-la-men*, as if they should call him, *Flateur, vanteur, goula, larron, Men-teur*, that is, flatterer, bragger, glutton, theefe, lyer.

They vulgarly say, *Gascon teste verte*: *Gascon* green head, as rash in anger: *Bourguignon Sale*: The salted Burgundian, which reproch grew, of a strange cruelty vsed by the Citizens of *Aiguesmortes*, against a garrison of Burgundians, who in the Raigne of *Charles* the seuerth, and in the yeere 1422, by a sudden conspiracy cast out and killed the Burgundians lying there in garrison, and salted their dead bodies in a vessell of stone, which they shew to this day.

They name three iurisdietions or commonalties, which it seems of old had foolish and great priuiledges; *La Basoche de Paris*: *Les Cornards de Rouen*: *La Mere Folie de Dijon*.

Of the Cities they say; *Paris la grande* (the Great) *Rouen la riche* (the Rich) *Orleans la belle* (the Faire) *Dijon la Folle* (the Foolish). *Angers, basse ville, hauts clochers, riches putaines, pouures*; *Escoliers*: Low City, high Steeples, rich Whores, poore Schollars.

They say vulgarly, *Les Badants*, (the Fooles, or as we say Cocknies) *de Paris*: *Les Cornards* (the foresaid society of horned), *de Rouen*. *Les Guespins*, (the word hath some reference to *Vespa*, a Latin word, signifying those that carry dead bodies to be buried by night, but the French can hardly giue a true signification of it), *d'Orleans*. *Les Copieux*, (the copious, for their art in ieastring), *de Fleche*. *Les faux teimoings* (the false witnesses), *quatorze pour un fromage* (fourteene for a Cheefe), *du Manz*: *Nais*, (the no-uices or simple men), *de Solange*, *qui s'abusent tousiours a leur profit*, (which are abused alwaies to their owne profit, as if vnder colour of simplicity, they were most crafty).

Of three Cities of *Champaigne*: *Les Graniers*, (the Garners as full of Corne), *de Châlens*. *Les Caues*, (the Cellars as full of wine), *de Reims*. *Les Bourses*, (the Purses as full of money), *de Troyes*.

They say vulgarly, *Il y a plus de Monmartre a Paris, que de Paris a Monmartre*. This speech *Il y a* is ambiguous or of diuers significations: vulgarly it should be thus vnderstood. It is further from *Monmartre* to *Paris*, then from *Paris* to *Monmartre*: but in this place it is thus meant. There is more of *Monmartre* within *Paris*, then of *Paris* vpon *Monmartre*; because almost all the Houses of *Paris* are plastered ouer, and the matter of this plaster is daily brought into *Paris* from *Monmartre*.

Also *A Monmartre il y a plus de Putains, que de vaches*: *Mais ostes en les Nonnains, il y aura plus de vaches que de Putains*. At *Monmartre* there be more Whores then Cowes: But take away the Nunnes, and there will be more Cowes then Whores. Also, *Fromages* (Cheeses) *d'Auuergne*. *Angelots* (a kinde of Cheefe) *de Brie*. *Andouilles* (Intrals or Trypes) *de Troye*. *Sauces* (Sawfages) *du Pont l'Euesque*. *Chapons* (Capons) *du Mans*. *Mustarde* (Mustard) *de Dijon*, *Pruniaux* (Prunes) *de Tours*, *Marrons* (great Chesnuts) *de Lyon*. *Pain d'espece* (Spiced Bread) *de Reims*. *Raves* (rape rootes) *de Limosin*. *Pesches* (Peaches) *de Corheil*. *Pain* (Bread) *de Geneffe*.

The Italiaus say, that the manner of the French, is; *Di non dire quando vogliono fare, di non legger come Seruano, e di non cantare come notano*. Not to speake that they will doe, not to reade as they write, not to sing as they pricke.

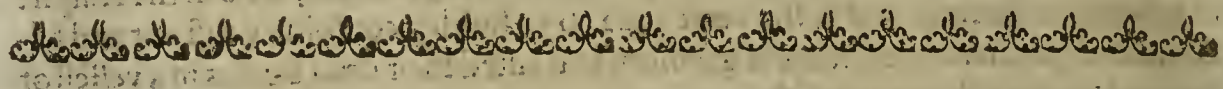
England in generall is said to be the Hell of Horses, the Purgatory of Seruants, and *England* the Paradice of Weomen.

The Londiners pronounce woe to him, that buyes a Horse in *Smyth-field*, that takes a Seruant in *Paules Church*, that marries a Wife out of *Westminster*. Londiners, and all within the sound of Bow-Bell, are in reproch called Cocknies, and eaters of buttered tostes. The Kentish men of old were said to haue tayles, because trafficking in the Low Countries, they neuer paid full payments of what they did owe, but still lefe some part vnpaid. *Essex* men are called calues, (because they abound there), *Lankashire* egge-pies, and to be wonne by an Apple with a red side. *Norfolk* wyles (for crafty litigiousnes): *Essex* stiles, (so many as make walking tedious), *Kentish* miles (of the length.)

Northumberland men (exercised in roades vpon the Scots) are accounted best light Horsemen. *Cornish* men best Horse-riders and Wrestlers, and most active men. *Lincolneshire* Belles and Bag-pipes, *Devonshire* Whitepots, *Tewksbery* Mustard, *Banberry* Cakes, *Kings-Norton* Cheese, *Sheffield* knives, *Darby* Ale, are prouerbially spoken of.

Poland and Ireland.

I hastily passed through part of *Scotland* bordering vpon *England*, and had no skill in the Irish tongue, so as I obserued no such Prouerbs in those Kingdomes.



The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the fit meanes to trauell, and to hire Coaches and Horses.

Germany and Sweitzerland and Boemmerland



Ereof I must intreate briefly, and howsoeuer the subiect be large, yet I wil compendiously restraine this my course, praying him that desireth more plaine instruction in any particular, to reade the following discourse in this third Part of these Nations diet in generall, and expences in their Innes, as also to gather particular obseruations for his vse out of my daily iournies, related in the first Part.

The greatest part of *Germany* is a plaine Countrie, with few Hilles, and almost no Mountaines, but it is full of vast Woods, and the soile is either sandy, or for the most part drie, and little subiect to dirt, so as they vse commonly Coaches for their iournies, which are easily to be found in any City, neither shall a passenger long stay for companions to fill vp the Coach, so as by this constant manner of traouelling, hee shall not be put to any extraordinary charge. From *Hamburg* to *Nurnberg*, being nine daies iourney, I remember that sixe of vs in company, hired a coach for fifty dollers. That five of vs for two dayes iournies paid five dollers. That foure of vs for three daies iorney payed seuen dollers for our Coach. But in our iourney from *Hamburg* to *Nurnberg* we paid for our Coachmans diet, himselfe paying for his horses meate, whereas in the other iournies he paid also for his owne diet. The ordinary Coaches hold sixe consoits, but those of *Nurnberg* receiue eight, bearing two in each boote on the sides. But if companions bee not readily found to fill the Coach, the passengers shall doe better in going forward with such company as they haue, and the Coachmen will rather goe for lesse, then stay in the Inne, and spend more in expecting the full number. The top of the Coaches is made with round hoopes (couered with lether, or for the most part with black cloath) which are buckled together in the middest when it raines, or the weather is cold, for otherwise the hoopes fastned with staples of Iron to the body of the coach, fall backward to the ends, so as the passengers may sit in the open aire. In lower *Germany* a passenger commonly payes about foure *Loebek* shillings for each meale. In middle *Germany* he shall pay about foure *Batzen*. And in higher *Germany* he shall pay about sixe or seuen batzen each meale, and all passengers sit at one common table. At the foote of the *Alpes*, where the fall of waters make the waies durty, they vse to ride on horsebacke. *Sweitzerland* consists of hilles and Mountaines, so as they likewise trauell on horsebacke. And there the passenger shall commonly pay some five or sixe batzen each meale.

The horses in both places are to bee hired for sixe or seuen batzen by the day, but the traouellers expence is doubled, by paying as much for the dayes in which the horse

Horse returnes empty : Besides, that hee must hire a Foote-man to bring backe his Horse, and must also beare his charges by the way, which greatly increaseth his expence in these Countries yeelding wine, the Foote-men being as good or better drinkers then the Horse-men. In vpper *Germany* a Horse-man shall pay daily about thirty Creitzers for Oates, and about fixe for Hey. In lower *Germany* about fixe Lubecke shillings for Oates, and almost the foresaid value for Hey.

This I write more particularly, because he that trauels for *Italy*, cannot take a more frugall course, then to buy a Horse in *Germany*, which he may sell for gaine in *Italy*, especially if hee sell him by the way, being within few daies of his iourneys end, whence he may passe by hired Coach or Horse to *Padua* : For if he bring his Horse thither, those that are to buy him, are such crafty knaues, and will so conspire together against him, as he shall be forced to sell his Horse vnder hand, being made weary with the great charge of his meate : but this frugallty hath some difficulties, if the passenger haue no skill in the tongue, (in which case hee must hire an Interpreter), and if he haue not Horse-men to accompany him, because they passe all by Coaches, yet if this Horse-man will follow the Coach, hee may with a small gift induce the Coach-man, to teach him the meanes to provide for his Horse: but this difficulty is taken away; when he once comes as high as *Nurnberg*, to which place it is more easie, though deerer, to passe by Coach.

It is a matter of small moment, yet not vnfit to bee obserued, that the churlish Coach-men of *Germany*, haue this custome, that the Coaches coming downe from the vpper parts, giue the way to those that come vp.

All Men speake strange things of the Alpes, and such as will hardly be beleecued by *The* those, that haue not seene them. The way from *Vienna* to *Padua* is plaine, yet lying *Alpes*. betweene high Mountaines, and fetching many compasses, so as it is fit for Horse-men, but I passed that way in the company of a Coach, which went slowly in the stony wayes, and was hardly by force of mens shoulders kept from falling. The way from *Augsburg* to *Padua* is like this, and of both these iourneys I haue spoken at large in the first Part. My selfe weary of expecting companions, and violently carried with the desire to returne into my Countrey, did all alone, without any one in my company, (which I thinke few or none euer did), passe ouer the Alpes, from *Bergamo* to *Chur*, saue that sometimes I hired a Foote-man to runne by my Horse, and to guide mee for a mile or two. In this iourney through the Grisons Countrey, I sometimes (not without horror) ascended very steepe passages of Mountaines, lying with my face on my Horses necke, whose bridle I left free to him, holding my selfe with one hand on his maine, and the other on the saddle. Woe to me, if any Mares had then passed that way, at the sight whereof my Horse vsed to be so furious, as many times at straight passages, and steepe falls of the Mountaines into low vallies, I was forced to light from him; and on foote to holde his bridle; and yet sometimes hee was so fierce, as he plunged out of the way vp to the saddle skirts in snow, so as I could hardly recouer him. The passages ouer the Alpes towards *Genoua* and *Sauoy*, especially the Mountaines called *Furca* and *Gothardo*, are most dangerous of all others. The fittest times to passe the Alpes, are the Winter moneths, when no snow is newly fallen, and the old snow is hard congealed, or else the moneths of Iune, Iuly, and August, when the snow neere the high wayes is altogether melted: For the middle moneths are very vnfit, either by falling of new snow, or by melting of the old, neither can any man passe, before the Officers appointed to haue care of the way, haue opened the same. My selfe passing ouer the more easie Alpes, in the moneth of Iune, did often heare Mountaines of melted snow fall into neere Vallies, with as violent rushing, as if whole Cities had fallen by an Earth-quake. Over the Alpes towards *Genoua* and *Sauoy*, passengers are sometimes carried vpon sledges, sometimes with gloues and shooes full of nailes, they creepe ouer them on hands and feete, and in both these kindes, their Guides euer warne them, to turne their eyes from beholding the steepe falls of the Mountaines into most deepe Vallies. For sometimes it happens, that in a turning or winding way, the sledge whereon the passenger sits, is cast

out of the way, and hangs downe into a most deepe valley, with the passengers head downewards and his heeles vpward. Woe be to him then, if hee let his hold goe; or the harnesse tying the sledge to the Horse should breake: yea, very Mules and Asses, going most slowly, and so most firmly, yet sometimes fall into deepe valleys, and so perish in the snow. My selfe in my iourney from *Padoua* to *Augsburg*, being a lesse difficult passage, did see an Horse bogging at a casuall noise, tumble halfe a mile into a valley, with his heauy loade vpon his hacke, yet haue no harme, the snow being so congealed as it bore him vp, so as his Master by a large circuite brought him safe againe vp to the rest of his Horses, on the Mountaines top.

Bohemia is all plaine, but often rising into low and fruitfull hills, so as there (as in *Germany*) they iourney most in Coaches. A passenger in this Kingdome shall pay some liue Bohemian Grosh, or vpon the Confines towards *Nürnberg*; some eightteene or twenty creitzers, for each meales meate: yet at *Prage* in most Innes, the Bohemians themselues vse to diet by the meale, but vpon account, the Hosts hauing little or nothing for diet in the House to sell, but buying most things without dores for the Guests.

Low-
Coun-
tries.

In the Low Countries Travellers passe most in long narrow Country Waggon, the sides thereof being like Racks for Horses, and acrosse over them short and somewhat narrow boards, being fastened for Passengers to sit vpon, two in a ranke, so as they hold some eight or tenne passengers; And they haue goodly Mares to draw these Waggon, vling their Horses for the troops in their Army, or exporting them (as sometimes their Mares also) to sell in forraigne parts. I did neuer see the meanes of passage so ready in any place, as these Waggon here at all times are, before the doore of the Waggoners Inne, nor comforts so readily found to all places, whereof the numbers are infinite passing both by Waggon and Boate: Neither did I euer see Travellers passe at so ealie rates, (I meane for their passages, not for the Innes), so they haue not heauy luggage: For in that case, the Waggon being left and taken at the gates of the Citie, (as I thinke not to weare the bricke pauements with their wheelles), and the waggon being often changed in each dayes iourney, this carriage to his Inne and from it so often, must needes be a great burthen to his shoulders, or charge to his purse: The Waggoners being commonly drunken, driue their Mares like mad men, yet without danger of turning ouer their Waggon, because the wayes are most plaine, faire, and sandy. From *Delph* to *Hage*, being two houres iourney, with comforts I paid two stivers for my Waggon, and alone I paid seuen. The way lies betwene ditches, and is plaine and safe, the Countrey people continually repairing it: For otherwise the wayes in this low watry soyle, could not be so drie and sandy as they are. And because they cast vp sand vpon the passengers, some curious men vse spectacles of glasse to preserue their eyes.

On all sides from City to City, they haue ditches cut, vpon which boates passe almost euery hower to and fro, and giue passage at a low rate, and the wind being faire, they beare sayles, otherwise they are drawne by Horses or by Marriners, with a rope fastened vpon a pole, set vp in the hinder part of the boate, and the Marriners being commonly drunke, through their too much hast and negligence, it often happens, that the ropes wherewith the boates are drawne, catch hold on some posts and stakes by the way, or chance to be intangled with the horses or reapes of other boates, meeting them, and so ouerturne them in the water, with no small danger to the passengers. The rates of passages by boate are diuers, but euer small. My selfe haue passed three miles for foure stivers, seuen miles for sixe stivers, and foureteene miles (as from *Amsterdam* to *Harlingen*) for eight stivers. The Marriners vse not to deceiue strangers in the rates, neither can they easily doe it, they being vulgarly knowne to euery child. Euery day and at a set hower, the Boates must goe away with those passengers they haue, and may not stay for more, and if at any time some few passengers, or any one alone, will pay the whole freight of the Boate, then they must without any delay transport those passengers or that one man. This I will

will illustrate with one example. A Barke must euerie day at a set hower set sayles from *Harlingen* a Citie in *Freeland* to *Amsterdam* a Citie in *Holland* (and like are the customes of other Cities for mutuall trafficke), neither may the couetous Marriners stay one minute after the hower, and after it is neuer so little loosed from the strand, it may not come backe to the shoare, though neuer so many passengers should come suddenly, and desire to bee receiued into it, but these new passengers must hire another barke, the price whereof is vulgarly knowne, and that being offered by them or any one passenger, the Marriners may not refuse to goe presently away. Sometimes it happens, that one Barke receiues so many passengers, as the owner gets tenne Flemmish guldens for one freight; for if great number of passengers comes before the appointed hower, that turnes to the Marriners profit. But if one man alone, or few men, doe after the appointed hower, offer to giue five guldens for the said passage, they may not refuse presently to transport him or them. The like custome is kept in other Cities for small boates and short passages, namely, that tenne consorts (which are most readilie found) shall pay each man three stivers for his passage; and if one or two being in haste will pay these thirty stivers, the boate without delay must carry him or them. I cannot denie, but these rates of hiring barks or boates are subiect to change. For in the passage from *Harlingen* to *Amsterdam* my selfe paid eight stivers for my transporting, which of old was but five stivers a man. As likewise for small boats we then paid three stivers for a passage, which of old was but one blanck. But in the meane time these increases are not raised by the Marriners couetousnesse after their pleasure, but by the publike authority of the Magistrate in lawfull and decent manner.

In the publike Innes a passenger paies some ten or fourteene stivers each meale: but if he drinke wine, that will cost as much more, by reason of the great impositions vpon the Wines. Besides that, the Flemmings his consorts drinking beare stiffely, especially if they light vpon English beare, and drinke being put into the common reckoning of the company, a stranger shall pay for their intemperancy.

The *Danes* haue such and the same waggons, as the Flemmings, which a man alone *Dan-* or few or more consorts may hire some foure miles (being a short dayes iourney), for *mark,* 20 or 24 *Lubeck* shillings, or about that rate, Trauellers vse not to passe on horsebacke. The Coachmen pay for their owne diet and their horses meate. My selfe commonly paid each meale for my diet sixe *Lubeck* shillings, reckoning three for beare apart, and in some places ioyntly for both foure *Lubeck* (that is eight Danish shillings. Lastly, I was carried in a boate foure miles by the Sea-coast for eight *Lubeck* shillings.

Poland for the most part (or almost all) is a plaine Countrie, fit for the passing of co- *Poland:* ches, which may be hired in Cities, and are like to those of *Germany*. From *Dantzke* to *Crakaw* (being ten daies iourney) a coach may be hired for some 44 German guldens. My selfe paid there for my part six guldens, leauing the Coach after foure daies iourney, because the horses were tired. And for my diet two of those dayes vpon our guides reckoning, my part came to two guldens, but I am sure he deceiued vs. In one Citie by the way, five of vs paid 2 dollers for one supper, but my selfe after passing alone, commonly dined in villages for 2 or 3 grosh, and supped for 4 or 6 grosh. They vse to carry a bed in the Coach, and to sit vpon it in the day time, for otherwise no beds are to be found, but onely in great Cities, which are very rare. And they who will haue wine, must also carry it with them, for it is not to be had but onely in great Cities. Our Horses (as I said) being tired, we left our Coach, and by the Kings letter or warrant granted to one of our company, we tooke vp horses, and that for small prices, namely, one or two Grosh for a Polish or Dutch mile: But the Polonians for the most part ride on horsebacke, and the most conuenient and frugall course for passengers, is to buy horses and sell them in *Italy* after their iourney, neither shall they want horse-men to beare them company from City to City: but he that is a horse-man, cannot carrie his bed, & so must haue patience to rest vpon a bench, til he shall find beds vpon the confines of *Germany*. In the meane time his long horsmans coat (which the Polonians & Hungarians generally vse) may (with straw) make his lodging more conuenient,

especially if it be lined with Woolues skinnies, or like fures, for the Winter time. Neither shall he neede to feare any cold, since the Polonians vse hot stoues (as the Germans haue), and do also lodge all the family therein at night vpon straw and benches. Horsemeate will cost some two or three grosh at noone, and some foure or five grosh at night.

Italy.

In *Italy* they vse few or no Coaches, but onely in the State of *Venice*, where, from *Treniso* to *Padoua*, being twelue miles, my selfe and my companions hired a Coach for eighteene Venetian lyres. For other parts of *Italy*, Trauellers for iourneys vse horses or mares in *Lumbar dy*, and otherwhere vpon hilly Countries, and in the Plaine towards *Naples*, they vse Mules and Asses much more commonly, then Horses, and the same beasts in like sort are vsed for all carriages. Post-horses are to be hired in euery City, and for one they commonly pay a siluer crowne, that is leuen Venetian lyres, for ten miles. But I do not remember to haue seene any vse Post-horses as we do for galloping, the Italians vsing to ride a slow pace. And if any passenger thinke this rate deare, he may take a more frugall course, by enquiring after Post-horses of retorne, so called, because they must retorne home empty, if they find no passengers by chance to vse them: for these horses may bee had at a lower rate, and if the passenger find them not readily at euery stage, it will not be vnpleasant for him to walke on foote to the next stage, where or by the way he shall commonly find such horses, so as the want of comforts, or heavy baggage, make not his walking on foote vnpleasant; for otherwise the fields and waies are most pleasant, and the Cities, Townes, or dwellings most frequent. But if he ride vpon a post-horse of retorne, he must take heede that he light from his horse at the Towne-gate; for if he ride to the Inne, the Post-master will force him to take a new Post-horse, or else to goe away on foote, whereas if he come to the Inne either on foote, or vpon an hackny, it is free for the horse-letters to furnish him and his company with hackney horses. These horse-letters are called *Vetturini*, and let their horses at a lower rate, especially if the passenger haue two or three comforts, and they will send a seruant on foot to serde the horses by the way, and to bring them backe, except their iourney be short, as of one or two dayes, in which case they will let a horse to a passenger being alone, with caution that hee shall meate him by the way, and at the iourneys end leaue him at the Inne which they appoint, without further care of his meate or retorne. Yea, if the passenger would ride his horse beyond that Inne, the Hoste or his seruants, knowing the horse, will stay him, and take the horse into their keeping. Also ordinary Carriers from Citie to Citie vse to let horses, and leade passengers with them. My selfe hired a horse of retorne from *Bologna* to *Rimini*, being thirty five miles, for tenne poali; from *Sienna* to *Lucca*, being forty five miles, a *Vetturines* horse, for foureteene poali or giulij; from *Lucca* to *Pisa*, being tenne miles, for two giulij; from *Pisa* to *Livigi*, being fortie one miles, for apialtro, or siluer crowne; and from *Milan* to *Cremona*, being fifty two miles, a carriers horse, for five lyres besides horse-meate. Hee that hath his owne horse, or a *Vetturines* horse left to his keeping (as I laid for a short iourney), shall pay for horse-meate after these rates. At *Lucca* in the State of *Florence*, hee shall pay each night some twelue creitzers for oates, & eight creitzers for the stable (that is hay, straw and stable roome) and at *Vicenza* and in the State of *Venice*, some eighteene soldi for oates, and twentie soldi for the stable. The Italians ride vpon most hard saddles, hauing commonly a leather cushion of their owne to fasten vpon the pummell of the saddle. Touching the charge of diet by the way, a passenger in the State of *Venice* shall haue his supper and bed for forty soldi, and in the vpper parts of *Italy* for three giulij, and he may dine conueniently for one giulio vpon reckoning, or at most for a giulio and a halfe: but if hee will cate at the ordinary, he shall pay three. Many agree with the *Vetturine*, not onely for horses and horsemeate, but also for their owne diet: but for my part, I would rather liue at my owne charge and discretion, then at theirs, excepting the iourney from *Rome* to *Naples*, in which, for the great hast, especially at dinner times, & for the familiarity which the *Vetturines* haue with the Hosts, all men vse to agree with them, as wel for diet as for horses and horse-meat, which if they should not doe, they should spend more

more, & hardly be vsed so wel In *Italy* the passenger must be content with a hard flock bed; for by reason of the heate of the Country, they vse no feather beds: He shall haue cleane sheetes, at least if he be curious to demand them: but because the beds are suspected for filthinesse of the Venerian disease, passengers vse to weare linnen breeches of their owne. It is good to lodge in the best Innes, especially in *Italy*, for in them hee shall be best vsed, and shall be most safe from dangers. For other particulars let the passenger reade the more full handling of them, in my daily iournies through *Italy*, in the first Part, and the following Chapter of the Italian diet in this third Part.

In the Turkish Empire they trauell not, as we doe, sometimes one man alone, some-
times two, three, or more consorts, at pleasure; but as thees there goe in troopes to
spoile, so Merchants for their security, ioyne together till they haue some two or three
hundred Cammels, loaded with goods, and a conuenient number of men to attend
them. And this Company is called vulgarly a Carrauan, to which passengers ioyne
themselues, for their better safety. This Company, to auoide the heate of the Sunne,
vseth to beginne their iourney in the euening, and to continue the same till two how-
ers after Sunne-rise, resting all the day in Tents: And euery man carries his owne
meate, or prouides it by the way. *Malem* signifies one, that leades Merchants goods,
and *Muccaro* signifies him that lookes to the beasts, and to the loading of them; and
these Men let Cammels, Horses, and Mules, to passengers, for the whole iourney,
at reasonable rates, and doe waite vpon the passengers to feede the beasts, and to
loade them, as also to buy and dresse meate for the Men. My selfe and my
Brother *Henry*, in our iourney from *Tripoli* in *Syria* to *Haleppo*, paied nine Py-
astri for two Asses to ride vpon, and for their meate, and for some tributes (vul-
garly *Cafars*) of twenty Meidines or thereabouts, due by the way. And in our
iourney from *Haleppo* to *Constantinople*, wee paide to our Muccaro bearing the
charge of the beasts meate, seuentie and one Pyastri, for a Horse and a Mule to
ride vpon, and for a Cammell to carry our prouisions, of Bisket, Wine,
Damaske Prunes, and some such comfortable things: For wee pitched our
Tents neere Villages or Cities, from whence wee bought Egges, Hennes, and
Ryce, as wee needed them, and sometimes had oppottunity to supply that
which wee had consumed, of those prouisions which wee carried with vs.
One Cammell will beare a passenger, and good store of necessary prouisions
with him, but the pace thereof is very harde, and shaketh the body of the Ry-
der, the hinder parts of the Cammell being higher then the fore parts. The
Horses either goe a foote pace, or gallop, but are not taught the paces of am-
bling or trotting: yet in regard that in these iournies the passenger goes slowly,
following loaded Cammels, their Horses are easie enough to ride vpon. The Mules
naturally haue easie and slow paces, and are most commodious, especially for
sicke men. Besides these Carauans, a passenger may light vpon other commodities
of taking his iourney, namely, when Bashas or other Turkish Gouvernours are re-
called from their Gouvernements, and returne with their families to *Constantinople*.
For these Magistrates are often changed in *Turkey*, and so these commodities of
passage are frequent. Onely the passenger must bee commended to the prote-
ction of this Bashia or Gouvernour, which vpon a small present or gift hee will
easily vndertake, and sweare by his head, touching it (as their manner is to
sweare), that hee will bring him safely to his iournies ende. And the passenger
who together with this caution, hath a Ianizare to protect and guide him, shall
neede to feare no danger, so as hee receiue this Ianizare from an Ambassadour,
Consull, or Christian Merchant, who will aske account of the passengers safe-
tie from the Ianizare at his returre.

They haue a third commodious way for iournies, in the company of a
Troope of Horse, (vulgarly called *Cassenda*), which often carries the Turkes
Treasure vp to *Constantinople*. And not onely the chiefe of this Troope, vpon
a small gift, will protect any passenger, but also this course of all others is most

commo-

commodious for iournies, because they ride a good pace, being not troubled with loaded Camels, and so come speedily vnto their iournies end.

France.

The French seldome vse Coaches for iourneys, but at *Paris* he that will hire a Coach about the City, shall pay seven or eight ryals by the day. Likewise at *Paris*, very Notaries and ordinary men, hire horses and foot cloathes to ride about the City, and they pay ten soulz for the horse, and five for the foot-cloath by the day. But for iournies, the French haue three sorts of horses. The first is of post-horses, let for a stage of some three miles, shorter or longer, for which a French man shall pay fifteene, perhaps a stranger twenty soulz, and as much for a guide, besides some five soulz of free gift. The second sort are called *Cheuaux de relais*, that is, horses to be left at a place. And for the hiring of these for a like distance of miles, a passenger payes some tenne soulz, and hee needes no guide to bring backe the horse, because he is to leaue him in a place appointed at the end of the stage. But hee may not ride these a false gallop, as they vse to ride post-horses; for if he that receiues the horse, can find either by the note deliuered him, or by the sweating of the horse, that hee hath ridden an extraordinary pace, hee shall pay ten soulz, the ordinarie penaltie for that wrong. The third sort are called *Cheuaux de louage*, that is, hired horses, and these a passenger may hire to what place hee will for some fifteene or twentieth soulz by the day, for so many dayes till the horse may bee sent backe, and at the iournies end hee deliuers the horse with a note to some friend of the owner, and by the way hee payes for his meate, some five soulz at noone, and ten at night. I will adde one example of my owne experience. From *Roane* to *Diepe* are twelue or fourteene miles, to bee ridden in some foute howers, but the horses being weake, passengers vse to bate at a Village called *Totes* in the halfe way; and howsoeuer before the ciuill warre, a horse of hire for this short iourney was let for ten soulz, yet at the time when I passed that way, they demaunded and tooke thirtie soulz, reckoning three dayes for the iourney, and the sending backe of the horse. Hee that hired this horse from *Roane* to *Diepe*, and backe againe to *Roane*, paid no more, so he returned within three dayes. But if his occasions were to make any stay at *Diepe*, or to sayle from thence to *England*, or to iourney from thence to any other place, then he paid the foresaid thirty soulz, and left the horse with an host, still paying for his meate some eight or ten soulz by the day, till he could be sent backe. Yet passengers are so frequent there, as the host doth not onely soone free the passenger of this charge for the horses meate, but easily gaineth himselfe some ten or more soulz from him, that vndertakes to carry the horse backe to *Roane*. In generall, the Traueller must be content with hard saddles, and sometimes with a rope for a bridle, who hath them not of his owne. The French in their Innes vse to eate at an ordinarie table together for the most part. In *Totes* the foresaid Village of *Normandy* before the great ciuill war, as soone as a Traueller lighted from his horse, they brought him water to wash, and presently set bread and wine before him (for without some refection, the French haue not patience to stay for supper.) Then at supper commonly they gaue mutton, a capon or pullet and a partridge, or like meates, with some banquetting dishes (as apples, cherries, grapes in Summer, and chesnuts, rice, dried grapes and fruits in winter. Then they brought cleane sheets to be aired before the passenger at the fire. Lastly, in the morning they gaue him his breakfast (as buttered toasts, or some morsell of flesh), and for all this and his horsemeat, he was wont to pay no more then some 12 soulz. As likewise for his dinner and horsemeat some 10 soulz. But after the ciuill war, when I passed these parts, sometimes I paid 12, sometimes 15 soulz for each meale, and for my horse-meate at noone five soulz, at night tenne soulz; but an horse-man paid nothing for his bed. And if any desired to breake his fast, hee paid for it apart, but a small matter. Neither at this time was there any ordinarie Table (which they call *Table de l'hoste*, the Hoststable), for since Frenchmen vse not to leaue it where any such is, I should otherwise haue seene it, besides, that they pay not apart for breakfasts, where Ordinary Tables are held, as wee did in these Innes.

The

The horseman hath his bed freely, the footman paies some three souls a night. In some places, as vpon the confines of *France* towards *Flanders*, the Hosts onely giue Linnen, bread and wine; and when the guests will eate, Cookes bring in trayes of diuers meats ready for dressing, and when the guests haue chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe, and after it is prepared, bring it in warme with sauces. If the passenger haue a horse of his owne (which he may buy here to sell with good gaine in *Italy*) he shall pay for his meate (as I said) five souls at noone, and some ten souls at night. The French haue also long Waggones covered with cloath (such as our English Carriers vse), wherein women, and such as can indure the slownesse thereof, vse to trauell from Citie to Citie. My self after I had been robbed in *Champaigne*, passed in such a Waggon from *Challons* to *Paris*, and paid two gold Crownes of the Sunne for my passage. Alwaies it is to bee vnderstood, that in most Kingdomes and places a stranger shall pay somewhat more, then one that is borne in the Country.

In *England* towards the South, and in the West parts, and from *London* to *Barwick*, *England* vpon the confines of *Scotland*, Post-horses are established at euery ten miles or thereabouts, which they ride a false gallop after some ten miles an hower sometimes, and that makes their hire the greater: for with a Commission from the chiefe Post-master, or chiefe Lords of the Councell (giuen either vpon publike businesse, or at least pretence thereof) a passenger shal pay two pence half-penny each mile for his horse, and as much for his guides horse: but one guide will serue the whole company, though many ride together, who may easily bring backe the horses driuing t'hem before him, who know the way as well as a begger knowes his dish. They which haue no such Commission, pay three pence for each mile. This extraordinary charge of horses hire, may well be recompenced with the speede of the iourney, whereby greater expences in the Innes are auoided, all the difficultie is, to haue a body able to endure the toyle. For these horses the passenger is at no charge to giue them meat, onely at the ten miles end the boy that carries them backe, will expect some few pence in gift. Some Nobleman hath the Office of chiefe Post-Master, being a place of such account, as commonly he is one of the Kings Counsell. And not onely hee, but other Lords of the Councell, according to the qualities of their offices, vse to giue the foresaid Commission signed with their hands ioyntly or seuerally: but their hands are lesse regarded then the Post-masters, except they be fauourites, and of the highest Offices, or the businesse bee important. In the Innes men of inferiour condition vse to eate at the Hosts Table, and pay som six pence a meale: but Gentlemen haue their chambers, and eate alone, except perhaps they haue consorts and friends in their company, and of their acquaintance. If they bee accompanied, perhaps their reckoning may commonly come to some two shillings a man, and one that eates alone in his owne chamber with one or two seruants attending him, perhaps vpon reckoning may spend some five or six shillings for supper and breakfast. But in the Northerne parts, when I passed towards *Scotland*, Gentlemen themselves did not vse to keepe their chambers, but to eat at an ordinarie table together, where they had great plentie of good meate, and especially of choise kinds of fish, and each man paid no more then sixe pence, and sometimes but foure pence a meale. One horses meate will come to twelue pence, or eightene pence the night for Hay, Oates and Straw, and in Summer time commonly they put the horses to grasse, after the rate of three pence each horse, though some who ride long iournies, will either keepe them in the Stable at hard meate as they doe in Winter, or else giue them a little Oates in the morning when they are brought vp from grasse. English passengers taking any iourney, seldome dine, especially not in Winter, and withall ride long iournies. But there is no place in the World where passengers may so freely command as in the English Innes, and are attended for themselves and their horses as well as if they were at home, and perhaps better, each seruant being reany at call, in hope of a small reward in the morning. Neither did I euer see Innes so well furnished with household stuffe. Coaches are not to be hired any where but only at *London*; and howsoeuer *England* is for the most part plaine, or consisting of little pleasant hilles, yet the waies farre from *London* are so dnrty, as hired Coach-men

Coachmen doe not ordinarily take any long iournies, but onely for one or two daies any way from *London*, the wayes so farre being sandy and very faire, and continually kept so by labour of hands. And for a dayes iourney, a Coach with two horses vsed to be let for some ten shillings the day (or the way being short for some eight shillings, so as the passengers paid for the horses meate) or some fiftene shillings a day for three horses, the Coach-man paying for his horses meate. Sixtie or seventy yeeres agoe, Coaches were very rare in *England*, but at this day pride is so farre increased, as there be few Gentlemen of any account (I meane elder Brothers), who haue not their Coaches, so as the streetes of *London* are almost stopped vp with them. Yea, they who onely respect comlineffe and profit, and are thought free from pride, yet haue Coaches, because they find the keeping thereof more commodious and profitable, then of horses, since two or three Coach-horses will draw foure or five persons, besides the commodity of carrying many necessities in a Coach. For the most part Englishmen especially in long iournies, vse to ride vpon their owne horses. But if any will hire a horse, at *London* they vse to pay two shillings the first day, and twelue, or perhaps eightene pence a day, for as many dayes as they keepe him, till the horse be brought home to the owner, and the passenger must either bring him backe, or pay for the sending of him, and find him meate both going and comming. In other parts of *England* a man may hire a horse for twelue pence the day, finding him meate, and bringing or sending him backe; and if the iourney bee long, he may hire him at a conuenient rate for a moneth or two. Likewise Carriers let horses from Citie to Citie, with caution that the passenger must lodge in their Inne, that they may looke to the feeding of their horse, and so they will for some five or sixe dayes iourney let him a horse, and find the horse meate themselves for some twenty shillings. Lastly, these Carryers haue long couered Waggones, in which they carry passengers from City to City: but this kind of iourning is so tedious, by reason they must take wagon very carely, and come very late to their Innes, as none but women and people of inferiour condition, or strangers (as Flemmings with their wiues and seruants) vse to trauell in this sort.

Ireland. In *Ireland* since the end of the Ciuill warre, some Lords and Knights haue brought in Coaches to *Dublin*, but they are not generally vsed, neither are there any to bee hired, though the waies be most plaine and generally good for Coaches. They ride for the most part vpon their owne horses, but they are also to bee hired for some twelue pence, or eightene pence the day, finding the horses meate, which in the stable will cost some twelue pence each night, and at grasse little or nothing. In euery City there be some knowne houses, where an ordinary is kept for diet, and beds may be had, and the Ordinary is commonly twelue pence each meale. By the way in poore Hamlets, at this time of peace, there bee English houses, where is good lodging and diet, and where no such are, passengers must goe to the houses of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Husbandmen English, and Irish-English, where they cannot want intertainement in some good measure, these inhabitants much louing hospitalitie, but all other houses are full of filth and barbarousnesse. But there are not any Innes in the very Cities, which hang out Bushes, or any Signes, only some Citizens are knowne, who will giue stable and meate for horses, and keepe a table where passengers cate at an ordinarie, and some Citizens haue cellers, wherein they draw wine, if not al the yeere, yet as long as their wine lasts: but they haue no Tauerne with Iuy bushes or signes hung out, saue onely some few at *Dublin*.

Scotland In *Scotland* a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eight pence the day vntill he be brought home, and the horse letters vse to send a footman to bring backe the horse. They haue no such Innes as bee in *England*, but in all places some houses are knowne, where passengers may haue meate and lodging: but they haue no bushes or signes hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set vp in Stables in some out-lane, not in the same house were the passenger lyes. And if any man bee acquainted with a Townes-man, hee will goe freely to his house, for most of them will entertaine a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for Oates and Straw (for Hay,

hay is rare in those parts) some eight pence day and night, and he shall pay no lesse in Summer for grasse, wherof they haue no great store. Himself at a cōmon table shall pay about sixe pence for his supper or dinner, and shal haue his bed free; and if he will eate alone in his chamber, he may haue meate at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty yecres agoe the first vse of Coaches came into *Scotland*, yet were they rare euen at *Edenborough*. At this day since the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* were vnited, many Scots by the Kings fauour haue been promoted both in dignitie and estate, and the vse of Coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in *England*. But the vse of Horse-litters hath been very ancient in *Scotland*, as in *England*, for sickly men and women of qualitie.

CHAP. II.

Of the Sepulchers, Monuments, and Buildings in generall; for I haue spoken particularly of them in the first Part, writing of my daily iournies.



Among all the Sepulchers that I haue seene in *Europe*, or in *Turkey*, that in *Westminster* erected to *Henrie* the seuenth, King of *England* of Copper mettall, adorned with vulgar precious stones, is the fairest, especially considering the stately Chappell built ouer it. The next to that in my opinion is the Sepulcher at *Windsore*, made of the same mettall curiously carued, at the charge of *Cardinall wolsey*, had he not left it vnperfected, so as none hath yet been buried vnder it. The next place I would giue to the Sepulchers of the Turkish *Ottomans*, whereof the fairest is the monu-

ment with the Mosche (or Chappell) built ouer it, for *Sultan Soloman* at *Constantinople*. The other monuments of the Sultans are built more low, with a little round Mosche ouer them, all of the best Marble, the top being a round Globe of brasle or leade, and for the better shew, they are commonly set vpon hilles. The insides are round, and lightsome with windowes, and in the very middest lyes the Sultan, with his sonnes round about him, which (according to their custome) are strangled by the command of their eldest brother, as soone as the father is dead, and his Sultana is laid by his side when she dies. These are all laid in chests of Cypresse, lifted vp from the ground, with their Tulbents ouer their heads, which liuing they woare vpon their heads, with some Jewels at the crowne. And these chests are compassed with a grate of iron, without which is a round Gallerie or walking place, spread with Tapestry, vpon which the Zantones or Priests that keepe the Sepulcher, continually sit, as if the Sultans would not be left alone without attendance when they were dead. I speake not of the Turkes common Sepulchers, which haue no beauty, being in common fieldes, with three stones erected, at the head, the breast, and the feete. Neither did I see any other stately monuments erected to the Turkish Visiers and Bashaes. In the next place is the monument of the Saxon Elector *Mauritius*, at *Friburg* in *Germany* (being of black Marble, three degrees high, with faire statuaes) and the monuments of English Noblemen in *Westminster*, and *Saint Pauls Church* at *London* (of greater magnificence and number, then I haue seene any otherwhere.) In the next place are the Sepulchers of the French Kings at *Saint Dennys*, neere *Paris*, and of the Palatine at *Heydelberg* in *Germany*. I speake not of the Prince of *Orange* his Sepulcher at *Delph* in *Holland*, which is a poore monument, farre vnfit for so worthy a Prince, who deserued so wel of the Low-Country men. But they haue few or no stately monuments, nor almost any ordinary Sepulchers erected to the dead. Of the same degree with the French Kings Sepulchers, or rather to be preferred before the most of them, are the Sepulchers of *Italy*, but they are of another kind. Some of them at *Rome*, and that of the King of *Aragon* at *Naples*.

Naples, and some few other, are stately and beautifull. The rest are erected little from the ground, and sometimes Pyramidall, but the Altars built ouer them, are adorned with rare pictures, Porphery, Marble, and Lydian stones, and vpon these Altars they sing Masses and prayers the dead lying vnder them.

As I said that all the Turkes, excepting the Sultans or Emperours are buried in the open fields, so I haue seene in *Germany* some fields without the Cities, compassed with faire square walles of stone, wherein Citizens were buried. Of these the fairest is at *Leipzig*, the walles whereof are built with arched Cloysters, vnder which the chiefe Citizens are buried by families, the common sort onely lying in the open part of the field, and at one corner of the wall there is a Tarras, couered aboue, but open on the two sides towards the field, and pauered on the ground, wherein stands a Pulpit. This place is called *Gotts aker*, that is, that Aker or field of God. The like burying place I haue seene at *Geneua*, without the walles of the City. At *Pisa* in *Italy* they haue a publike place of buriall like in fashion to these, but within the walles of the Citie, and the building compassing it, is very stately, and much to be preferred before that of *Leipzig*. This place is called *Campo santo*, that is the holy field, either of the vse, or because the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, returning from the holy Land, and taking that earth for ballast of his ships, did after lay the same in this place.

Publike
buildings
for Mer-
chants to
meete.

The Exchange, or publike place for the meeting of Merchants, and for the selling of smaller or richer wares at *London*, being built of Free-stone by Sir *Thomas Gresham* Knight and Merchant, is the most stately building in that kind that I haue seene in *Europe* or *Turkey*. For that of *Antwerp*, in imitation whereof this is said to haue been built, was neuer seene by me, and I haue heard many preferre this before that. *Ancona* in *Italy* hath such a place, much lesse, but very beautifull, and that of *Hamburg* in *Germany* is much to be commended. That of *Constantinople* called *Besensteine*, is markable rather for the pretious wares and iewels, then for the building, which is onely of Bricke, and therein also they sell captiues for slaues.

Senate-
houses.

For publike houses built for the meeting of the Senate, there be many in *Germany* which are very stately, and among them that of *Hamburg* seemed to mee the fairest.

Publike
places for
recreation.

The Germans, Low-countrimen and Sweitzers, haue in each City publike houses, where the Citizens meete to walke, and for exercises, as shooting in the peece and Crossebow, and where they also drinke and feast together. Those of *Sweitzerland* are lesse sumptuous for building, but much more pleasant, hauing trees, within the boughes whereof they haue roomes or arbours built vpon the bodies of the trees, whereof diuers containe three or foure Tables, besides that water is drawne vp by pipes to the top of the tree, for washing of glasses, and like vses.

Stables.

Among the Stables of Princes, that of the Duke of *Saxony* at *Dresden* in *Germany*, is the fairest of all other, and a rare building for that purpote.

Clocks.

For Clocks, that of *Strasburg* in *Germany* is most artificiall, and to bee wondered at, and is much to bee preferred before that of *Lubeck*, or any other in the World.

Theaters
and water
Conduits.

In *Italy* there be many wonderfull ruines of old Theaters, water Conduits, and like monuments in many places: but these ruines belong not properly to this discourse, and there be few like built of late. Onely the water Conduit at *Rome*, newly built by Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, is a Kingly worke. And the Theater at *Vicenza* now standing, and in vse for Comedies, is faire and stately. The Theaters at *London* in *England* for Stageplaies, are more remarkeable for the number, and for the capacity, then for the building.

Bridges.

The Bridge at *London* is worthily to be numbred among the miracles of the world, if men respect the building and foundation, laid artificially and stately ouer an ebbing and flowing water, vpon 21 piles of stone, with 20 arches, vnder which Barkes may passe, the lowest foundation being (as they say) packs of woll, most durable against the force of the water, and not to be repaired, but vpon great fall of the waters, and by artificiall

artificiall turning or stopping the recourse of them. Or if men respect the houses built vpon the bridge, as great and high as those of the firme land, so as a man cannot know that he passeth a bridge, but would judge himselfe to be in the streete, saue that the houses on both sides are combined in the top, making the passage somewhat darke, and that in some few open places the Riuer of *Thames* may be seene on both sides. In the second rancke, is the bridge of our Lady at *Paris* in *France*. The next place belongs to the bridge of *Venice*, called *Realto*, consisting of one, but an high Arch, and built partly of marble, partly of freestone, and to be ascended by many staires on both sides, and hauing low shoppes vpon the ascents and on the top, and for the building of the whole bridge, being more stately then that of *Paris*. In the fourth rancke is the bridge of *Florence*, ouer the riuer *Arno*; and for bare bridges, hauing no buildings vpon them, the bridge of *Dresden* in *Germany*, and many other bridges in *England*, in my opinion might be preferred before that of *Florence*, had it not those houses built vpon it: But the bridge of *Rome*, called *Sant' Angelo*, is not worth the naming, howsoeuer the Italians (after their bragging manner) haue made the same appeare famous to men that neuer saw it, as likewise they haue spread the fame of the Roman Riuer *Tyberis*, which at *Rome* and running vnder this bridge, deserves rather to be accounted a little brooke, or a ditch, then a Riuer. And as for the inundations thereof, they are rather to be attributed to the narrownesse of the bed, then the greatnesse of the Riuer, onely increasing vpon the fall of raine, or melted snow from the neighbour mountaines, and making no Hauen at the very mouth, where it enters into the Sea.

Surely howsoeuer the Italians were of old very magnificent in many things, yet by obtruding their Latin tongue to all Nations they conquered, they did likewise make them conceiue of euery spring, brooke, and porch, as of the Worlds miracles. And there be some among them at this day, who in their slecues laugh at Trauellers, curiously searching after these Antiquities, thus made famous by old Writers, and who take pleasure to delude this their simpliciety, (for such they esteeme it, howsoeuer wee doe but by the way search after them, hauing more profitable ends of our iournies into *Italie*).

There be some other bridges of exceeding length, as those of *Strasbourg* and *Wien* (more knowne by the name of *Vienna*) in *Germany*, but they being onely built of timber, and laid ouer with loose peeces of timber, (that vpon danger of Armies and inundations, they may be more easily broken and built vp againe), and so being nothing lesse then durable, I doe onely here mention them.

The Goldsmiths shops at *London* in *England*, (being in diuers streetes, but especially *Golden* that called *Cheape-side*), are exceeding richly furnished continually with gold, and sil-^{smiths}uer plate and Jewels. The Goldsmiths shops vpon the bridges at *Florence* and *Paris*,^{shops} haue perhaps sometimes beene as richly or better furnished, for the time or some nuptiall Feast of the Princes or like occasion, with Plate and Jewels borrowed of private persons for that purpose: but I may lawfully say, setting all loue of my Countrey apart, that I did neuer see any such daily shew, any thing so sumptuous in any place of the World, as in *London*.

I will not speake in this place of Churches and Academicall Colledges, but referre them to their proper places, where in the last Part, I shall treat of Religion and Vniuersities. Onely here it shall suffice in a word to say, that the Churches in *England*, and Colledges in the Vniuersities thereof, (considering due circumstances) are to be much admired, and preferred before any in the World.

Munster affirmeth that the Romans built in *Germany* beyond the Riuer *Danow* & *Rhine*, more stately Cities, then are to be seene in other parts thereof: But for my part ^{Buil-} I would say that *Nurnberg*, *Dresden*, *Breslawe*, (the chiefe City of *Silesia*) and the Cities ^{dings in} *Germany* vpon the Sea Coast towards the North, (called *Hans stetten*, that is, free Cities), are much fairer, and farre more magnificently built, then those that he nameth. The Cities within land (excepting *Ertford*, those of *Hessen*, and some like, which are built of timber, clay, and plaster, or of durt, and couered with tiles of wood), are built of great polished and carued free stones, foure or fise stories high, with an high

rooſebearing windowes, and couered with tiles. Some of the foreſaid Cities on the Sea Coaſt are built of free ſtone, but for the moſt part of bricke, and in the lower ſore roome being commonly large, they haue great dores (like gates) towards the ſtreetes, which being open by day, expoſe to the eies of paſſengers, the bright puter diſhes, and other like veſſels of tin and braſſe, which uſe to be ſet forth in the vpper end of that roome: And not onely the priuate houſes, but the publike ſtreetes, are notable for cleaneſſe, vniformity, and beauty. The houſes and buildings vpon the Alpes (excepting ſome few Cities, which are equall to the foreſaid built within land, as *Inſprucke*, lying in the way betweene *Augsburg* and *Padoua*) are built much lower, moſt commonly of freeſtone, and couered with tiles of wood, and for three parts of the yeere, they are continually couered with ſnow; and as through all *Germany* the caſements of the windowes are little, ſo in theſe parts they are much leſſe, ſo as a man can hardly put his head out of them, and the windowes on the Inſide are all to be ſhut cloſe with wooden windowes, they vſing all poſſible art to keepe the cold out, and to retaine the heat of the ſtoaes within. Noblemens Caſtles in *Germany*, are for the moſt part anſwerable to the building of the Cities within Land, but they ſhew more antiquity, and are more built for ſtrength then beauty: And the more ſtately Pallaces of Cities, and theſe Caſtles, in ſome places (as my ſelfe obſerued at *Augsburg*) but very rarely, are couered with copper, which *Germany* yeeldeth, but neuer with leade, whereof they haue none of their owne. The building of houſes in the Townes, is for matter like to that of the Cities, but lower, and the Villages for the moſt part are built of timber, clay, and plaſter, or durt, and couered with tiles of wood, or the worſt of them with ſtraw. In generall, at the moſt frequented dores of euery houſe, they haue ropes, that men without by the ringing of a bell may be let in, and thoſe within may open the dores by the pulling of a roape without going to them, and the dores likewise by waights are made to ſhut of themſelues at the heeles of him that comes in, without the helpe of any hand. The windowes in generall are of a thicke glaſſe, with little caſements cloſed in wood, not in iron, which they ſeldome open, that the ſtoaes may be kept warme. To conclud, *Germany* yeelds to no place in the World for the number or ſtately building of Cities, yet ſo as reſpecting the greatneſſe thereof, it hath not ſo frequent and little diſtant Cities, as *Netherland*, and other leſſe Dominions haue.

Of Sweit-
zerland.

Among the Cities of *Sweitzerland*, the building of *Bern* is moſt vniforme and faire; being of freeſtone, with arched Cloyſters towards the ſtreete, (as in ſome parts of *Italy*), vnder which men walke drie footed after the greateſt raine: but moſt of the Cities (as of the Townes and Villages) are fairely built with timber, clay, and plaſter, and commonly are ſeated on the declining ſides of Mountaines and hills.

Of Boemer-
land.

Of the laſt ſort, are the houſes of *Boemerland*, ſaue that the wals and foundations are made of whole bodies of trees, as they are cut downe, euen couered with the bark, and ioined together with clay and mortar: And theſe houſes are generally couered with tiles of wood, not with ſlates.

Low Coun-
tries.

In the vnited Prouinces, the houſes are moſt of bricke, aſwell in Cities as in Villages, and ſo vniforme, as if they had all beene built at a time, and by the ſame workemen. The fronts of them towards the ſtreetes are commonly narrow, (excepting ſome few that are broade and high), and ſo are built inward in length, with narrow windowes, and nothing at all caſt out from the wals, and the roofes haue windowes for uſe of the roomes, being couered with tiles, or peeces of wood in the ſame forme. At *Leyden* and *Delph* the houſes are built very high of many ſtories, and the roofes are ſteepe, and haue alſo windowes for uſe. At the *Hage*, being a moſt pleaſant Village, where the States keepe their reſidence, the building is like; but the Caſtle in which Count *Maurice* dwelt, and ſome few Gentlemens houſes, are built of freeſtone, and in ſome outlanes many houſes are couered with ſtraw. The wares of Merchants, the veſſels of tinne and braſſe, (being kept moſt cleane) and like ornaments, lie open in the loweſt and greateſt roome, by large dores to paſſengers view, (as I formerly ſaid of the Cities on the Sea coaſt of *Germany*). They build with very ſlender timber, ſo as the
houſes

new built, threaten falling, and vpon little force totter and shake. The floares are paved with plaster, boards being more costly, and apt to take fire. And these floares are daily cast ouer with sand, to keepe them from durt, onely by sweeping away the sand at night.

In the Kingdome of *Denmarke*, there is onely one Citie compassed with walles, called *Kopenhagen*, in which (as in the other little Cities, Townss, and Villages) the houses of the Citizens are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, seldome of freestone. The Kings Castle there is built of free stone, but with no magnificence. His second Castle at *Elfenure*, is very stately built of freestone, and also strongly fortified, to command one side of the straight sea, where great tribute is exacted of all ships entring or going out of the *Sound*. Of Denmark.

In *Poland* there be but few Cities for so large a Kingdome, but the houses of them are built of free stone, much like to the Inland Cities of *Germany*, saue that in some places the houses are arched towards the streete, like the Cloysters of Monasteries. Some of the houses in the Villages are of timber, clay and plaster, but the greatest part of meere durt, and couered with straw. Few of the Noble mens houses are of free stone, but the greater part of timber, clay, and plaster. Of Poland.

The Italians are exceeding rich in their owne commodities, and by trafficke, which the Gentlemen and Princes scorne not to vse, and they spending little in house-keeping or apparrell, all their pride is to build stately houses, water Conduits, Fountaines, and to haue rich Jewels, and like permanent things. All the buildings haue Thraasonicall inscriptions, either ingrauen or painted vpon them of the founders praise, and almost of his pedegree. The houses of Citizens, and of the common sort are of vnpolished stone, and commonly of little flints, lowly built, with a roofe almost lying flat (without windowes), and couered with tiles. The Gentlemens Pallaces are most frequent, and are built (as well in Cities, as in the Country) of carued freestone and marble, and most of them altogether of diuers coloured Marbles. For they haue many Quarries of marble, so as the same being not farre fetcht, the magnificence of their building is rather in shew, then in charge, to bee preferred before our buildings of polished freestone. Many of their Pallaces seeme fit to receiue a King with his Court for the stately building, but not for the capacity, the Italian Families being small and solitary. The building of them is in such fashion, as the first vpper chamber is large, and as long as a gallerie, fit to intertaine great companies, with feastes and dancing, the windowes being great, and lying open to admit ayre, and couered with Arras to leane vpon, and hauing on the inside windowes of wood to close by night. The rest of the Chambers are on each side of this Gallerie, richly furnished with Hangings, Beds imbrodered, and sumptuous furniture, and Tapestry spread vnder feete where the chayres stand, but the roomes are narrow, and haue little windowes couered, but not with glasse. For the windowes of all *Italy* are couered with linnen cloth, or paper, onely the Citie of *Venice* boasts of the singularity, that the windowes thereof are commonly glazed, yet so are also the windowes of some few Pallaces in other parts. The Italians more willingly spend their money in building (wherein they delight to haue coole chambers, with open Tarrasses, lying vpon waters and shades, on the sides of the house where the Sunne least comes), and likewise in adorning Fountaines with shade, seates and images, in making caues vnder the earth, and water-conduits, then in any earthly thing, their mistresse alwaies excepted. And because they cannot indure labour (for their diseased ioynts, or the heate of the Countrie), they strue to make their staires very easie, and by much compassing to raise the ground by little and little, wherein they vse so great Art, as in some places a horseman may with ease, and almost vn sensible ascent, ride vp to the top of high Towers. The floares of their vpper chambers are not boarded, but paved with plaster, or with a matter made of lime and tiles. Some Cities, as *Bologna*, *Padona*, and others in the Dukedome of *Mantua*, are built with arches towards the streete, like Cloysters of Monasteries, Of Italy.

Monasteries, and howsoever the streete is durty, yet vnder them is pleasant and dry walking, euen in rainy weather. For other Cities, the streetes whereof lie open, at *Rome* they are paved conueniently with flints, at *Sienna* beautifully with bricke, at *Florence*, *Pistoia*, *Lucca* and *Naples*, stately with Freestone, very broad and easie.

Of Turkey.

Touching *Turkey*, in the Greeke Ilands, in *Asia* and *Affricke*, commonly the houses are built of vnpolished stones and flint, onely one rooffe high, and many times with arches towards the street, alwaies with windowes not glased or couered but open, and the floare on the top of houses, is beaten plaine with plaster, and compassed with a wall, indented on the top some yard high. And here in the open aire they eate, and walke by day, and lodge at night, so as a man may see all his neighbours in bed about him. For they are seldome (some once or twice in the yeere, about September) troubled with raine. Particularly at *Ierusalem*, for their locks, the keyes be made of wood, not of Iron. At *Constantinople* and in the Prouinces adioyning, the houses are commonly of impolished stone and flint, or of timber and clay plastered, or of earth formed like bricke, but not hardened by fier, and are built some two stories high, and with a rooffe almost lying flat, without windowes, and couered with tiles, much after the common building of *Italy*. In generall the houses haue large windowes, not closed with glasse, or other thing, but altogether open, only by night to be closed with wooden windowes, after the Italian manner. The streetes of *Constantinople* are narrow, raised on each side for the passage of men and women, but there also narrow, the middle part of the streetes being so broad, as one Assie or like beast loaded may passe, for they vse no Coaches or Carts. The Sultans or Emperours Pallace (vulgarly called *Saray*, and by the Italians *Scraglio*) is of some three square Courtyards, built round about of Freestone, and pieces of Marble, with arches towards the yard like Cloysters, which are paved with broad stones, & this Pallace hath a very spacious Garden round compassed with a stone wall. Some few Pallaces of the Visiers or Bashas in this City, are built of polished Freestone, two roofes high with the highest rooffe almost flat, after the manner of the Italian Pallaces. And it is worth the obseruation, that each Mosche (or Turkish Church) rising in the top with diuers Globes, and they being couered with brasie or Copper, they make a beautifull shew, especially the Sunne shining, and more especially, because they are seated vpon hilles. The Turkish Bashas laugh at them, who tell how beautifull and stately the Christians Pallaces are built on the out-side, as if they onely respected the inward magnificence. But Christians doe also desire this inward beauty, some more some lesse. And that the Turkes neglect outward beauty, the desire of inward beauty is not the true reason thereof. For as they place all religion in the shew and outward things, so no doubt they would in this also greatly respect the outside, were it not that they liue vnder such a tyrannical Government, which makes all the Empire full of desolation, so as they doe not preserue the houses they conquered from Christians in their wonted magnificence, much lesse themselves erect such stately buildings, yea dare not haue any rich household stuffe, at least to be vulgarly seene, lest their riches should make them a prey to their Magistrates or souldiers, finding nothing so safe vnto them, as the sordide shew of pouertie. And this is the cause that many of them hide and bury their treasure vnder the earth, whereof the free vse would proue dangerous to them, and as the Poet saith,

Quò mihi diuitiæ? Si non conceditur uti.

What doe riches profit me?

Who to vse them am not free.

But the Turkes, and especially the Christians subiect to them, being borne and from infancy bred vnder the yoke of perpetuall slavery, and hauing neuer tasted the sweetenesse of liberty, doe beare with ease this burthen, which we thinke vnsupportable.

Of France.

In *France* the houses of *Paris* are of vnpolished great stones, couered ouer with plaster, and are built stately three or foure, sometimes sixe roofes high (with the highest rooffe, which hath windowes), and they are couered with tiles. The building of other Cities, is commonly of timber, clay and plaster, sometimes of freestone, and

and foure or five roofes high, whereof each as it is higher, so is more proiected into the streete, much darkening the same, and causing the raine to fall into the middest thereof. The streetes are no broader then for two Carts to meete, and passe one by the other. Almost vnder euery house is a Cellar to lay vp wine, Perry, Cyder, and all kinds of drinke, and few of the windowes are glazed, which are also darkened with grates of wood; the rest are altogether open, to be shut by night with windowes of wood. The building of the Villages is like ours in *England*, commonly of timber and clay, and thatched ouer. The Gentlemens houses are built like those in the Cities, whereof I haue spoken: but the Pallaces of great Lords for the most part are stately built of free stone; yet more beautifull and stately are the Kings Pallaces, commonly of free stone curiously carued, with pillers of marble, and sometimes of bricke, with peeces of marble in the parts most open to the eye. Among these Pallaces of the King, that of *Fontainebleau*, is the most stately and magnificent that I did see, and most pleasant for the gardens and sweete Aire.

Cæsar in his Commentaries, saith; that buildings of *England* were then like those of *France*. Now at *London* the houses of the Citizens (especially in the chiefe streetes) are very narrow in the front towards the streete, but are built five or sixe roofes high, commonly of timber and clay with plaster; and are very neate and commodious within: And the building of Citizens houses in other Cities, is not much vnlike this. But withall vnderstand, that in *London* many stately Pallaces, built by Noblemen vpon the Riuer *Thames*, doe make a very great shew to them that passe by water; and that there be many more like Pallaces, also built towards Land, but scattered, and great part of them in backe lanes and streetes, which if they were ioined to the first in good order, as other Cities are built vniformely, they would make not onely faire streetes, but euen a beautifull City, to which few might iustly be preferred for the magnificence of the building. Besides, that the Aldermens and chiefe Citizens houses howsoeuer they are stately for building, yet being built all in ward, that the whole roome towards the streets may be reserued for shoppes of Tradesmen, make no shew outwardly, so as in truth all the magnificence of *London* building is hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight, till they haue more particular view thereof by long abode there, and then they will preferre the buildings of this famous City to many that appeare more stately at the first sight. Great part of the Townes and Villages, are built like the Citizens houses in *London*, saue that they are not so many stories high, nor so narrow in the front towards the streete. Others of them are built in like sort, of vnpolished small stones, and some of the Villages in *Lincolneshire* and some other Countries; are of meere clay, and couered with thatch; yet euen these houses are more commodious within; for clenlinesse, lodging, and diet, then any stranger would thinke them to be. Most of the houses in Cities and Townes, haue Cellers vnder them, where for coolenesse they lay Beere and Wine. Gentlemens houses for the most part are built like those in the Cities, but very many of Gentlemens and Noblemens Pallaces, as well neere *London*, as in other Conntries, are stately built of bricke and free stone, whereof many yeelde not in magnificence to like buildings of other Kingdomes, as *Hombly*, built by *S^r Christopher Hatton*, *Tyals* lately belonging to the Earle of *Salisbury*, seated neere *London*, & the Earle of *Exceter* his house neer *Stamford*: by which Pallaces lying neere the high way, a stranger may iudge of many other like stately buildings in other parts. The Kings Pallaces are of such magnificent building, so curious art, and such pleasure and beauty for gardens and fountaines, and are so many in number, as *England* need not enuie any other Kingdome therein. Among them being manie, a stranger may see neere *London*, the King Pallaces, of *Hampton Court*, of *Richmond*, of *Greenewich*, of *Nonfuch*, of *Otelands*, of *Schene*, of *Winsore*, and in *London* the Pallace of *White Hall*.

In *Scotland* the Citie *Edenborough*, is fairlie built of vnpolished stone, but the galleries of timber built vpon the fronts of the houses, doe rather obscure then adorne them: And the Kings Pallace at one end, and the fortified Castle at the other end of the City, are more statelie built then the rest, but all the beautie of the Citie consists

fi its of one large streete, the by lanes being few, and full of beggery. The houses in Villages, and scatterd in the Countrey, are like to those in *England*, but the Gentlemen and Noblemen's houses are nothing so frequent, nor so stately built as the better sort of the English. Neither are their Townes and Cities in number, building, or pleasantnesse, comparable to those in *England*. Lastly, the Villages of clay covered with straw, are much more frequent then in *England*, and farre lesse commodious within. Among the Kings Pallaces, that at *Edenburg*, and that of *Sterling* for the building, and *Fawkland* for the pleasure of hunting, are the chiefe.

Of Ireland.

The houses of the Irish Cities, as *Corke*, *Galoway* and *Lymrick* (the fairest of them for building) are of vnwrought free stone, or flint, or vnpolished stones, built some two stories high, and couered with tile. The houses of *Dublin* and *Waterford*, are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster, yet are the streetes beautifull, and the houses commodious within, euen among the Irish, if you pardon them a little slovenlinesse, proper to the Nation. In generall, the houses very seldome keepe out raine, the timber being not well seasoned, and the walles being generally combined with clay only, not with mortar of lime tempered. The Irish haue some quarries of Marble, but only some few Lords and Gentlemen bestow the cost to polish it. Many Gentlemen haue Castles built of free stone vnpolished, and of flints, or little stones, and they are built strong for defence in times of rebellion, for which cause they haue narrow staires, and little windowes, and commonly they haue a spacious hall ioyning to the Castle, and built of timber and clay, wherein they eate with their Family. Neither are many of these gentle mens houses void of filth, and slovenlinesse. For other Irish dwellings, it may be said of them, as *Cæsar* said of the old Brittaines houses. They call it a Towne, when they haue compassed a skirt of wood with trees cut downe, whether they may retire themselues and their cattle. For the meere barbarous Irish either sleepe vnder the canopy of heauen, or in cabbines watled, and couered with turfe.

Of Forts in generall.

The Germans long inioying settled peace, the French and the Netherlanders for many yeeres distracted with warres, haue many Cities strongly fortified with ditches and earthen walles. The Turkes, Polonians, Sweitzers, Bohemians, Danes, English, Scots and Irish haue few Forts or fortified places. The Kings of *England*, haue caused such to be dismantled and puld downe, as incouragement to the Nobles to contemne their authoritie, onely at *Barwick* against the bordering Scots, and at *Portsmouth* against the neighbouring French, they haue maintained fortifications to hinder incursion. The Turkes neither fortifie themselues, nor maintaine the strong places they haue conquered from Christians. In *Denmarke* the Citie *Kopenhagen*, and in *Poland* *Crakaw* and *Warsaw* are in some sort fortified. And in *Ireland* the English of late haue made small Forts vpon some few Hauens to preuent forraigne inuasion, and in some inland territories to suppress the rebellious inclination of some Irish Lords. Otherwise in the said Kingdomes, if any Cities be compassed with walles, they are ready to fall for age, and are rather fit to resist the first fury of ill armed mutiners, then to indure a sharpe siege, or the very sight of the Cannon. Like are most of the Cities in *Italy*, only at *Naples* and at *Milan* there be two strong forts, and at *Rome* a strong Castle, and in *Lombardy*, and especially in the State of *Venice*, many Cities and some Forts made as strong, as huge charge and exquisit art can make them.

CHAP. III.

Of Germany, Boemerland and Sweitzerland, touching the Geographical description, the situation, the fertilitie, the trafficke, and the diet.



THE Geographers search out the greatnesse of the Globe, *In generall* and of all the parts in the *superficies* thereof, by the helpe of *Geogra-* of the Celestiall circles, fitted to the Conuex or bending of *phy.* the earth. The circles of heauen are of two sorts, the greater and the lesse. The greater are sixe in number, the Æquator, Zodiacke, two Coluri, Meridian and Horizon. Of which the Geographers in the description of the World, onely make vse of the Æquator and Meridian. The Æquator's Æquator compasseth the middle swelling of the Celestial Sphere betweene both the Poles of the world, and the greatest conuexitie or bending therof, from the East towards the West, to which circle when the Sun is come by his proper motion (in each yeere twice) it makes two Equinoctials (that is, day and night of equall length), one in the Spring, the other at the fall of the leafe. The circle in the conuex or bending *superficies* of the earth, that is directly and perpendicularly vnder the said Æquator, is called the Æquator of the earth, and compassing the earth from the East to the West, diuides it into two Hemispheres (that is, halfe Spheres), the Northerne and the Southerne. The Meridian Circle is drawne through the Poles of the Heauen (in which the Meridians meete) and through the verticall point (that is the point right ouer head) of each place, whether the Sunne being come by his accidentall motion (in each day) it makes noone aboue the Horizon, and midnight vnder the Horizon (or with the Antipodes.) The Circle in the conuex or bending of the earth, directly and perpendicularly vnder this circle Meridian, passing by the extreme points of the earth that are vnder the Poles, and by any appointed place in the superficies (or vpper face) of the earth, is called a Meridian of the earth. And because there is no certaine number of particular places on the earth, it follows that the Meridians are innumerable, so as euery place distant from another towards the East or West, hath his owne peculiar Meridian, diuers from the Meridian of another place. Yet for making of maps, and like vses, the Geographers appoint one hundred eighty Meridians, namely, ninty Easterly, and nintie Westerly. *Meridian's*

The lesser circles are called Paralells, that is, equally distant, because hauing relation *Paralells.* one to the other, or to any of the great circles, they are in all parts equally distant. For all lesser circles haue relation to one of the greater, and are called the paralells of this or that greater circle. But here onely mention is made of the Paralells referred to the Æquator, which are lesser circles drawne neere the Æquator, from East towards West; or contrary, by the verticall points of seuerall places in heauen, or by the places themselves in the vpper face of the earth, & they are the greater, the neerer they are to the Æquator, the lesser, as they are more distant from the same towards either Pole, and the Geographie call them Northerne Paralells, which are neate the Æquator in the Northerne Hemisphere, and Southerne Paralells, which are so drawne in the Southerne Hemisphere. Also as there is no certaine number of particular places, so the Paralells are innumerable, in so much as each place vpon the vpper face of the earth, distant from another towards the North or South, hath his peculiar verticall Paralell. Yet vsually the Geographers number 180 Paralells, namely, ninty Northerne, and ninty Southerne. Of this number are the foure Paralells which include the foure Zones (or *the fift* girdles), by which the vpper face of the earth is distinguished into Climes, and the *Zones* Æquator in the midst of them, and greatest of them is ioyned to them, and makes the fifth Zone.

The

Degrees The whole circle of the AEquator or Meridian, containes 360 degrees, whereof each consists of 60 minutes. About 500 *stadia* make a degree, 125 paces make a *stadium*, an Italian mile makes 8 *stadia*, a French mile 12, a German mile 32, so as 1 degree containes 62 Italian miles and a half, or 15 common German miles, and a half, and half quarter.

*Longi-
tude and
Latitude*

Although the earth be conuex (or bending) and sphericall (or round), yet in a certaine respect they giue to the same, from West to East, or contrarily, a Longitude in the AEquator and Paralells; and likewise from the South to the North, or contrarily, a Latitude in the Meridians. And howsoeuer the earth in his vpper face, by nature hath neither beginning nor ending, yet they appoint the artificiall beginning of the Longitude in the Meridian Circle, drawne by the *Fortunate* or *Canary* Ilands; and therefore call it the first Meridian, and so proceeding from it towards the West or the East, they reckon the Longitude of the earth. For example, two Meridians being drawne, the first by the Canary Ilands, the second by any place whose situation is inquired, as many degrees as are found in the Paralell circle proper to the said place, from the first Meridian to the proper Meridian of the place, of so many degrees is the Longitude of that place said to be. In like sort the circle AEquator and the Paralell circle of the place whose situation is inquired being drawne, as many degrees as are included in the Meridian circle of that place, from the AEquator to the Paralell of the place, of so many degrees is the Latitude of that place said to be. As the Paralells are of two sorts, so is the Latitude, namely, Northerne from the AEquator towards the Northerne Pole, and Southerne from the same towards the Southerne Pole. Also the Longitude in like sort, but imaginarily, is said to be Easterly & Westerly, beginning at the first Meridian. The places situated vnder the AEquator, are said to haue no latitude and the places vnder the first Meridian, no longitude. The Zones compassing the earth

Zones.

like girdles, according to the Longitude thereof, deuide it by the AEquator, and foure paralells into five parts, whereof two are temperate, and three intemperate. One of the intemperate, being the middle, lies vnder the AEquator, betwene the two Paralells called *Tropici*, and this is called the Torride or burnt Zone, because it being vnder the Ecliptick line, of the Sunnes yeerely course, is continually burnt with the beames thereof. This Zone in the *Superficies* or vpper part of the earth, containes the greater part of *Affrick* towards the South, yea, almost all *Affrick*, (excepting *Egypt*; and *Mauritania*, towards the Northerne Pole, and the furthest parts of *Affrick* towards the Southerne Pole), and it containes the chiefe Ilands of the *East Indies*. Next to this middle torride Zone, towards the North, lies one of the temperate Zones, seated betwene the two Paralells, called the Tropick of Cancer, and the Artick circle, and it containes the greatest part of *America*, the Northerne part of *Affrick* and almost all *Europe* and *Asia*. The other temperate Zone lies by the middle torride Zone, on the other side of the AEquator towards the South, seated betwene the two Paralells, called the Tropick of Capricorn, and the Antartick circle, and containes the part of *America* called *Peru*, and the extreme Southerne parts of *Affrick*, and great part of the Southerne World as yet vndiscovered. Next to these temperate Zones lye the other two Zones called intemperate for cold, as the first are for heate, and one of them lies vnder the Northerne Pole of the world, containing *Noruegia*, and the part of *Tartaria* lying within the Artick circle, the other lies vnder the Southerne Pole, which part of the World is not yet discovered.

Clymes.

Clymes are tracts compassing the earth circularly from the West to the East, and they are much more narrow then the Zones, and not of equal Latitude among themselves, but as Zones are the greater, the neerer they are to the AEquator, and the narrower, the more they are distant from the AEquator, towards either of the Poles, so are the Clymes. The Latitude of each Clyme is so great, as from the beginning to the end of it, the greatest Solstitial day may increase halfe an hower. And because this variation of the day, in parts most remote from the AEquator, happens in shorter distances of the earth, therefore the Clymes also most remote from the AEquator, are made more and more narrow. In our age wherein great parts of the World are discovered, which were of old vnkowne, this distribution of the earth from the Artick circle to the Antartick, may be made into 23 clymes, the Equinoctial clyme not being numbred. But this property must cuer bee obserued, that the Solstitial day of the following

lowing clime, is euer half an hour longer, then the solstitial day of the foregoing clime. The first clime aswell from the Equator towards the North, as from it towards the South is placed, where the greatest day containes 12 houres & a halfe, & that is next to the Equator on either side. The second where the greatest day containes 13 houres. The third where it containes 13 houres & an halfe. The fourth where it containes 14 houres. And so forward, till you haue numbred the 23 clime, making the day of 23 houres & a halfe, & so come to one of the said circles, *Arctick* towards the North, or *Antartick* towards the South, where in the Solstitial day of the one half of the yeere, the Sun shines 24 houres aboue the Horizon, & the night is but a moment, & on the contrary, in the solstitial day of the other halfe of the yeere, the Sun is hidden 24 hours vnder the horizon, & the day is but a moment: but beyond these circles, this distribution of the earth into climes ceaseth, because after the day is no more increased by halfe houres, but the oblique horizon, on both sides, hideth certaine portions of the Eclipse, about the solstitial points, which are perpetual appearings or hidings, & when the Sun passeth them, it makes continual day for some weekes, yea, for some moneths, or the like continuall night, til you come to one of the Poles, vnder which there is continual day for the six summer moneths, and likewise continual night for the six winter moneths. The Earth is diuided into five parts, *Asia*, *Africk*, *Europe*, *America*, and *Terra Australis*, or *Southland* (not yet discovered). Now I must speake of the parts of *Europe* Parts of the World. & *Asia*, seated in the temperate Zone towards the North, and vnder the Northern latitude & Easterly longitude, which must alwaies be obserued for the vnderstanding of the descriptions now following. The oriental longitude, (namely from the first meridian towards the East) of *Germany*, with *Sweitzerland* & *Boemerland*, from the 23 degree to the 46 degree, extends it selfe 23 degrees. The Northern latitude, (namely from the Equinoctial to the North), of the same Countries, from the paralell of 45 degrees & a halfe, to the paralel of 55 degrees & a halfe, extends it selfe 10 degrees. *Germany* is diuided into the vpper & the lower. The vpper lying vpon the *Alpes*, & neere the Riuer *Danow*, is subdiuided into 11 Prouinces, *Austria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Athesis*, *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, *Banaria*, *Suenia*, *Heluetia*, (or *Sweitzerland*) *Alsatia*, & the Tract vpon the Riuer *Rhein* to *Meiz*. Of Germany, Sweitzerland, & Bohemia. 1 *Austria* was of old called the vpper *Pannonia*, of the bridges, or of the *Peones* coming out of *Greece* to inhabit it) and also *Anaria*, now it is vulgarly called *Oestreich*, that is, the Easterly Kingdome. *Danow* the great riuer of *Europe* (which going on the course, is called *Isther*) runs through it, & diuides it into *Austria* on this side, & on the far side of *Danow*. Vpper Germany, containing Sweitzerland. It hath many ancient & famous Cities, whereof the chiefe is *Vienna*, (vulgarly *Wien*) built vpon the banke of *Danow*, famous not so much for the Vniuersity, & the trafficke of the place, as for that it is most strongly fortified to keepe out the *Turkes*, & it is subiect to the Emperour, as he is Arch- duke of *Austria*. 2 *Styria* of old called *Valesia* & *Iapidia*, is a small region in the midst of the *Alpes*, & was at first onely a Marquifate, whereupon it is vulgarly called *Stoirmark*, but after by the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, was raised to a Dukedome, & was at this time subiect to a Prince of the House of *Austria*, by diuision of inheritance. The Cities thereof are *Völenburg*, *Hal*, and *Griets*, (the chiefe City.) It hath two Riuers, *Mour* and *Drau*. 3 The Inhabitants of *Carinthia*, are called *Carni*, vulgarly *Kerntheine*. The Easterly and Southerly part thereof is called *Carniola*, vulgarly *Krein*, and the inhabitants thereof were of old called *Iapides*. Here are the spring heads of the Riuers *Drauns* and *Sauns*, in the midst of the *Alpes*. The Cities *Philac* and *Clagefort* are of small moment. 4 The *Athesine* Prouince lies vnder *Banaria* towards the *Alpes*, between *Carinthia* & *Heluetia* (or *Sweitzerland*) and hath the name of the riuer *Athesis*, vulgarly called *Etsch*, which runs into *Italy* by *Trent* and *Verona*, and is there called *l'Adice*, and so falles into the Riuer *Po*. This Prouince is commonly called the County of *Tyrol*, the Cities whereof are *Brixia* and *Enipons* (vulgarly *Inspruck*, a faire Citie.) 5 The names of *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia* & *Norira*, in these dayes are out of vse, and the limits of them are often cōfounded. That is properly *Rhetia*, which lies between the lake of *Constantia* (or *Costantz*) towards the North, and the high top of the *Alpes* towards the South, whose chiefe City is *Bregants*, & the inhabitants of these *Alpes* are vulgarly called *Grisons*. Vindelicia

6 *Vindelicia* is the other part of that tract, lying betweene the Danow and the Alpes, which hath faire Cities, as *Augusta Vindelitorum*, (vulgarly *Augsburg*, a famous City), *Vlme*, *Ingolstadt*, *Ratisbona*, (vulgarly *Regensburg*) and *Passaw*. Obserue that the old limits of *Rhetia*, did reach to *Verona* and *Como* in *Italy*, but now great part of it is laid to *Sueuia* in *Germany*, as namely the Cities, *Augsburg* and *Vlme*, aforesaid.

7 The Countries of *Bauaria*, and of the Bishopricke of *Saltzburg*, were of old called *Viraelicia Noracum*, and the Inhabitants thereof, *Taurisci*, and it hath these Cities, *Scherdung*, *Saltzburg*, and *Lintz*.

8 *Sueuia* stretcheth into old *Vindelicia*, and that which at this day is so called, contains the greater part of *Rhetia* and *Vindelicia*. The Sueuians (vulgarly *Schwaben*) of old forooke their dwelling vpon the Riuer *Elue*, and inuaded vpper *Rhetia*, which to this day they hold. The Cities thereof are *Nerlingen*, *Gepingen*, and the foresaid *Vlme* and *Augsburg*.

9 *Heluetia* (or *Sweitzerland*) was of old part of *Gallia Belgica*, now is reckoned as part of *Germany*. The head spring of the *Rheine*, (the second Riuer of *Germany*, next in greatnesse to the *Danow*), is in the highest Alpes of *Heluetia*, where it riseth in two heads, and the Northerly head falling from the Mountaines *Furca* and *Gotardo*, is called the fore *Rheine*, and the Southerly head, falling from the *Lepentine* Mountaines, is called the hinder *Rheine*, both which running towards the East, are vnited at *Char*, and then with the name of *Rheine*, it falls towards the North violently from the Mountaines. *Heluetia* hath many & very famous Cities, namely, *Schaffhusen*, (as the houses of boats or ships) *Constantia* (vulgarly *Costnetz*), *Tigurum* (vulgarly *Zurech*) *Solodurum* (or *Solothurn*), *Bern*, *Lncern*, & *Geneua*, with *Lozana*, which two last of old were reckoned in *Sanoy*, but now are confederate with the *Sweitzers*. The Inhabitants of *Heluetia* are commonly called *Sweitzers*, and among themselves they will be called *Eidgenossen*, that is; partakers of the sworne league. The part of *Heluetia* betweene the *Rheine* and the lake of *Constantia*, is called *Brisgoia*, vulgarly *Brisgaw*, (*Bris* signifies a price, and *Gaw* a meadow), and therein is the spring-head of the Riuer *Danow*, and the Townes thereof are *Rotwill*, *Brisach*, *Friburg*, (an Vniuersity) *Basil* (a famous Vniuersity), of old belonging to *Alsatia*, now confederate with the *Sweitzers*.

10 *Alsatia*, so called of the riuer *Illa* running through it, is diuided into the vpper & the lower: The vpper from *Basil* to *Strasburg* is called *Singaw*, and the Inhabitants of old were called *Tribocchi*, and *Tribotes*: some hold *Strasburg* of old to haue beene the chiefe City thereof, but it hath now three Cities, *Basil*, *Selestade*, and *Rusach*. The lower lying aboue *Strasburg* to the Mount *Vogesus*, hath these Cities, *Haganaw* and *Sabern*.

11. For the Tract vpon the *Rheine*: first, aboue *Alsatia* towards *Metz*, the *Nemetes* (whose chiefe City is *Spira*), and the *Vangiones* (whose chiefe City is *Worms*), possesse the West side of the *Rheine*. The tract adioyning is called *Vetus Hannonia* (vulgarly *Alt-henegaw*.) Something further from the *Rheine* towards the Dukedome of *Luxenburg*, are these Prouinces. The County *Sweybrucken* (also called *Bipoutanus* in Latin, of two Bridges), and the Cities are *Sweybrucken* and *Sarbrucken*. Secondly, *Austracia* (vulgarly *Vestreich*, as a vast Kingdome.) Thirdly, the Territory of the Elector Bishop of *Trier*, whereof the chiefe Citie is *Treueris* (vulgarly *Trier*.)

On the other side of the *Rheine* towards the East, the Marquisate of *Baden* lyes next to *Heluetia*, whose inhabitants of old were called *Vespi*. Next lies the Dukedome of *Wirtzburg*, the Cities whereof are *Tubinga* and *Sturtardia*, whereof the former is an Vniuersitie. Then follows the Palatinate of *Rheine*, the Inhabitants whereof were of old called *Intuergi* & *Phargiones*, and are now called *Phaltzer*, and *Heidelberg*, seated vpon the Riuer *Neccar* is the chiefe Citie, and the seate of the Palatine Elector.

19 Prouin-
ces of lower
Germany,
among
which Bo-
hemia is
reckoned.

The lower *Germany* is deuided into nineteene Prouinces, *Franconia*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Saxonia*, *Lusatia*, *Misnia*, *Turiugia*, *Marchia*, the Dukedome of *Brunswicke*, the Dukedome of *Meckleburg*, *Hassia*, *Iuliacum*, *Clinia*, *Westphalia*, *Frisia Orientalis*, *Pomerania*, *Borussia*, & *Liunia*, (for I omit *Gallia Belgica* to be handled in his proper place.)

1. *Franconia*

1 *Franconia* is an ancient and noble Nation, the inhabitants wherof driving the Romans out of *Gallia*, possessed the same, and gaue the name of *France* to that Kingdome. This Prouince hath old and faire Cities, namely, *Bamberg* (a Bishops seate), *Rotenburg*, *Francfort* (famous for the yeerely Marts or Faires), *Wirtzburg* (a Bishops seate), *Metz* or *Metz* (the seate of the chiefe Elector Bishop), and *Nurnberg* (a famous City, which some hold to be in *Bauaria*, but the Citizens doe more willingly acknowledge themselves to be Franckes.) All the Prouince (excepting the free Cities, and the three Cities belonging to Bishops) is subiect to the Margraue of *Brandenburg*.

2 *Bohemia* hath a language proper to it selfe, and hath two Prouinces belonging to it, *Moravia* (hauing his proper language), and *Silesia* (vsing the Dutch tongue) and these three make a Kingdome, which is subiect to the Emperour, and it is ioyned by Geographers to the Prouinces of *Germany*, because the same compasseth it almost round about. *Bohemia* is not deuided into Counties, but according to the Territories, belonging to the King, or to Noble men and Gentlemen; this being called the Kings land, that the land of the Baron of *Rosenberg*, or the land of the Popells, and so of the rest. The chiefe City and seate of the Emperour their King, is *Prage*. The Riuer *Elbe* hath his head spring in *Bohemia*, being the third Riuer of *Germany*, and it runs through *Saxony* to *Hamburg*, and after falls into the sea. The inhabitants of *Bohemia* came out of *Dalmatia*, as their language witnesseth.

3 *Moravia* was of old inhabited by the *Marcomanni*, and had subiect to it *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, and *Polonia*: but at this day it is onely a Marquisate, subiect to *Bohemia*, and hath the name of the Riuer *Moraua*. The chiefe City thereof is *Bremia*, vulgarly *Prima*.

4 The inhabitants of *Silesia* were of old called *Lugij*, *Dantuli*, and *Cogni*. The Riuer *Viadrus*, or *Odera*, runnes through it into *Pomerania*, and so falles into the sea. *Silesia* is annexed to *Bohemia*, and so is likewise subiect to the Emperour, as King of *Bohemia*, and the chiefe City thereof is *Pratiscavia*, vulgarly *Bressell*, and the inhabitants of this Prouince are *Germans*, as well in language as manners.

5 *Saxony* contains all that lies betweene *Hassia*, *Silesia*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, and the *Baltick* sea, so as at this day, *Lusatia*, *Misnia*, *Turingia*, both the *Markes*, and the Dukedomes of *Brunswick*, and of *Meckleburg*, are contained therein.

6 *Lusatia* is a little Region, annexed to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*. In the vpper part are the Cities *Gurlitz* (an Vniuersity), and *Pautsan*, and *Siltania*. In the lower, *Sorauick* and *Cotwick*, and the Riuer *Sprea* runnes through them both.

7 *Misnia* was of old inhabited by the *Hermunduri*, and *Sorabi*, of the *Sclauonian* Nation. It is a fertill Region, and therein begin the Mountaines which *Ptolomy* calles *Suditi*, in which are mines of mettals, and especially of siluer. The Cities thereof are *Misnia* (vulgarly *Misen*), *Torg*, *Leipzig*, and *Witteberg* (two Vniuersities), *Fryburg* (the fields whereof haue rich mines of siluer), *Dresden* (the seate of the *Saxon* Elector), *Remnitz*, and *Saigania*.

8 The Prouince of *Turingia* is said of old to haue been inhabited by the *Gothes*, because the chiefe City is called *Gota*. The Metropolitan City is *Erford*, being large and ancient, and one of the free Cities of the Empire. This Prouince is subiect to the Duke of *Saxony*, with the title of *Langraue*, as *Misnia* is also, with the title of *Marquis*.

9 The Riuer *Odera* hath his head spring in *Marchia*, and runnes through it, deuiding it into the new Marke, and the old. The chiefe Citie of the old is *Franckford* vpon the *Odera*, (so called in difference of the more knowne *Franckford* vpon the *Maene*. The new *Marke* hath these Cities, *Berlin*, the seate of the Elector; and *Brandenburg*, of which the Elector of *Brandenburg* hath that stile, and both the new and old are subiect to the said Elector.

10 *Brunswick* giues the name to that Dukedome, and hath the name of *Bruno* that built it, and is a free Citie of the Empire, strongly fortified, and not any way subiect to the Duke of *Brunswick*, though vpon some old title hee hath the name thereof, and possesseth the rest of the Dukedome, holding his Court at *Wolfenbeiten*, not farre distant from *Brunswick*.

11 The Dukedom of *Meckelburg*, was of old inhabited by the *Pharadini*, as *Ptolomy* writes. It hath two Cities, both on the Seaside, *Wisnar*, and *Rostoch* (an Vniuersity.)

12 *Hasfia* is a mountanous Country, in which *Ptolomy* placeth for old inhabitants the *Longobardi*, the *Chatti*, the *Teucteri*, and the *Chriones*. At this day it is subiect to the Family of the Landgraues of *Hasfia*. It hath these Cities, *Casseils* (the chiefe seat of the elder brother of that Family) *Hersphild*, and *Marpurg* (an Vniuersitie.) The tract vpon the Riuer *Lonia*, is deuided into the County of *Nassaw* (whereof the chiefe Towne is *Dillenberg*) and the County of *Catzmelbogen* (so called of the *Chatti* inhabitants, and *Melibots* a famous Mountaine.) The Bishoprick of *Colen* giues title to one of the Clergie Electors, and was of old inhabited by the *Vbji*, of whom the chiefe Citie was first called *Vbiopolis*, which *Marcus Agrippa* repaired, and called it *Agripina Augusta*: but *Marcomirus* King of the Francks or French, conquering it, called it *Colonia*. It is a small Country, and the Bishop Elector hath most part of his reuenues from other places.

13 *Iuliacum* is a little Region, and hath title of a Dukedome.

14 The Dukedom of *Cleue* was of old inhabited by the *Vsipes*, and the City *Cleue* is the seate of the Duke.

15 *Westphalia* is a large Region, inhabited by the *Ckerusci*, *Teucteri*, *Bructeri*, and the *Vigenones*, and it hath these Cities, *Padeborn*, *Munster* (which the Anabaptists held in time of *Luther*), *Breme* (a free city of the Empire, fairely built vpon the Riuer *Visurgis*), and *Mindawe*.

16 Easterly *Freeisland* lyes vpon the Riuer *Amiesus*, vulgarly *Emms*, and is a County, subiect to the Count of *Emden*, who hath his name of the chiefe Citie *Emden*: but of late vpon some difference he was for a time driuen out of that City, so as it seemes hee hath not absolute power ouer it.

17 *Pomerania* was of old inhabited by the *Hermiones*, and lies vpon the *Baltike* sea or *Oest* sea, and is subiect to the Duke thereof. It hath these Townes, *Stetin*, *Coberg*, (both on the Sea-side), *Sund*, *Stutgard*, and *Grippwalt* (which lies also on the sea, and is an old Vniuersitie, but hath few or no Students.)

18 *Bornisia* or *Prussia*, is at this day subiect to the King of *Polonia*, by agreement made betweene the Polonians and the Knights of the *Tentonick* order, but the inhabitants are Germans, both in speech and manners. The chiefe Cities are these, *Dantzke* (a famous Citie, acknowledging the King of *Poland* for tributes, yet so, as they will not receiue him into the Citie, but with such a traine as they like.) Another Citie is *Konigsberg* (the seate of the Duke of *Prussen*, who is of the Family of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, but hath the Dukedome in Fee from the Kings of *Poland*, to whom it falls in want of heires males.) The other Cities are, *Marieburg*, *Elbing* and *Thorn* (which lies vpon the confines of *Poland*, and witty *Copernicus* was borne there.)

19 *Lithonia* is a part of *Germany*, but hath neither the speech nor the manners thereof. It was subdued some two hundred yeeres past, and was brought from the worshipping of Idols and Deuils, to Christian Religion, yet in the Villages they haue not at this day fully left their old Idolatrie. It is inhabited by the old Saxons, and hath these Cities, *Refalia* (on the sea-side) *Derbt* (within land), and the Metropolitan Citie *Riga* (on the sea-side, which the Duke of *Moscovy* hath often, but in vaine, attempted to subdue.)

The situation of Germany.

Old Writers affirme (as *Munster* witnesseth) that the Germanes had perpetuall Winter, and knew not Haruest for want of fruites. This opinion no doubt proceeded rather from their neglect or ignorance of tyllage and husbandrie, then from the indispotion of the ayre or soyle. Yet I confesse that they haue farre greater cold then *England* lying more Northerly, especially in lower *Germany* and the Prouinces lying vpon the *Baltick* or *Oest* Sea, more especially in *Prussen* (part of that shoare, which the more it reacheth towards the East, doth also more bend towards the North) where in September my selfe did feelee our Winters cold.

And since the *Baltick* sea is little subiect to ebbing and flowing, and the waters thereof are not much moued, except it bee vpon a storme, it is daily scene, that in winter vpon a North or North-West wind, this sea for a good distance from the land is frozen with hard yce, to which the inland Riueres are much more subiect, which argues

argues the extreme cold that this part of *Germany* suffereth. Also neare the *Alpes*, though Southerly, that part of *Germany*, hauing the said Mountaines interposed betweene it and the Sunne, and feeling the cold winds that blow from those Mountaines perpetually couered with snow, doth much lesse partake the heat of the Sunne, then others vnder the same paralell, hauing not the said accidents. Vpon these *Alpes* (whereof I haue formerly spoken in this booke) the snow lyes very deepe, and couers all the ground for nine moneths of the yeere, yet notwithstanding the vallyes and difcents of them lying open to the South Sunne, and taking life from the heate thereof, are very fruitfull. Lastly, in generall through all *Germany*, the aboundance of Lakes and Mountaines, doth increase this cold of the aire in diuers places, except they bee something defended from the same by Woods adioyning, and in some places (as namely at *Heidelberg*) where the Cities are almost fully inclosed with Mountaines, the cold windes in Winter doe more ragingly breake in on that side the Mountaines lye open, the more they are restrained and relisted on the other sides. As likewise by accident the Sunne beames in Summer reflecting against those Mountaines (though in a cold Region) are so violently hot, as the Cities at that time are much annoyed with multitudes of flies, which not onely vex men, but so trouble the horses, as they are forced to couer them with cloathes from this annoyance. The foresaid intemperatenesse of cold pressing great part of *Germany*, in stead of fier they vse hot stoues for remedie thereof, which are certaine chambers or roomes, hauing an earthen ouen cast into them, which may be heated with a little quantity of wood, so as it will make them hot who come out of the cold, and incline them to swetting if they come neare the ouen. And as well to keepe out cold as to retaine the heate, they keepe the dores and windows closely shut; so as they vsing not only to receiue Gentlemen into these stoues, but euen to permit rammish clownes to stand by the ouen till their wet clothes be dried, and themselves sweat, yea, to indure their little children to sit vpon their close stooles, and ease themselves within this close and hot stoue (let the Reader pardon my rude speech, as I bore with the bad smell), it must needes be, that these ill smells, neuer purged by the admitting of any fresh ayre, should dull the braine, and almost choke the spirits of those who frequent the stoues. When my selfe first entred into one of them, this vnwonted heate did so winde about my legges, as if a Snake had twined about them, and made my head dull and heauy: but after I had vsed them, custome became another nature, for I neuer inioyed my health in any place better then there. This intemperatenesse of cold, is the cause that a Lawrell tree is hardly to be found in *Germany*, and that in the lower parts towards *Lubeck*, they keepe Rosemary within the house in eartherne pitchers filled with earth, as otherwhere men preferue the choice fruits of the South, yet can they not keep this Rosemary (when it prospers best) aboue three yeeres from withering. For this cause also, they haue no Italian fruits in *Germany*, onely at *Prage* I did see some few Orange trees, preferued in pitchers full of earth, by setting them fourth in the heate of the Summer dayes, and after drawing them into houses, where they were cherished by artificiall heate. And the like fruits I did see at *Heidelberg* in the Pallatine Electors Garden, growing open in Summer, but in winter a house being built ouer them, with an ouen like a stoue, and yet these trees yeilded not any ripe fruit, when as at *London* and many parts of *England* more Northerly then those parts of *Germany*, we haue Muske Mellons, and plenty of Abricots growing in Gardens, which for quantitie and goodnesse are not much inferiour to the fruits in *Italy*. Also this cold is the cause, that in *Misen* (where they plant vines) and in the highest parts of *Germany* on this side the *Alpes* (where they make wine thereof) the Grapes and the wine are exceeding sower. Onely the wines vpon *Neccar*, and those vpon the West side of the *Rheine*, are in their kinds good, but harsh and of little heate in the stomacke.

The cherries called *Zawerkerfen*, are reasonable great, but sower. And the other kind called *wildkerfen*, is little and sweete, but hath a blacke iuyce, vnpleasing to the taste. They haue little store of peares or apples, and those they haue are little, and of small pleasanthesse, onely the Muskadel pear is very delicate, especially when it is dried

dried. And the Germans make good vse of those fruits they haue, not so much for pleasure when they are greene, as for furnishing the table in Winter. For their Peares, and Apples, they pare them, and drie them vnder the Ouen of the stoue, and then dresse them very sauously with Cynamon and Butter. In like sort they long preserve their cherries drie, without sugar, and the greater part of their cherries they boyle in a brasse cauldron, full of holes in the bottome, out of which the iuce falls into another vessell, which being kept, growes like marmalade, and makes a delicate sauce for all roasted meates, and will last very long, as they vse it. The Italians haue a Proverb, *Dio da i panni secondo i freddi*; that is, God giues cloathes according to the colds, as to the cold Muscouites hee hath giuen furies, to the English wooll for cloth, to the French diuers light stufes, and to Southerlic people store of silkes, that all Nations abounding in some things, and wanting others, might be taught, that they haue neede of one anothers helpe, and so be stirred vp to mutuall loue, which God hath thus planted betweene mankind by mutuall trafficke. For this must be vnderstood not onely of clother, but also of all other things necessary for human life.

*The fertility
of Germany*

Germany doth abound with many things necessary for life, and many commodities to be transported. For great Cities, and Cities within land (of which *Germany* hath store) those argue plenty of commodities to bee transported, and these plenty of foode to nourish much people. And since that paradox of *Cicero* is most true, that small causes of expence rather, then great reuenues, make men rich, surely by this reason the Germans should bee most rich. They neuer play at Dice, seldome at Cardes, and that for small wagers. They seldome feast, and sparingly, needing no sumptuary Lawes to restrain the number or costlinesse of dishes or lawces. They are appareiled with homely stufes, and weare their clothes to the vitermost of their lasting, their household stuf is poore, in gifts they are most sparing, and onely are prodigall in expences for drinking, with which a man may sooner burst, then spend his patrimony. They haue Corne sufficient for their vse, and the Merchants in the Cities vpon the sea coast, export Corne into *Spaine*, as well of their owne, as especially of that they buy at *Dantzke*. They want not Cattle of all kinds, but they are commonlie leane and little, so are their horses many in number, and little in stature, onely in *Bohemia* they haue goodly horses, or at least great and heavy, like those in *Freeceland*: but I remember not to haue seene much cattle, or great heards thereof, in the fields of any Towne, the reason whereof may be gathered out of the following discourse of the Germans diet. Their sheepe are very litle, bearing a course wooll, and commonly blacke, which they export not, but make course cloath thereof for the poorer sort, the Gentlemen and for the most part the Citizens wearing English cloath. The libertie of hunting commonly reserued to Princes, and absolute Lords, and they haue great store of red Deare, feeding in open Woods, which the Princes kill by hundreds at a time, and send them to their Castles to be salted, vsing them in stead of beefe for the feeding of their families. They haue no fallow Deare, except some wild kinds vpon the *Alpes*. They haue great store of fresh fish in Lakes, Ponds, and Riuer, among which the Lakes of *Sweitzerland* are most commended. At *Hamburg* they catch such plentie of *Salmons*, as it is a common report, that the seruants made covenant with their Masters, not to bee fed therewith more then two meales in the weeke, and from thence great plentie of Sturgeon is exported. Either the cold driues away birds, or else they labour not to take them; for I did seldome see them serued at the table, but onely Sparrowes, and some few litle birds.

In all their Riuer I did neuer see any Swannes, yet they say, that at *Lubeck*, and about priuate Castles of Gentlemen, they haue some few. They say that they haue some mines of Gold: but surely they abound with mines of Silver aboue all *Europe*, and all mettals where so euer found, are by a Law of the Golden Bull appropriated to the Emperour, and to the Electors, in their seuerall dominions. Also they abound with copper and brasse, wherewith they couer many Churches, but within forty yeeres past, the English haue brought them Leade, which they

they vse to that and other purposes. Also they haue great plenty of Iron, and they haue Fountaines yeelding most white Salt, in Cities farre within the land, which Cities are commonly called *Halla*. *Austria* beyond the *Danow* yeelds excellent Saffron, and at *Iudiburg* in *Styria* growes store of *Spica Celtica* (as the Latin Herbalists call it.) In the season of the yeere yellow Amber is plentifully gathered vpon the Sea coast of *Prusfia* and *Pomerania*. The Germans export into forraigne parts, and there sell many curious and well prised workes of manuell Art. And it is worth the consideration, that the Citizens of *Nurnberg*, dwelling in a sandy and baeren Soile, by their industrie, and more specially by their skill in these manuell Arts, liue plentifully, and attaine great riches, while on the contrary, the inhabitants of *Alsatia* the most fruitfull Province of all *Germany*, neglecting these Arts, and content to enioy the fatnesse of their soyle in slothfull rest, are the poorest of all other Germans. Moreouer, the vpper part of *Germany* abounds with Woods of Firre, which tree (as the Lawrell) is greene all Winter, and it hath many Oakes also vpon the *Alpes*, and not else where, and lower *Germany*, especially towards the *Baltick* Sea, aboundeth with Woods of Oke. They conuey great store of wood from the *Alpes* into the lower parts, by the Riuer *Rhene*, cutting downe whole trees, and when they are marked, casting them one by one into the Riuer, to be carried downe with the violent streame thereof, or otherwise binding many together, to floate downe, with men standing vpon them to guide them. And at many Cities and Villages, they haue seruants, which know the trees by the markes, and gather them vp in places, where they may best be sold.

The Cities that are one the Sea-coast on the North side of *Germany*, haue very great ships, but more fit for taking in great burthen, then for sayling or fighting, which the Netherlanders more commonly fraught with their commodities, then the Germans themselves, neither are the German Marriners much to bee commended. The German Sea in good part, and the *Baltick* Sea altogether, are free from Pyrats, which is the cause that their ships are little or not at all armed, onely some few that trade into *Spaine*, carry great Ordinance, but are generally made large in the ribs, rather fit for burthen, then fight at Sea. I neuer obserued them to haue any common prayers morning or euening, as our English ships haue while they bee at Sea, but the Marriners of their owne accord vse continually to sing Psalmes, and they are punished by the pnrse who sweare, or so much as once name the diuell, from which they abhorre.

Of the traffick of Germany.

And herein they deserue to be praysed aboue the Holanders, in whose ships a man shall heare no mention of God or his worship. The said free Cities of *Germany* lying on the Sea-coast, are called *Hansen-stetten*, that is, free Cities, because they had of old in all neighbour Kingdoms great priuiledges, of buying any wares as wel of strangers as Citizens, and of selling or exchanging their own wares to either sort at pleasure, and to bring in or carry out all commodities by their owne shippes, with like immunities equall to Citizens in all the said Dominions, and no lesse preiudiciall to them, then aduantageous to themselves.

In *England* they were wont to dwell together at *London*, in the house called the *Stil-yard*, and there to enioy these liberties, which long since haue laine dead; the Germans seldome bringing ought in their ships into *England*, and the English hauing now long time found it more commodious to vse their owne shipping, and iustly complaining, that the English had not the like priuiledges in the said free Cities; for which cause the priuiledges of the Germans were laid dead in *England*, though not fully taken away. *Cesar* witnesseth, that the *Schwaben* inhabiting *Suenia*, then containing great part of *Germany*, admitted Merchants not to buy any thing themselves, but onely to sell the spoyle they got in warre. But *Munster* a German writes, that these Sueuians or *Schwaben* are now the onely forestallers of all things sold in faires or Markets, and that for this cause they are excluded from buying any thing through *Germany*, except it bee sold in their owne Townes of trafficke.

In generall, the Germans doe applie themselves industriously to all trafficke by land, which onely the free Cities on the Sea-coast exercise somewhat coldly by sea. As

home the Germans among themselves spend and export an unspeakable quantity of Beere with great gaine, which yeelds great profit to priuate Citizens, and to the Princes, or publike Senate in free Cities, there being no Merchandize of the World that more easily findes a buyer in *Germany*, then this. For the Germans trafficke with strangers, I will omit small commodities (which are often sold, though in lesse quantitie, yet with more gaine then greater) and in this place I will onely speake of the commodities of greater moment, as well those that the Country affords, as those that buy in forraigne parts to be transported in their owne ships. The Germans export into *Italy*, linnen clothes, corne, wax (fetcht from *Dantzke* and those parts) and coyned siluer of their owne, which they also exchange vncoined with some quantity of gold. Into *England* they export boards, iron, course linnen clothes (and of that kind one sort called Dyaper, wrought in *Misen*), and bombast or cotton. Into *Spaine* they export linnen cloth, wax, brasse, copper, cordage, Masts for shippes, gun-powder, bombast or cotton, and *Nurnberg* wares (so they call small wares.) Againe, they receiue all kinds of silkes from *Italy*, whereof they vse little quantity for their owne apparrell, but send great store ouer land, to those Cities on the Sea-coast, where the English Merchants reside, to be sold vnto them.

For the English Merchants had their Staple first at *Emden*, the Count whereof vsed them well, yet in the warre betweene *England* and *Spaine*, this place grew dangerous for them, for the enemye often tooke their goods, and made them prisoners, at the very mouth of the Harbour. Whereupon they remoued to *Hamburg*, where being oppressed with new impositions, and being denied the publike exercise of their Religion, they went from thence, and settled their Staple at *Stoade*. In like sort the English Merchants trading for *Poland* and those parts, first had their Staple at *Dantzke* in *Prussen* (by Staple I meane their residence in a City, giuing them priuiledge to stop any forraigne wares, intended to be carried further, and to force the Merchant to sell them there, except hee had rather returne with them to the place from whence hee came.) But when the Dantzkers vnder pretence of the Sueuian warre, exacted of them a dollar for each woollen cloath, and as much for a last of any other goods, and after when the warre was ended, would remit nothing of this imposition. And further when they forbad the English by a Law to dwell in *Poland*, the commodities whereof were onely sold there, lest they should learne the language, and find the mysteries of the trade. And lastly when they exacted as much weekly of an Englishman dwelling in the City, as they did of a Iew dwelling there. The English made agreement with the Senate of *Meluin* for eleuen yeeres, to day them sixe grosh for each cloth, or other last of goods, and to pay as much more in the Citie *Kettle*, to the Duke of *Prussen*, for his giuing them free passage to *Meluin*, and so they settled their Staple there. Whereupon the Dantzkers being offended with the Citizens of *Meluin*, and the Hamburgers no lesse with those of *Stoade*, procured the free Cities by a publike writing to outlaw, not onely *Meluin* and *Stoade* for receiuing the English, to the common preiudice of the rest, but also *Koingsperg* (the seate of the Duke of *Prussen*), and the free Citie *Lubeck*, for fauouring the English in this course, and permitting them being strangers to sell their goods to any other, then the Citizens of each seuerall Citie.

But I will returne to the trafficke of *Germany*. I formerly said, that the Germans receiued all kindes of silke stufes from *Italy*. From the English they receiue woollen clothes, lead, and such like things. From *Spaine* they bring in their owne ships wine, fruites, oyle, salt, wooll, and more commonly coined siluer. And because the trade of *Prussen* (a German Prouince, but lately annexed to *Poland*) is of great importance with all strangers, I will adde this, that the English bring thither great quantitie of tynne, and woollen cloathes, with copper, and like things. And that they bring from thence Pitch, liquid Pitch, Hempe, Flaxe, Cables, Masts for shippes, boards and timber for building, Linnen cloates, Wax, minerall Salt (which in *Poland* they dig out of pirs like great stones, and the same being put to the fire is made pure, and being blacke, his colour is more durable, and lesse subiect to giuing againe, then our boiled salt.) Also they bring

bring from thence pine ashes for making of Soape, and great quantity of Corne. Yet the English seldome haue neede of their Corne for the vse of *England*, which many times of their owne they transport to other Nations, but they buy it as the free Cities doe, to transport it to others, and the Low-Country men buy it as well for themselves, as to serue *Spain* therewith, so as great quantity thereof is distracted into all parts of Europe. The Amber that is brought from these parts, is not gathered at *Melun* or *Dantzke*, but on the sea side of *Konigsberg* (where the Duke of *Prussen* holds his Court), and all along the Coast of *Curland*, where howsoeuer it lies in great quantity scattered on the sand of the Sea, yet is it as safe, as if it were in warehouses, since it is death to take away the least peece thereof. When it is first gathered, it is all couered ouer with drosse, but after it is polished, becomes transparently bright. At *Dantzke* I did see two polished peeces thereof, which were esteemed at a great price, one including a frogge with each part cleerely to be scene, (for which the King of *Poland* then being there, offered five hundred dollers), the other including a newt, but not so transparent as the former. Some thinke this Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and by these peeces falling vpon frogges and like things, this opinion should seeme true, but those trees from which they hold this Amber to distill, abound in *Germany*, yet Amber is onely found vpon this Coast of the Balticke Sea. Others thinke rather that Amber is generated by the Sea, and it is most certaine that Marriners sounding farre from the Land, often find sand of Amber sticking to their plummets, whereof my selfe was an eye witnesse. And *Munster* holds them to be deceiued, who thinke Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and because it is fat, and burnes being put to the fier, concludes it to be a fat clay, or bituminous matter, affirming that it is not onely found vpon the Sea Coast, but often caught at Sea in nets, and he adds that being liquid, it often falls vpon, and includes little beasts, which growe with it to the hardnes of stone, and that it smells of mirrh.

The diet of the Germans is simple, and very modest, if you set aside their intemperate drinking: For as they are nothing sumptuous, but rather sparing in their apparell and household stufte, so they are content with a morsell of flesh and bread, so they haue store of drinke, and want not wood to keepe their stoaves warme. And in generall, since they affect not forraigne commodities, but are content with their own commodities, and are singular as well in the Art as industry of making manuell workes, they easily draw to them and retaine with them forraigne Coynes. The free Cities vse to haue alwaies a yeeres prouision of victuals laid vp in publike houses, to serue for homely food for the people, in case the City should happen to be besieged. They commonly serue to the Table sower Cabbages, which they call *Crawt*, and beere (or wine for a dainty) boyled with bread, which they call *Swoope*. In vpper *Germany* they moreouer giue veale or beefe in little quantities, but in lower *Germany* they supply the meale with bacon and great dried puddings, which puddings are sauory and so pleasant, as in their kind of mirth they wish prouerbiially for *Kurtz predigen, lange worsten*, that is, Short sermons and long puddings. Sometimes they also giue dried fishes, and apples or peares first dried, then prepared with cinamon and butter very sauourily. They vse many sawces, and commonly sharpe, and such as comfort the stomacke offended with excessive drinking: For which cause in vpper *Germany* the first draught commonly is of wormewood wine, and the first dish of little lampreys, (which they call *nine augen*, as hauing nine eyes) serued with white vineger; and those that take any iourney, commonly in the morning drinke a little *Brant wein*, (that is, their Aquavita) and eate a peece of *Pfeffer kuchen*, (that is, Ginger-bread) which vseth to be sold at the gates of the City. They haue a most delicate sawce (in my opinion) for roasted meats, of cherries sod and brused, the iuice whereof becomes hard like Marmalade, but when it is to be serued to the Table, they dissolue it with a little wine or like moisture. And as they haue abundance of fresh fish in their Ponds and Riuers, so they desire not to eate them, except they see them aliue in the Kitchen, and they prepare the same very sauourily, commonly vsing anniseeds to that purpose, especially the little fishes, whereof they haue one most delicate kinde, called *Smerling*, which in *Prussen* I did eate, first

The Germans diet.

choked, then sodden in wine, and they being very little, yet sixty of them were sold for nineteene grosh. The foresaid sawce of cherries, they thus prepare and keepe, They gather a darke or blackish kind of cherry, and casting away the stalkes, put them into a great cauldron of brasse set vpon the fier, til they beginne to be hot, then they put them into a lesse cauldren full of holes in the bottome, and presse them with their hands, so as the stones and skinnies remaine in this cauldron, but the iuice by the foresaid holes doth fall into another vessell. Then againe they set this iuice vpon the fier, continually stirring it, lest it should cleaue to the bottome, and after two howers space, they mingle with it the best kind of peares they haue, first cut into very small peeces, and so long they boile it and continually stirre it, till it waxe hard, and notwithstanding the stirring beginne to cleaue to the vessell. This iuice thus made like a Marmalade, may long be preserued from moulding in this sort. They which desire to haue it sweete, mixe sugar with it, and others other things according to the taste they desire it should haue. Then they put it into earthen pitchers, and if it beginne at any time to waxe mouldie, they put these pots into the Ouen; after the bread is baked and taken out. Also these pitchers must be close stopped, that no aire may enter, & must be set where no sunne or continuall heate comes. Lastly, when they will make ready this lawce, they cut out a peece of the said iuice, and mingle with it a little wine to dissolue it, (with vineger, or sugar, or spices, according to their seuerall appetites), and so boile it againe some halfe hower.

In *Saxony*, *Misen*, and those parts, they sometimes serue to the Table a calues head whole and vndeuided into parts, which to vs strangers at the first sight seemed a terrible dish gaping with the teeth like the head of a Monster, but they so prepare it, as I neuer remember to haue eaten any thing that more pleased my taste. They vse not for common diet any thing that comes from the Cow, neither haue I obserued them to haue any butter in *Saxony*, or the lower parts of *Germany*, but they vse a certaine white matter called smalts in stead of it, not tasting like our butter. They doe not commonly eate any cheefe, neither remember I that I euer tasted good cheefe there, excepting one kind of little cheefe made of Goats milke, which is pleasant to eate: but salt and strong cheefes they sometimes vse to prouoke drinking, for which purpose the least crum is sufficient. These Cheefes they compasseround with thred or twiggess, and they beginne them in the midst of the broad side, making a round hole there, into which hole, when the cheefe is to be set vp, they put some few drops of wine, that it may putrifie against the next time, when they eate the mouldy peeces and very creeping maggots for dainety morsels, and at last the cheefe becomes so rotten and so full of these wormes, that if the said binding that compasseth it chance to break, the cheefe fals into a million of crums no bigger then moates. They haue a kind of bread brownish & sowrish, and made with anniseeds, which seemed very sauoury to me. They serue in stead of a banquet, a kind of light bread like our fritters, saue that it is long, round, & a little more solid, which they call *Fastnacht kuchen*, Shroftide baking, because then and vpon *S. Martins* day, and some like Feasts they vse to make it. They vse not in any place almost, to offend in the great number of dishes, onely some few Innes of chiefe Cities giue plentifull meales. And for the Saxons, they for the most part set on the pot or roast meate once for the whole weeke: Yet in the golden bull they haue a law, that Hosts shall not serue in more then foure dishes, the price of them to be set by the Magistrate, & that they should not gaine in the reckoning more then the fourth or at most the third penny, and that the guests should pay seuerally for their drinke, the Germans drinking so largely as it was vnpossible to prescribe the rate thereof. It were to be wished by strangers, that not onely drinke should be paid for a part from meate, but that each man should pay the share himselfe drinks, and no more, so the charges of sober passengers in *Germany*, hauing all things reasonably cheape, would not in such measure increase, as otherwise they doe through their companions intemperancy. The said Saxons set the dishes on the Table one by one, for the most part grosse meates, whereupon I haue heard some merrily compare them to the Tyrants of *Sicily*, of whom one being dead, stil a more terrible Monster succeeded him. Here &

in these parts of the lower *Germany*, they vse to serue in sower crawt or cabbage vpon a voide circle of carued Iron standing on three feete, vnder which they serue in one large dish, roast flesh and pullers, and puddings, and whatsoever they haue prepared, which dish a Countryman of mine did not vnproperly compare to the Arke of *Noah*, containing all kinds of Creatures. Also in *Saxony*, for the first dish they serue in stewed Cherries or Prunes, then toasted or sodden Pullets, or other flesh, and last of all Bacon to fill his bellie that hath not enough. Almost all their Tables are round, and of so great a compasse, as each dish being serued one by one, (not as we vse to haue the Table fully furnished with meate), they that sit at the corners of the Table, are forced to stand on their feete as often as they cut any meate. The Germans seldome breake their fasts, except it be in iournies, with a little Ginger-bread and Aquauity. They sit long at Table, and euen in the Innes as they takes iournies, dine very largely, neither will they rise from dinner or supper, till though slowly, yet fully they haue consumed all that is set before them. And they cannot speak more reprochfully of any Host then to say; *Ich hab mich da nicht satt gefressen*, that is, I did not eate my belly full there: Yea, at *Berne*, a Citie of *Sweitzerland*, they haue a Law that in Feasts they shall not sit more then fise howers at the Table. And at *Basell*, when Doctors and Masters take their degrees, they are forbidden by a Statute, to sit longer at Table, then from ten of the clocke in the morning, to fixe in the euening, yet when that time is past, they haue a trick to cozen this Law, be it neuer so indulgent to them, for then they retire out of the publike Hall into priuate Chambers, where they are content with any kinde of meate, so it be such as prouoketh drinking, in which they haue no measure, so long as they can stand or sit. Let the Germans pardon me to speake freely, that in my opinion, they are no lesse excessiue in eating, then drinking, saue that they onely protract the two ordinary meales of each day, till they haue consumed all that is set before them, but to their drinking they can prescribe no meane nor end. I speake of their ordinary diet, especially at Innes by the way as they trauell: In Feasts their prouision is rather full then sumptuous. At *Leipzig* for meere curiositie, I procured my selfe to be inuited to a marriage Feast, in one of the chiefe Citizens houses, the marriage was in the afternoone, and at supper they serued in a peece of roasted beefe hot, and another cold, with a sawce make with sugar and sweet wine, then they serued in a Carpesfried, then Mutton roasted, then dried Peares prepared with butter and cinamon, and therewith a piece of broiled Salmon, then bloted Herrings broiled, and lastly a kind of bread like our fritters, saue that it is made in long roubles, and more drie, which they cal *Fasnacht kuchen*, that is, Shroftide baking, together with Cheefe. And thus with seuen dishes a Senators nuptiall Feast was ended, without any flockes of fowle, or change of fishes, or banquetting sturfe, which other Nations vse, onely their was endlesse drinking, whole barrells of Wine being brought into the Stoaue, and set by vs vpon a Table, which we so plied, as after two howers, no man in the company was in case to giue account next morning, what he did, said, or saw, after that time. To nourish this drinking, they vse to eate salt meats, which being (vpon ill disposition of my body) once displeasing & vnholosome for me, and I complaining therof to my Host, he between ieast and earnest replied, that the vse of Salt was commended in Scriptures, alleadging that text: *Let all your speeches be seasoned with salt*, and then said he much more should our meates be thus seasoned. Salt thus pleaseth their pallat, because it makes the same dry, and prouokes the appetite of drinking. For which cause also, when they meet to drink, as they dine with dried pork, and beefe heauily salted, together with cheefe sharpe like that of *Parma*, so when the cloth is taken away, they haue set before them rawe beanes, waternuts, (wstich I did see onely in *Saxony*), and a loafe of bread cut into shiues, all sprinckled with salt and pepper, the least bit whereof will inuite him to drinke that hath least need. And to say truth, Porke dried, or Bacon, is so esteemed of the Germans, as they seeme to haue much greater care of their Hogges then of their Sheepe, or other Cattle. For in the morning when they turne them forth, they scratch them with their fingers, as Barbers doe mens heads; and blesse them that they may safely returne, and in the euening when they are to come backe with the Heard,

a ser.

a seruant is commanded to attend them, who washeth the dust from them as they passe by the fountaine, and so followes them till they come home of their owne accord, without any beating or driuing. The price of a fat Sow is at least five, sometimes foureteene Guldens, yea, at *Heidelberg*, it was credibly told me, that a Sow, being so fat, as shee could not at one feeding eate a raw egge, all her intrels being closed vp with fat, had lately beene sold for fifty Guldens. With this fat they larde many roasted and broiled meates, as well flesh as fish: And they neuer eate any Pigges, but nourish them to full growth, so as my selfe and some of my Countrey-men at *Wittenberg*, desiring to eate a Pigge, hardly bought one for halfe a doller, and were our selues forced to kill, dresse, and roast it, the seruants abhorring from such a strange worke, neither could we intreat any one to eate the least bit thereof. When they roast a shoulder of Mutton, they beate the vpper part thereof with the backe-side of an Hatchet, or like Instrument, before they put it on the Spit, to make that part tender, which they carue as the most dainty part: yet vse they seldome to carue any man, lest they should seeme to desire that morsell themselves, for they hold it a point of ciuility not to take that is carued, but to force it vpon the Caruer. They dip their bread in sawces, but thinke it ill manners to dip meat therein, as likewise to reach bread with the point of a knife, and not rather to call for it by hand. Lastly, when the Table is to be taken away, they think to offer him curtesie whose trencher they offer to take vp, and put into the Voyder; and will in curtesie strue to doe it. Hee that will abide in any City, may easily obtaine to be entertained for bed and board at a conuenient rate, by some chiefe Citizen or Doctor, as I haue formerly said.

Now something must be said of Innes by the high way. *Erasmus Roterodamus* saith, that the Inne keepers of *Germany* are sordide, that is, base or slovenly: but I would rather say, they are churlish and rudely proud, or rather graue and surley. When you come in, you must salute the Hoste, and happy you if he salute you againe. You must drinke with him, and obserue him in all things. For your carriage, you must lay it in the common eating roome, yet there it shall be most safe; and if you will put off your bootes, you must doe it in the same roome, and there lay them aside. You must expect the hower of eating, for they nothing regard him that desires either to hasten or protract it. You must take in good part what is set before you, demanding nothing for your owne appetite. The shot demanded, must be paid without expostulation, for the Hosts seldome deceiue strangers or others; and neuer remit one halfe penny of that they demand. Aboue the table hangs a bell (especially through all lower *Germany*), by sounding whereof they call the seruants to attend. And at *Nurnberg* there hangs such a little bel vnder the table, which they sound if any man speake immodestly of loue matters or any like subiect, and though it bee done in sport, yet it serues to remember a wise man of his error. In lower *Germany* after supper, they leade the guests into a chamber of many beds, and if any man haue no companion, they giue him a bed-fellow. Lastly, all things must be desired and intreated, as if the guests were intertained of free cost, for the Host thinkes you beholden to him for your intertainment, without any obligation on his part.

Through all *Germany* they lodge betweene two fetherbeds (excepting *Sweitzerland*, where they vse one bed vnder them, and are couered with woollen blankets) and these fetherbeds for softnesse and lightnesse are very commodious, for euery winter night the seruants are called into the warme stoue, whereof such fethers as are reserued, they pull the fethers from the quill, vsing onely the softest of them for making of beds. The bed lying vnder is great and large, and that aboue is narrow and more soft, betweene which they sleepe as well in Summer as Winter. This kind of lodging were not incommodious in Winter, if a man did lie alone: but since by the high way they force men to haue bedfellowes, one side lies open to the cold, by reason that the vpper bed is narrow, so as it cannot fall round about two, but leaues one side of them both open to the wind and weather. But in Summer time this kind of lodging is vnpleasant, keeping a man in a continuall sweat from head to foote. Yet in Country Villages, and many parts of *Saxony*, passengers haue no cause to complaine of this annoyance,

ance, since all without exception, rich and poore, drunken and sober, take vp their lodging among the Cowes in straw, where sometimes it happens, that hee who lying downe had a pillow of straw vnder his head, when hee awaketh finds the same either scattered or eaten by the Cowes: yea; where they haue beds, I would aduise the passenger to weare his owne linnen breeches, for their sheets are seldome or neuer cleane. They aduise wel, who wish passengers to offer the seruant drinking mony, that he may shew them the best bed, yet when that is done, this best bed will proue farre vnfit to be entered naked, though perhaps the seruant will iudge it very pure and cleanly. This by experience I often found, once with extreme laughter obseruing the seruants speciall curtesie to me, who taking my reward, brought me to a bed with cleane sheetes as he called them, wherein he swore deeply that no body had lien but his owne mother, which was an old trot of 90 yeeres age. These seruants in Innes expect as it were of duty drinking money from all passengers, and boldly demand it, as if it were their right whether the passenger will or no, which they doe rudely in the lower parts of *Germany*, by offering them a pot to drinke at parting, and more ciuilly in the vpper parts, the maide seruants offering a nosegay to each seuerall guest. This is peculiar to the Germans, none serue or attend more rudely, none more boldly challenge reward.

I haue formerly aduised English Trauellers, first to passe by *Germany*, that they may there learne patience by seruing themselues. For if you come to a shop to buy shooes, the Master bids you to find out your selfe those that will fit you, and then to put them on your selfe, which done, he asks the price, whereof he will not bate one halfe penny, and when you haue paid his asking, then the Prentices challenge drinking money as of duty, and the like manner is obserued in all other shops, wherein you buy any thing. In the meane time, if in your Inne, you bid the seruant reach any thing to you, the same man that when you take horse will in this sort exact drinking money of you, will not reach that you call for, but mumbling that you haue as many feete and hands as he, will goe away, as if he heard not, or regarded not what you said. The Germans of *Prussia* neere *Poland*, are much to be praised for Hospitality, who not onely entertaine strangers at a good rate, and wich much cleanlinesse, and good fare and lodging, (wherein they giue cleane sheetes, and if the passenger stay long, change them often, as once each weeke, which in so cold a clime may seeme lesse requisite), but also haue in custome, (I speake of the Cities of *Meluin* and *Dantzke*), to giue their guests weekly a bath to wash their fecte, and as often besides as they returne from any iourne, which curtesie I neuer remember to haue beene offered vnto me, but once in *Germany* at *Lubecke*. The Innes of *Germany* hang out no signes at their gates, but they are vulgarly knowne, and so may be easilie found out, besides that many of them may be knowne by thn Armes of Noblemen and Gentlemen: For they hold it a point of reputation, to passe other Innes in the number of these Armes, fixed on the front of their Inne, and vpon the wals of the common eating roome, so as I haue numbered three hundred or foure hundred such Armes in one Inne. Howsoever *Germany* abounds with all necessaries for life, yet the expence by the way is greater, by reason of the Dutchmens large drinking. In lower *Germany*, where they drinke beere, a passenger shall pay each meale commonly three or foure grosh, or about 4 lubeck shillings. In vpper *Germany*, where they drinke wine, he shall pay commonly sixe or seuen batzen each meale, and if he haue a seruant, he shall pay asmuch for him as for himselfe. I passed from *Stoade* to *Emden*, in the disguised habit of a seruant, where I first by experience found, that he who vilifies himselfe, doth not thereby saue one penny, since poore fellowes sit at the same Table with Gentlemen, and pay to the vttermost farthing as much as they, howsoever they sit lower, and aswell at board as for bed, are more courselly handled. Yet I say not but such a man may saue the poore expence of drinking money, which the seruants perhaps wil not expect from men of base condition. All Dutch consorts drinke stiffely, and assoone as euer the cloth is taken away after supper, except you presently rise before they set the pot of *Schlaffdruncke*, (or sleeping cup) on the Table, and if you doe but slip one drop, you shall besides your ordinary pay, equall share with those that drinke all night, till they be drunke and sober againe.

And

And to say truth, the Germans are in high excesse subiect to this vice of drinking, scarce noted with any other nationall vice, so that as their Doctors and Artisans, affecting the knowledge onely of one science, or manuell art, doe become excellent therein, so this nation in generall, and every part or member thereof, practising night and day the faculty of drinking, become strong & invincible professors therein. In *Saxony*, when the gates of the Cities are to be shut, while they that dwell in the subburbs, passing out, doe reele from one side of the streete to the other, as if it were too narrow for them to walke in, while they stumble and fall in the dirt, while they by stradling with their legges as if a Cart should passe betweene them, doe for the most part beare vp themselves from falling, yet iostle every post, pillar, and passenger by the way, while the gates of the City seeme not wide enough for them to passe, except the wals also were pulled downe.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

Friends admitted to behold, from laughter can you then withhold.

For howsoever the richer sort hide this intemperance for the most part, by keeping at home, surely the vulgar yeeld this daily spectacle. Yet in truth it is no shame, especially in *Saxony*, euen to spew at the Table in their next fellowes bosome, or to pisse vnder the Table, and afterwards in their beds. And I know not how the fellowship of drunkards is so pleasing to them, as a man shall with no other quality make so many friends as with this, so as he that wil be welcome in their company, or desires to learne their language, must needs practice this excesse in some measure. When they drinke, if any man chance to come in and sit in the roome, though he be a stranger of another Nation, they doe not onely coniure him to pledge them by the bond of friendship, of his Fathers Nobility, and his Mothers chastity, but (if need be) compell him by force therunto, vulgarly crying, *Kanstu nicht sauffen und fressen, so kanstu keinem kern wol dienen*; If thou canst not swill and deuoure, thou canst serue no Master well. In the meane time, they like not to drinke gear draughts, wherein our Countrey men put them downe; but they will spend an Age in swoping and sipping. Their Coachmen are in this kind so tender hearted to their Horses, that out of a fellow feeling of thirst, they will suffer them to drinke in standing water, scarce couering their shooes, when they sweat by the high way. The Germans repute it such honour to them to haue abundance of wine, as the very Princes strive, as for a Princely preheminance, who shall haue the hugest and most capable vessels in his Cellar. Some of these vessels containe more then a thousand measures, each of seuentie Cans or Pots, and are ascended by twenty or thirty staires. Out of this vessell they daily draw wine, and being halfe emptied, they fill it vp againe: but at the birth of a child, or any like feast, they turne this Monster loose for all commers, to tame it, and drinke it out to the bottome. Passengers in the Innes of lower *Germany*, so make their reckoning at dinner, as they reserue a grtat proportion to drinke before they take Coach. Once I obserued that my selfe and seuen consorts after dinner vpon a full gorge, had sixteene great pots to drinke at parting, at which time one of our consorts being a Horseman, and not fit to ride, was taken into our Coach, and sitting by me, now laughing, then weeping, and often knocking his head against mine, at last defiled me by casting his stomacke in my bosome, with no reproch to himselfe among his Countreymen, but vnspeakable offence to me. When they are sit downe to drinke, if any man come in by chance, each one at the Table salutes him with a Cup, all which garausses he must drinke as for a fine, before he can be admitted into their number, for they are very iealous that any man being sober, should behold their quaffing, so as a man had better fall among the thickest of his enemies fighting, then into the company of his friends drinking. He that reades this, would thinke that they drunke sweet Nectar at the least, or some like drinke inuiting excesse; but in lower *Germany*, sometimes and rarely they drinke Rhenish Wine, commonly Beere, and that so thicke and ill smelling, and sometimes medicinall, as a stranger would think it more fit to be eaten (or cast into the sinke), then to be drunke, whereof a drop once falling on my hand, seemed to me foule puddle water. Their Wines in generall are sharpe, and those of the Rheine small, which are to be had in their Cities, and

and when I first passed to *Leipzig*, and being ignorant of the language, was forced to commit my selfe to a Conductor, and after my couenant with him for my diet, desired him to carry some glasse bottels of wine in our Coach, yet he could not in the way vse it temperately, but either would allow vs no wine at all, or at one meale drinke off a whole great bottell, as if he thought it a shame to taste it, and not drinke all out at once. Thus as often it falls out in Princes Courts, that a stranger may die of thirst, but he that is acquainted in Court, shall hardly escape sober, so he gaue me either no wine, or too much. In vpper *Germany* for the most part they drinke wine, and that with some lesse excesse, then is vsed in the lower parts, yet so as in this vice they degenerate not from their Countrey men. The Germans of *Prussia* formerly praised by me, must pardon me if I taske them with this vice as much as the rest. When I passed from *Melun* to *Dantzke*, my companion by the way shewed me a Tower called *Groske*, where certaine Husbandmen being vpon a wager to drinke twelue measures of wine, which we call lasts, and vse for proportions of Merchants wares, not for wine or beere, did roast vpon a spit one of their consorts, because he left them before the taske was performed, and to saue their liues for this murther, paid their Prince as many siluer grosh as could lie betweene that Tower & the City of *Dantzke*. In generall, the Germans want not many exemplary punishments and effects of this vice: For many quarrelling in drink are killed, and he that kills, neuer escapes if he be taken. I remember that a Gentleman of *Brunswicke*, riding from *Hamburge* to his home, when he was extremely drunken, was next day found torne in many peeces, by the striking of his Horse when he fell out of the saddle, which was a miserable and exemplary kinde of death. And the like mischiefe befell another while I was at *Torge* in *Misen*. And a Physician a familiar friend of mine, tolde mee that many Germans dying suddenly vpon excesse of drinking, were ordinarily (for hiding of the shame) giuen out to die of the falling sicknesse. In their drinking they vse no mirth, and little discourse, but sadly ply the buisnesse, sometimes crying one to the other, *Seyte frolich*, Be merry, *Drinke aus*, Drinke out, and as (according to the Prouerbe) euery Psalm ends in *Gloria*, so euery speech of theirs, ends in *Ich bringe euch*, I drinke to you. For frolicks they pinch, and that very rudely their next Neighbours arme or thigh, which goes round about the Table. So for equality they drinke round, especially in *Saxony*, except in curtesie they sometimes drinke out of course to a Guest; and this equall manner of drinking, they say had his first originall from a pleasant or rather wicked Act, of an vndutifull Sonne, who receiuing a boxe of the eare from his Father, and daring not strike him againe, did notwithstanding strike his next Neighbour as hard a blow as hee receiued, desiring him to passe it round about the Table as a frolicke, in these wordes: *Lasset umb gehen*, so kriagt der vatter auch was; Let it goe round, so my Father shall haue it in his course, and so more modestly or lesse wickedly hee reuenged himselfe. While all drinke in this manner circularly out of one and the same pot, they scoffe at him that drinks the last remainder, saying prouerbially that hee shall marry an old trot. At *Nurneberg*, and some other Innes of higher *Germany*; each guest hath his peculiar drinking glasse set by his trencher, which when he hath drunke out, if he set it downe with the mouth vpward, it is presently filled againe, (in which filling the seruants vse a singular dexterity, standing in great distance from it), but if hee turne the mouth downeward, they expect till in signe of thirst it bee turned vpward; for they are such Masters in this Art of drinking as they are serued by dumbe signes without speaking a word. In *Saxony* two vse to begin a pot to two, and when each receiues the pot, or giues it to his fellow, they curiously looke vpon certaine pegs or markes set within of purpose; that they may deuide the drinke by the equall ballance of Iustice. Sometimes they take three glasses at once vpon 3 fingers, and beginning to another, drinke them all of at once, which kind of karaussing they call the crowning of the Emperour. If you begin to any man, you must fill the cup for him with your owne hands, or at least deliuer it to him your self, or otherwise for a penalty you must drinke it againe, and some doe willingly make these errors, that they may seem to be compelled to this pleasing penalty. When

they are extraordinarily merry, they vse a kind of garauffing, called *kurlemurlebuff*, wherein they vse certaine touches of the glasse, the beard, some parts of the body, and of the Table, together with certaine whistlings, and phillippings of the fingers, with like rules, so curiously disposed in order, as it is a labour of *Hercules* to obserue them. Yet he that erres in the least point of ceremony, must drinke the cup of againe for penalty. They hold it a point of reputation, if themselues hauing sense and memory, can send their guests home voide of sense or reason, or full (as they more gently call drunkenesse); and the better to performe this, they will now and then goe out of the warme stoue to ease their stomacks by casting, which vse makes easie and familiar to them. They seldome or neuer drinke with their hats on, for sitting in a warme stoue bare-headed, they find their heads more speedily eased of the vapours that arise from drinking. Many of the Germaus going to sleepe, doe by the aduice of the Physitian, put little stones into their mouthes, to keepe them open: for as a boyling pot better seethes the meat if the fier be couered, so the fier be moderate: but if it be extraordinari-ly great and hot, the potlid must be taken off, lest it boyle ouer; so it is good to helpe a mans concoction, if he sleepe with his mouth shut, so his diet be sparing or moderate: but in such excesse as the Germans vse, not onely the mouth, but (if it might be) the very brest is to bee opened, that the heate of the inward parts may haue vent. The Germans sparingly and rarely giue any gifts to those with whom they drinke: but if they doe, then (contrary to the custome of the Turkes and Polonians) they willingly make them good when they are sober. And for the most part Merchants, and all traffiquers of businesse, make all their contracts of buying and selling and otherwise with the counsell of the pot. Likewise when they sell houses or lands, they bring a tun of beere or vessell of wine into the streete, and seale the bargain by drinking with their neighbours, in like sort concluding all their contracts, which agreed vpon when they are halfe drunken, yet are confirmed by them when they are sober.

At *Prage* I remember the Germans did scoffe at a Polake Gentleman, to whom a Dutch Abbot giuing a gold ring in his cups, the Polake in requitall gaue him his horse of price, and though he did earnestly refuse so great a guift, by instance forced him to accept it, yet in the morning being sober sent for his Horse againe. To conclude, hardly any man will giue his daughter in marriage to a man whom he hath not seene drunken, by which in a moment they are confident to coniecture what life shee shall leade with him, since in drinke men liuely bewray their dispositions, which they can cloake and dissemble when they are sober. And they find by experience, that in drinke cholerike men are prone to quarrels, sanguine men to dancing and imbracing, men possessed with melancholy to teares and complaints, and they who are flegmaticke to dull astonishment and spewing. The trade of brewing is more commodious among the Germans, then any other trafficke. So as at *Torg*, (where the best beere is brewed and from thence distracted to other Cities) onely the Senate hath the priuiledge to sell the same by small measures (as also to sell wine), and in the rest of lower *Germany*, as onely the Senate buies and selles wine, so the chiefe Citizens by turnes brew beere, admitting troopes of poore people into their houses to drinke it out. As the gaine of brewing is great, so Princes raise great impositions from it, and the most rich Citizens or Aldermen (as I said) not onely disdain not to brew, but even greedily expect their turne, at which time they also sell it by cannes, and haue their lower roomes full of drinking tables for the common people, where euery man payes for his drinke before his canne be filled, that at least their purse may teach them measure, which otherwise they cannot obserue. Yea, my selfe, not without wonder, haue seene in a Senators house, poore soules pawne their cloths for drinke, and goe home halfe naked, yet sufficiently armed with drinke against the greatest cold.

The beere of *Torge* is most esteemed in higher *Saxony*, and the most part at *Leipzig* drinke no other, yet for their seruants brew a small beere called beere of the couent, and a kind of most small beere, which the students call *Rastrum*, that is rake. There is an Imperiall Law in the golden Bull against Hosts, Mariners, and Carters, who either in Cellers, or Carriage by the high-way, mingle brimstone or water with wine, wherein

nor

notwithstanding they daily offend, putting in brimstone to make it heady strong, and water to fill vp the measure. There be in the same golden Bull many Lawes made against drunkenesse, at such time as the Germans hauing warre with the Turkes, beganne to looke into themselues, for reforming of notorious vices, wherein it is decreed, that Courtiers giuen to this vice, should be expelled the Courts of Princes, and that all Magistrates should search out drunkards, and seuerely punish them: But giue me one Prince free of this vice, who may thus punish his Courtiers. My selfe being at a great Dukes funerall, did see a Prince his neere cozen, drinke so stiffely to expell sorrow, as all his senses and almost his spirits were suffocated therewith, and of many Princes there present, (pardon me to speake truth) I did not see one sober at this funerall Feast, what would these Princes haue done at a Marriage? Princes haue a custome to drinke by Attourney, when they are sickely or ill disposed, and many times they reward this substitute strongly bearing much drinke, as for a good seruice to the Common-wealth, yet except they be very sicke, few are found which will not in person performe their owne taske. Giue me one Magistrate of so many thousands, who with his owne innocency is armed with boldnesse to punish others. Giue mee one, (I am ashamed to say it, but truth is truth); I say giue me one Minister of Gods Word, who preacheth against excesse of drinking. My selfe haue heard some hundreds of their Sermons, yet neuer heard any inuective against this vice:

Turpe est Doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum;

The teacher needs must be ashamed,

Who for the same offence is blamed.

Onely the Weomen of *Germany* are most temperate in eating and drinking, and of all I did euer see, most modest in all kinds of vertue: yet the Weomen of *Bohemia* vse as great (or little lesse) excesse in drinking, as Men, not without a stain to their reputation of chastity. The Weomen of *Germany* haue a custome to helpe their Husbands or Friends, by sipping of the cup; but I did neuer see any chaste woman, (as most of them are) drinke largely, much lesse to be drunken: But for Men of all sorts whatsoever.

Si quoties peccant, toties sua fulmina mittat

Princeps, exiguo tempore inermis erit:

If the Prince smite, as oft as they offend,

His Sword and Arme will faile him ere the end.

Thus howsoeuer the Germans be honest, deceiuing neither stranger nor Countryman, and haue abundance of all things to sustaine life, yet strangers, by reason of the generall intemperance of the Nation, are either allured to participate this vice of drinking with them, or at least by ill custome are drawne to partake their punishment in paying of the shot, and through their churlish rusticity are ill entertained, and yet forced to reward the seruants, whose attendance deserues nothing lesse.

It remaines that I should enforme passengers how to apply themselues to the Germans in this drinking custome, so as at least with lesse hurt or offence, they may passe through their territories. For those who passe suddenly through the same without long abode in any place, nothing is more easie then to shunne all participation of this vice, by consorting themselues with fit companions in their iourney, so as they being the greater part as well in the Coach, as at the Table, may rather draw the lesser part to sobriety, then be induced by them to excesse. But they who desire to conuerse with the Germans, and to learne their language, cannot possibly keepe within the bounds of temperance, and must vse art to shunne great or daily excesse. Such a passenger sitting downe at Table, must not presently drinke of all the Cups begunne to him from others: for the Germans are so exceeding charitable to all Men, as they will furnish him presently with new Cuppes on all hands for feare that hee should

suffer thirst. He shall doe better to set the cups in order before his trencher, and first to drinke of, those of lesser quantity, but euer to keepe one or two of the greatest, to returne in exchange to him that drinke to him. For this kind of reuenge (as I may terme it) the German's feare, more then the Irish doe great gunnes, and to auoide the same, will forbear to prouoke him with garausses. For they loue not healths in great measures (which they call *in floribus*), but had much rather sip then swallow. In this kinde I remember a pleasant French Gentleman much distasted them, who inuited to a feast; and admonished, that hee could not possibly returne sober, did at the very beginning of supper, drinke great garausses, of himselfe calling for them, besides the small healths comended to him from others, which vnwonted kind of skirmishing when they disliked, he presently replied: Why should we leese time? since we must be drunken let vs doe it quickly, the sooner, the better; and therewith hee so tyred those at the table, as hee found no man would in that kind contend with him. But to the purpose. If the cuppes set about his trencher increase in number, he may easily finde occasion (as when his conlorts goe out to make water) either to conuey some of them to their trenchers, or to giue them to the seruant to let away. After supper he may nod and sleepe, as if he were drunken, for,

Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa.

Sometimes the foole to play,

Is wisdom great they say.

And so hee shall bee led to a bed, which they haue in all their stoues, and call the *Faulbett*, that is, the slothfull bed. Otherwise hee may faine head-ach, or feare of an ague; or if these excuses preuaile not, as seldome they doe while hee staies in the roome, because they cannot indure to haue a sober man behold them drinking, then as if hee went out to make water, or speake with some friend, hee shall doe best to steale away, and howloeuver hee haue confidently promised to returne, yet to come no more that night, no not to fetch his cloake or hat, which are alwaies laid vp safely for him, especially if hee foresee the skirmish like to bee hot. But aboue all, let him take heede of the old fashion to take leaue of his companions and bid them good night, for the Germans vpon no intreaty or excuse will suffer any man to goe to bed so sober. If there bee musicke and dancing, their dances being of no Art and small toyle, hee had much better daunce with the women till midnight, then returne to the table among the drinkers, for one of these foure he must doe, drinke, sleepe, daunce, or steale away, no fifth course remaines. Lastly, let him warily chuse his companions of that Nation, with good triall of their honest dispositions. But with strangers, as English, French and Polakes, let him carefully etchew excessse of drinking. For these, and especially the English, when they are heated with drinke, are obserued to bee mad in taking exceptions, and in the ill effects of fury, being more prone to quarrels then the Dutch, and hauing no meane in imitating forraigne vices or vertues, but with *Brutus*, that they will, they will too much.

Boemer-land and Sweitzerland. For *Bohemia* and *Switzerland*, that seated in the center of *Germany*, this on the Northwest side of the *Alpes*, I haue contained their Geographical description in that of *Germany*, and haue spoken something of them in this discourse of *Germany*. It remaines to adde something of them, touching the particular subiects of this Chapter. The Bohemians drinke the Wines of *Hungarie*, being much better then those of *Germany*, and haue much better Beere, in regard they haue great plenty of Corne, and the Sweitzers drinke the delicate Wines of *Italy*. Neither of their traffickes is comparable to that of *Germany*, because *Bohemia* is farre within land and hath no great commodities to bee exported, and *Sweitzerland* is addicted to the mercinarie service of forraigne Princes in their warres, changing their cattell for the Wines of *Italy*, and content with their owne, so they want not plenty of good drinke.

Sweitz. particularly. Some Cantones of the Sweitzers make great gaine of spinning wooll, whereof they make pieces of cloth some 134 elles long, and lest couetousnes of priuate men might

preiudice

preiudice the common good, they appoint ouerseers to this trade, who punish all fraudes seuerely and some capitally. For foode, they abound with Hony, Butter, and Milke, and haue plenty of Venson found in the wilde *Alpes*, and especially of excellent sorts of fish, by reason of their frequent Lakes. In publike Innes a meale is giuen for sixe or seuen batzen. They are hospitall towards strangers, and among themselves, they haue publike houses where they meete, and shoote with Crosebow and musket, with like exercises. There they sometimes cate together, and inuite guests to these houses as to a *Tauerne*. And to the end all things may there be done with more modesty, the tables of the Magistrates and all other sorts of men, are in one and the same roome. In meates they vse moderation, and for drinking vse farre lesse excesse then the Saxons, somewhat lesse then they of vpper *Germany*. They haue strict lawes to imprison Drunkards for a yeere, and at solemne feasts, the vulgar sort are admonished to behaue themselves modestly, yet drunkenesse hath such patronage among the best sort, as it cannot be banished. They bragge of their ancient temperance, and say, that excesse came into the Commonwealth, together with the accepting of military stipends from forraigne Princes.

Bohemia abounds with Corne, Cattle, Fish (as plenty of *Salmons*), Woods, good Horses, but heauy like those of *Freeland*, and with *Niter*, which it is death to carry out, yet for gaine of fifty in the hundred, there want not who hazard that danger. I say it hath the commodities, and also produceth Wines, but very sharpe and vnpleasant, and hath some mines of mettals. Howsoeuer it bee much more Southerly then *England*, yet the Italian fruits (as figges) are there most rare, which in Winter they keepe in cellers, and onely in Summer time set them abroad in Gardens, and in like sort, but with great difficulty they preserue *Rosemary*, but they haue no *Lawrell* at all. The men drinke (if it be possible) more then the Germans, and are much more subiect to gluttony, and their women swill Wine and Beere daily, and in great excesse, which to the Germans is most reprochfull. In the Innes they giue large dyet for some fiue Bohemish grosh a meale, and vpon the confines of *Germany* towards *Nurnberg*, for some twenty creitzers a meale. But the Bohemians cate often in the day, and sit almost continually at the Table, and since at *Prage*, and in many other places, all things are sold out of the Innes, after the maner of *Poland*, the Bohemians seldome eat at an ordinary, but demand what meate they will vpon a reckoning. For the rest, *Boemerland* and *Sweitzerland* little differ from *Germany*, for the diet, the Hosts, the Innes, excesse of drinking, or any like things.

Bohemia
land parti-
cularly.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the vniued Prouinces in Netherland, and of Denmarke and Poland, touching the said subiects of the precedent third Chapter.



THE longitude of *Netherland* lyes, or extends seuen degrees and a halfe, from the Meridian of twenty two degrees and a halfe, to that of thirty degrees, and the Latitude lyes or extends fiue degrees, from the paralell of forty eight degrees and a halfe, to that of fifty three degrees and a halfe. It is called *Netherland*, as a Country lying low, and the people for language and manners hath great affinitie with the Germans, both being called Dutchmen by a common name. Of old this Country was a part of *Gallia transalpina* (that is, beyond the *Alpes* from *Italy*) which was subdeuided into *Comata* and *Narbonensis*, and againe *Comata* (so called of the peoples long haire) was subdeuided into *Aquitania* & *Celtica*, or *Lugdunensis*, and *Belgica*. This part called *Belgica*, containes the Lowcountries, whose dominion hath been by marriage

deriued from the Burgundian family to that of *Austria*, and some diuide this Countrie into seuentene Prouinces, whereof some still remaine subiect to the King of *Spaine*, others (of which I am to speake) being vnited in league, haue recovered their libertie by the sword, and at this time did make warre with the Spaniard about the same. But some Maps, among these seuentene Prouinces reckon the County of *Falkenburg*, which is part of the Dukedome of *Limburg*, other Maps make *Mechlin* and *Antwerp* to bee Prouinces, which are both contained in the Dukedome of *Brabant*. Therefore I better approue those, who diuide the whole Countrey into fiftene Prouinces, namely, the Counties of *Artois*, of *Flanders*, of *Hanaw*, of *Zeland*, of *Holland*, of *Zutphan*, and of *Namurs*, and the Dukedomes of *Luxenburg*, of *Brabant*, of *Limburg*, and of *Gelderland*, and the territories, of *West-Friesland*, of *Groning*, of *Vtrecht*, & of *Transisola*.

1 The County of *Artois* hath many faire Cities, whereof *Arras* is the chiefe, giuing the name to the Prouince, and to those rich hangings, wherewith our great men adorne their Pallaces.

2 *Flanders* is the largest County, the chiefe Cities whereof are *Ghent* (where the Emperour *Charles* the fifth was borne), and *Bruges* (whether great concourse of Merchants was made of old, so as the strangers hearing no other name but *Flanders*, did by custome impose the name of *Flanders* on all the fiftene Prouinces, and the name of *Flemmings* on all the inhabitants.) *Flanders* hath other Cities, namely, *Calles*, *Dunkerk*, *Ostend*, and *Sleuse*, all lying on the Sea coast; whereof *Sleuse* is a Municipall Village of *Bruges*, but at this time was it selfe strongly fortified, and *Ostend* taken from the Spaniards by the States of the vnited Prouinces, was at this time committed by them, and vnder their pay, to the custody of an English Garrison vnder Sir *Edward Norreys* Knight. This Prouince yeelds plenty of Corne and Flax, and is very rich with making Linnen and Woollen Cloathes. It hath excellent pastures, and is enriched with Cheese, Butter, Oyle made of Rape-roots, Salt, and the fishing of Herrings, but it yeelds no Wine. The famous Wood *Arduenna* lies in the confines thereof towards land, where it aboundeth with Wood, but towards the Sea they burne Turfe, made of earth, and also burne Cow dung.

3 The County of *Hanaw* hath the Principality of *Arscot*, vnited to the Dukedome of *Brabant*, by which the Dukes sonne hath the title of Prince. The chiefe Cities of this County are *Mons* and *Valenciennes*. It hath mines yeelding Leade and Marble of many colours, and a good kind of Coales.

4 The County of *Zeland* is by situation, the first of the Vnited Prouinces, consisting of many Ilands, whereof seuen are principall, and the chiefe is *Walcherne*, the chiefe Citie whereof is *Midleburg*, famous for trafficke, and the Staple for Spanish and French Wines. Neere that is the City *Vlissing*, strongly fortified, being the chiefe of the Forts then ingaged to the Crowne of *England*, and kept by an English Garrison, vnder the command of Sir *Robert Sidney* Knight (for the second Fort ingaged to *England*, lyes in another Iland, and is called *Brill*, being then kept by an English Garrison, vnder the command of the Lord *Burrows*.) All these Ilands are fertile, and yeeld excellent Corne, more plentifully then any other Prouince, so as one aker thereof is said to yeeld double to an aker of *Brabant*. But they haue no sweete water, nor good aire, and for want of wood burne turffe. They take plenty of sea-fishes, which they Salt, and carry into other Countries. *Madder* for dying of wooll, growes there plentifully, which likewise they export, and grow rich by selling these commodities; as likewise Spanish and French Salt, and like trafficke.

5 The County of *Holland* called of old *Battania*, and inhabited by the *Chatti* (as *Tacitus* writes), is in situation the second of the vnited Prouinces, but the first in dignity. The Cities whereof are *Amstelrodan* (famous for trafficke), *Roterodan* (where *Erasmus* was borne), *Leyden* (an Vniuersity), *Harlem*, *Dort* (the staple for the Rhenish Wines), and *Delph*, all very faire Cities. And I may not omit the most pleasant Village of the *Hage*, called *Grauenhage*, because the Counts Court was there, and it is now the seate of the vnited States, waiting onely wals to make it numbred among the most pleasant

pleasant Cities, being no doubt a Village yeelding to none for the pleasant seat. This Prouince doth so abound with lakes, pooles of water, and artificiall ditches, as it giues passage by water as well as by land to euery City and poorest Village, (which are infinite in number). And these ditches itoweth for the most part to the Riuer *Rheine*.

For the *Rheine* of old running towards *Leyden*, did fall a little below it into the Sea; but at this day by reason the Land is low and subiect to ouerflowings, it hath changed the bed, and at *Lobecum* in the Dukedome of *Cleue*, deuides it selfe into many branches. The first runnes to *Arnhem*, (a City of *Gelderland*) then to *Vana*, *Rena*, and *Battonodurum*, where *Lecca* receiues his waters, and takes away the name from the *Rheine*, yet so as a little branch thereof still holds the name of *Rheine*, which running to *Mastricht*, there deuides into two, one whereof fals into *Veeta*, and so into an arme of the Sea neere *Munda*, the other runnes by *Woerden*, and after a long course, neere *Leyden* is deuided into fise little branches, whereof three fall into a lake, and the fourth turnes to *Rensburg*, and leeseeth it selfe in mountaines of sand, neere the Village *Catwickz*. I remember that the water falling through *Leyden* is called *Rheine*, so as I thinke it probable that all the standing waters lying betweene the seuerall pastures there, come from the *Rheine* after it hath lost the name. I said that the *Rheine* at *Battonodurum* is called *Lecca*, which runnes to *Culenburg* and to *Viana*, where in a ditch is the fountaine of *Isala*, which runnes to *Iselsteine*. Thus (to omit the little branch at *Battonodurum*) the first branch of the *Rheine* is lost in the Riuer *Lecca* and *Isala*. The second branch bends from *Lobecum* to *Neomagus*, and fals into the Brooke *Merouius* (taking the name of the old Family of Kings among the *Gals*, where is an old Castle compassed with the Brooke, and of the same name), then running to *Dort* in *Holland*, it receiues the foresaid *Lecca* and *Isala*, and so neere *Rhoterodame* fals into the *Mosa*, and vnder that name fals neere *Brill* into the German Sea. The third branch of the *Rheine* running from *Lobecum*, within two miles of *Arnhem*, fals into the ditch of *Drusus*, (or rather of *Germanicus*) and so runnes to *Dewsborow* (the City of *Drusus*) where it receiues the old *Isala*, (springing in *Westphalia*), and by the name of *Isala* or *Isell*, running to *Zutphane*, and then to *Deventry*, fals into *Taius* at *Amstelrodame*, and by an arme of the Sea is carried to *West-Friesland*, and so fals into the German Sea neere the Iland *Flye*.

The first
branch of
Rheine.

The second
branch.

The third
branch.

5 To returne to my purpose, *Holland* is little in circuite, but abounds with people and dwellings, and being poore of it selfe, is most rich by industrie, and wanting both Wine and Corne; yet furnisheth many Nations with both. Neither Wooll nor Flax grow there, but of both brought in to them, they make linnen clothes much prized and also Woollen, both carried to the very *Indies*. I need not speake of *Holland* Cheeses so vulgarly knowne and much esteemed. Lastly, *Holland* is famous for the traffique of all commodities; and the *Romans* so highly esteemed the Fortitude and faithfulness of the old *Battani*, as they had a Band of them for their Guard.

6 The County of *Zutphane* is accompted part of *Gelderland*, and subdued by the States Armie, was ioyned to the vnited Prouinces in the yeere 1591.

7 The County of *Namures* so called of the Cheese Citie, hath Mines of Iron and plenty of stony Coale, contrarie to all other Coales in that it is quenched by the infusion of Oyle. It hath also an ill smell, which they take away by the sprinckling of Salt, and it burnes more cleere hauing water cast vpon it. This County hath also quarries of Free-stone, and of Marble of diuers colours.

8 The Dukedome of *Luxenburg* hath the name of the chiefe Citie; and the inhabitants of the vpper part are *Germanes*, but they of the lower parts, are like the French in language and Manners.

9 The Dukedom of *Brabant* hath faire Cities, namely *Antwerp*, most famous before the ciuil War, because *Maximilian*, of *Austria*, brought thither from *Bruges* in *Flanders*, the famous traffique of all Nations, by a ditch drawne to Sluce (onely to bee sailed vpon at the flowing of the Sea tides). At this day forsaken of Merchants, it lies ouergrowne with grasse, and the said trafficke enricheth *Holland* and the vnited Prouinces. The next City is *Brissell*, of old the seate of the Dukes, and now of the Spanish Gouvernours. Then *Louan* a famous Vniuersity. Then *Mechlin* subiect to the vnited

States

States. Then *Bergen-ap-zome* a fortified City, at this time committed to the custody of Sir *Thomas Morgan* Knight, with an English Garrison. The Inhabitants of this Dukedome were of old called *Tungri*.

10 The Dukedome of *Limburg* hath *Mastricht* for the chiefe City, & the Bishoprick of *Liege* pertaines to it, wherein the City of *Liege* is the Bishops seate, and the territory thereof yeelds a little quantity of a small wine, and hath Mines yeelding a little Iron, some leade, and brimstone, and a very little quantity of good gold. The Mountaines yeeld a black Alabaster, with marble and other stones; especially stony coales in great quantity, which being there found at first, are now called generally *Liege* Coales.

11 The Dukedome of *Gelderland*, was of old inhabited by the *Menappij* and *Sicambri*, and aboundeth with excellent pastures and meadowes, so as great Heards of Cattle brought thither out of *Denmarke* to be sold, are for great part fattened there. The chiefe City is *Nimmegen*, the second *Harduik*, a fortified City subiect to the vnited States, and the third *Arnhem*, also subiect to them.

12 The Territory of *West-Friesland* is diuided, as *Holland*, with artificiall ditches, and aboundeth with excellent pastures for fattening of the greatest heards of Cattle, and yeeldeth it selfe all kinds of cattle of extraordinary bignesse, as Horses of *Freefland* vulgarly knowne. It hath many Cities, whereof the chiefe are *Lewerden*, *Dockam*, *Fronikar* (an Vniuersity) and *Harlingen*, not to speake of nine other Townes, fortified with wals and ditches. This Territory is subiect or associated to the vnited States.

13 The Territory of *Groningen*, made part of *Freefland* by Cosmagraphers, is also subiect to the States, and hath the name of the chiefe City, strongly fortified and seated in a fenny soyle.

14 The Territory of *Vtrecht* is also associated vnder the same vnited States, whose chiefe and very pleasant City is called *Vtrecht*.

15 The Territory of *Transsile*, vulgarly called *De land ouer Yssell* (the Land beyond *Yssell*) is also associated to the vnited States, whereof the chiefe City is *Deuentry*, which besieged by the States Army in the yeere 1591, was then subdued, and it lies neerer to the Sea. It hath another City called *Smoll*.

The Situation.

The vnited Prouinces of *Netherland*, (through which onely I did passe) haue a most intemperate Aire, the Winter cold being excessive, and the Summers heat farre exceeding the ordinary heate of that clime. The reason of the cold is, that the Northerne winds of themselves ordinarily cold, doe here in a long course on all sides glide vpon the German Sea, thereby gathering farre greater cold, and so rush into those plaine Prouinces, no where stopped either by mountaines or woods, there being no Mountaines, scarce any hils, no woods, scarce any groues, to hinder them from violent passage with their vttermoſt force. Like reason may be giuen for the heate: For the same open Plaine, no way shaddowed from the beames of the Sunne by opposition of Woods or Mountaines, must needs in Summer be subiect to the heate of the Sunne and winds from land. Adde that in Winter the frequent Riuers, Lakes, and Pooles or standing waters, infinitely increase the coldnesse of the aire. These waters aswell running as standing, are almost all Winter frosen ouer with a thicke ice, so as they will beare some hundreths of young men and women, sliding vpon them with pattins, according to their custome. Yea, the Arme of the Sea called *Zwidersea*, lying within land, betweene *Holland* and *Friesland*, though it be large and deepe, hauing onely two flats or shoales, yet being compassed with Ilands and the Continent, is many times in Winter so frosen ouer, as Victualers erect Tents in the middest of it, hauing Beere and Wine, and fier made vpon iron furnaces, to refresh such as passe vpon sledges, or sliding vpon iron pattens from one shoare to the other. This cold is the cause, why their sheepe and cattell are kept in stables, to bring forth their young. And howsoeuer the same be done in *Italy*, subiect to great heate, yet it is not of necessitie, as here, but out of the too great tendernesse of the *Italians*, towards the few cattle they haue. And this is the cause, that howsoeuer they vse not hot stoauers, as the Germans doe, yet the Weomen, as well at home, as in the Churches, to driue away cold, put vnder them little pannes of fier, couered with boxes of wood, boarded full of holes in the

the top. And this sordid remedy they carry with them, by the high way in waggons, which the Danes or Mosconites vse not, though oppressed with greater cold: onely some of the more noble Weonien, disliking this remedy, choose rather to weare breeches, to defend them from the cold.

In this distemper of Aire, it cannot be expected that there should be plenty of flow-^{The fer-}ers and summer fruites. No doubt, in regard of the fatnesse of the soile, watered with ^{tility of} frequent ditches, and through the foresaid heat of the Summer, they might haue plen-^{the uni-}ty of flowers and fruits, were it not impossible or very difficult to preferue them from ^{ted Pro-}perishing by the winters cold, and were not the Inhabitants carelesse of such dainties, ^{ninces.} though in later times, as they haue admitted forraigne manners, so luxury hath more power with them, then formerly it had. I haue oft seene one Apple sold for a blancke, and those great Cherries which are brought into *England*, grow not here, but in *Flaunders*, and the Territories within Land. They haue abundance of Butter, Cheese, and Rootes, and howsoeuer they haue not of their owne full sufficiency of other things to maintaine life, yet they abound with the same brought from other parts. Some prouinces, (as the Bishoprick of *Vtrecht*) yeeld corne to be transported, but in generall the vnited Prouinces (of which only I discourse in this place) haue not sufficient corne for their owne vse, yet by traffick at *Dantzke*, they furnish themselves & many other nations therewith. They haue little plenty of Riuer fish, excepting onely Eales, but in the *Mosa*, as it falls from *Dort* to the sea, they haue plenty of Salmon, and other fish, which fishing did of old yeeld great profit to the Prince and Merchants. And for Sea fishes salted and dried, they make great trafficke therewith. My selfe lying for a passage in the Island *Fly*, did see great quantity of shell-fish sold at a very low rate. Great heardes of Oxen and Calues, are yeerely brought into these parts out of the Dukedome of *Holst*, vnited to the Kingdome of *Denmarke*, (in which parts they feed most on dry and salt meates); and these Heardes are fatted in the rich pastures of *Gelderland* and *Freeoland*. There is great abundance of Sea Fowles, (especially in *West- Freeoland*) and they want not land Fowles. They carefully nourish Storkes, as presaging happinesse to an Aristocraticall gouernement, making them nests on the tops of publike houses, and punishing any that driue them away, or trouble them. In which kind also they preferue Hernes making nests in those groues; which are onely in few Cities. They haue a race of heauy Horses, and strong, which they sell in forraigne parts, vsing onely their Mares to draw Waggons, and for like vses at home. The Prouinces on the Sea Coast (as I formerly said) burne their owne earth, by the frequent digging whereof, they say the Sea or lake at *Harlem* was first made. And of these turffes they make fiers, both cleere and of good smell, without smoke, and commodious to dresse meat, to starch linnen, and like vses.

They are notable Marriners, yet in that to be blamed, that being at Sea, they vse no publike prayers, that euer I heard: And seuerall Cities haue great numbers of ships, ^{The tra-} wherein they trade with such Industry and subtilty, as they are in that point enuied of ^{sicke.} all Nations.

The very Italians, who in foreseeing wisdom, would bee accounted *Promethei*, were by them made *Epimethei*, wise after the deed, too late repenting, that when they came first to settle their trade in *Flaunders*, they tooke youug youths of that Nation to bee their Cassiers; who by writing letters for them, learned the secrets of that trade, and after, to the Italianis great preiudice, exercised it themselves. Some three Flemmings, brethren or partners, vse to settle themselves in as many Cities of great trade, where they keepe such correspondency, as by buying all things at the well head, where they are cheapest, and transporting them farre off, where they are dearest, and especially by liuing sparingly, both in dyet and apparrell, and not shaming to retails any commodity in small parts (which great Merchants disdain to sell, otherwise then by whole sale), they haue attained the highest knowledge and riches of trading. Thus they buy rawe silke of the Turkes, and weaue the same into diuers stufes in *Italy*, which they sell not there, but transport them into *England*, and the Northerne parts, where they beare highest price, and there retails them by the smallest proportions. They haue of

their

their owne, very fine Linnen, and Woollen cloathes, of diuers kindes, and many clothes of Cotton, Arras hangings, plenty of Hops (aswell on the Sea-coast of *Brabant*, as in the East part of *Holland*) and great store of Butter, Cheese, and Fish salted and dryed, all which they transport. Againe they bring from *Dantzke* store of Hemp, whereof themselves make Ropes and Cables, neither transport they any rude matter, but by working it at home, enrich many populous Cities. Also from *Dantzke* they bring corne, all kindes of pitch, and other commodities of that place, and from *Italy* many kindes of silke stufes. Also by the diligent fishing, especially of Herrings, on the Sea-coast of *England*, they grow rich, selling the same to all Nations, and to the very English, who are not so industrious in that trade. Lastly, they draw the commodities of all Nations to them, and fetch them from the very *Indies*; and in like sort they transport them to the remotest parts, where they yeeld most gaine.

It is not amisse to adde the very words of *Marchantius*, writing of the olde trade of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, since what I haue written, is onely to bee vnderstood of the vnited Prouinces. Thus he saith. *Lodouicus Crassus* in the yeere 1323. granted a staple to *Bruges*, which his sonne *Malanus* confirmed. The Staple is a priuiledge of staying forraine Commodities in the place, except the seller and bringer chuse rather to retorne whence they came. *Bruges* hath a Market place, with a house for the meeting of Merchants at noone and euening, which house was called the *Burse*, of the houses of the extinct Family *Bursa*, bearing three purses for their Armes, engraued vpon their houses. The Marchants of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Castilia*, *Portugal*, *Aragon*, *Nauar*, *Catalania*, *Biscaia*, the *Hans* Cities of *Germanie*, (namely *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, *Rostoch*, *Dantzke*, *Riga*, *Renel*, and diuers other Cities,) the Marchants of *Venice*, *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Luca*, and *Milan* (namely fiftene Nations,) had each their Colledge or house here. The *Italians* brought Chamblets and Grograms, made of Goates hayre, in *Galatia* a prouince of the Lesser *Asia*, they brought Hides, thred of Silke, of Silver, and of Gold, and cloathes made of them; they brought Iewels, Wines of *Candia*, *Allam*, *Brimstone*, *Oyle*, *Spices*, *Apothecary* Wares, *Mithridate*, *Rhebarb*, *Mummy*, *Sena*, *Cassia*, and the soile of *Brasse*. The *French* brought Salt, Red and white Wines, *Oyle*, and Paper. The *English* brought Wooll, Leade, *Tynne*, *Beere*, Woollen cloathes, especially those to make vailles for the Low countrey women. The *Scots* brought skinnes of sheepe *Conneys* and other, and course woollen cloathes. The *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, brought graine for *Scarlet* Dye, Gold, Silver, raw Silke, thred of Silke, the wood *Guaiacum*, *Salsaparilla*, *Vnicornes* Horne, and *Spices*. The *Germans*, with the *Danes* and *Polakes*, brought Honey, Waxe, *Cornes*, *Salt-Peter*, Wooll, Glasse, rich Furs, Quick-silver, Armes, *Rhenish* Wines, Timber for building. Againe, they exported out of *Flanders*, faire and great Horses, fat *Beeces*, Butter, diuers kindes of Cheese, pickeld and fumed Herrings, diuers Sea-fishes salted, Woollen and Linnen clothes, Tapestry of great variety and beauty, rare pictures, and all manuary workes. Thus *Flanders* gaue the name to all *Netherland*. *Bruges* in the yeere 1414. got a priuiledge, that they who were free of that Citie, by Birth, Gift, Buying or Marriage, should be free from all confiscation of their goods, which exceedeth the priuiledges of any other Citie in *Netherland*, for thole of *Ypre* hauing the like, yet loose it vpon any Force offered to the Prince. The trade at *Bruges* beganne to decay in the yeere 1485, partly for the narrownesse and vn-safety of the Port of *Sluce* and the Riuer leading from thence to *Bruges*, partly by the Fame of the large and commodious Riuer *Scaldis* at *Antwerp*, and partly by the ciuill Warrs. For first the *Portugals* hauing taken *Calicut* in the East *Indies*, carried their famous *Spices* to the Fayre of *Antwerp* in the yeere 1503. and contracting with that Citie, drew the *Fuggari* and *Weisari* German Merchants thither. And after the Merchants of *Florence*, *Lucca*, and the *Spinole* of *Genoa*, and those of other Nations (excepting part of the *Spaniards*) leauing *Bruges*, seated themselves at *Antwerp* about the yeere 1516. And they were inuited thither by the priuiledge of Marriage Dowries, which became shadowes to many frauds.

For

For when Husbands either breake in life time, or be found banckerouts at death, the Wiues are preferred to all debtors in the recouery of their dowry. Notwithstanding *Bruges* at this day by the third generall taxe of *Flaunders* yet in vse, payes something more then *Ghent* for publike vses. These be the words of *Iacobus Marchantius*.

The foresaid trade of the vnited Prouinces, hath at home much commodity and increate by the Riuers, (as the *Rheine* bringing downe the commodities of *Germany*), and by the standing or little mouing waters, which are most frequent, and by channels or ditches wrought by hand, and bearing at least little boates for passage to each City and Village: but these waters for the most part ending in standing pooles, by reason they fall into a low ground neere the Sea, the Ayre is vnholosome, the waters are neither of good smell nor taste, neither doe they driue Mils, as running waters doe elsewhere, of which kind they haue few or none. My selfe in a darke rainy day passing one of these said narrow channels, numbered an hundred little boates at least, which passed by vs, (and are hired at a low rate) whereby the great trade and singular industry of the Inhabitants may be coniectured. Adde that besides, the German Sea, lying vpon diuers of these Prouinces, they haue many Armes of the Sea, that runne farre within Land: All the Riuers fall from *Germany*, which in this lower soyle often ouerflowing, haue changed their old beds, and falling into ditches made by hand, doe no more runne with their wonted force, but (as I haue said in the description of *Holland*) doe end (as it were) in lakes. By reason of the foresaid industry of the people inhabiting the vnited Prouinces, the number of their ships, and the commodity of their Seas and waters, howsoeuer they want of their owne many things for necessity and delight, yet there is no where greater abundance of all things, neither could any Nation indowed with the greatest riches by nature, haue so long borne as they haue done a ciuell warre, and intollerable exactions and tributes, much lesse could they by this mischiefe haue growne rich, as this people hath done. One thing not vsed in any other Countrey, is here most common, that while the Husbands snort idly at home, the Weomen especially of *Holland*, for trafficke sayle to *Hamburg*, and manage most part of the businesse at home, and in neighbour Cities. In the shops they sell all, they take all accompts, and it is no teproch to the men to be neuer inquired after, about these affaires, who taking money of their wiues for daily expences, gladly passe their time in idlenesse.

Touching this peoples diet, Butter is the first and last dish at the Table, whereof Diet. they make all sawces, especially for fish, and thereupon by strangers they are merrily called Butter-mouths. They are much delighted with white meats, and the Bawers drinke milke in stead of beere, and as well Men as Weomen, passing in boates from City to City for trade, carry with them cheese, and boxes of butter for their foode; whereupon in like sort strangers call them Butter boxes, and nothing is more ordinary then for Citizens of good accompt and wealth to sit at their dores, (euen dwelling in the marker place) holding in their hands, and eating a great lumpe of bread and butter with a lunchen of cheese. They vse to seeth little peeces of flesh in Pipkins, with rootes and gobbers of fat mingled therewith, without any cutiosity; and this they often seeth againe, setting it each meale of the weeke on the Table, newly heated, and with some addition of flesh rootes or fat morsels, as they thinke needfull, and this dish is vulgarly called Hutspot. They feed much vpon rootes, which the boyes of rich men deuoure raw with a morsell of bread, as they runne playing in the streetes. They vse most commonly fresh meates, and seldome set any salt meates on the board, except it be at Feasts to prouoke drinking. They vse no spits to roast meat, but bake them in an earthen pipkin as in an ouen, and so likewise seeth them: And these meates being cold, they often heat and serue to the Table, so as I haue come into an Inne, and being in the Kitchen, could see nothing ready for supper, yet presently called to supper, haue seene a long Table furnished with these often heated meats, which smoaked on the outside, yet were cold on the inside. This people is prouerbiably said to excell in baked meates, especially in baking of Venison; yet to my knowledge they haue no red Deare in these Prouinces, neither haue they any inclosed Parkes for fallow Deare, nor
any

any Connygrees. Onely Count *Maeritz* hath of late had out of *England* some Buckes and Does of fallow Deare, which runne in the groue at the *Hage*, and there be some Connies neere *Leyden* vpon the landy banke of the Sea; which are not sufficient to serue the Inhabitants of those parts, but are accounted good and pleasant to eat. Neither in forraigne parts doe they much desire to feed on Connies, either because they are rare, or because the flesh is not sauoury. They vse to eate early in the morning, euen before day, and the cloth is laid foure times in the day for very seruants, but two of these times they set before them nothing but cheefe and butter. They seeth all their meate in water falling of raine, and kept in Cesternes. They eate Mushromes and the hinder parts of frogges for great dainties, which frogges young men vse to catch and present them to their Mistresses for dainties. I haue seene a hundreth of Oysters in diuers Cities sold sometimes for eight or twelue, yea for twenty or thirty stiuers. They dresse fresh water fish with butter more then enough, and salted fishes sauourly with butter & mustard: where they eate not at an Ordinary, but vpon reckoning (as they doe in Villages and poorer Innes), there they weigh the cheefe when it is set on Table, and taken away, being paid by the waight; and I haue knowne some waggish Souldiers, who put a leaden bullet into the Cheefe, making it thereby weigh little lesse then at first sitting downe, and so deceiuing their Hosts: But in the chiefe Innes, a man shall eate at an Ordinary, and there Gentlemen and others of inferiour condition sit at the same Table, and at the same rate:

The Innes are commodious enough, and the Cities being frequent scarce some eight miles distant one from the other, commodities of lodging are as frequent, yea, they hang out signes at the doore, (which fashion is not in vse in many Cities of *Germany*, in *Denmarke*, *Poland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, where the Innes are onely knowne by fame); and this made me maruell, that notwithstanding this signe obliging them to lodge strangers, my selfe though well apparelled, haue diuers times beene refused lodging in many of those Innes, which seemed to me a scorne and flat iniury. At the faire City of *Leyden* not wanting many faire Innes, I was refused lodging in sixe of them, and hardly got it in the seuenth, which made me gather that they did not willingly entertaine Englishmen: neither did I attribute this to their inhospital nature, but to the licentiousnesse of our Souldiers, who perhaps had deserued ill of them thereby, or perhaps by ill payment, for which I cannot blame the English in that case, but rather the vnequall Law of *England*, giuing all to the elder brothers, lying sluggishly at home, and thrusting the younger brothers into the warres and all desperate hazards, and that in penury, which forcibly driueth the most ingenious dispositions to doe vnfit things. By reason of the huge impositions (especially vpon wines, the passengers expence is much increased, for the exactions often equall or passe the value of the things for which they are paid. And though a man drinke beere, subiect to lesse imposition and lesse deere then wine, yet he must vnderstand that his companions drinke largely, and be he neuer so sober in diet, yet his purse must pay a share for their intemperance. After supper passengers vse to sit by the fier, and passe some time in mirth, drinking vpon the common charge, and to warme their beere till it haue a froth: yet doe they not vse these night drinkings so frequently nor with such excesse, as the *German*s doe.

I remember that hauing beene at Sea in a great storme of wind, thunder, and lightning, about the moneth of *November*, when such stormes are rare, and being very wearie and sad, I landed at *Dockam* in *West-Freesland*, where at that time some yong Gentlewomen of that Countrey, passing through that City towards *Groning*, according to the fashion of those parts, we did eate at an ordinary Table, and after supper sat downe by the fier, drinking one to the other; where after our storme at Sea, the custome of *Freesland* did somewhat recreate vs: For if a woman drinke to a man, the custome is that shee must bring him the Cup and kisse him, he not mouing his feete nor scarcely his head to meete her, and men drinking to them are tied to the like by custome. A stranger would at first sight maruell at this custome, and more specially that their very husbands should take it for a disgrace, and be apt to quarrell with a

man

man for omitting this ceremony towards their wiues, yet they interpret this omission as if they iudged their wiues to be so foule or infamous, or at least bale, as they thought them vnworthy of that courtesie. In the first Book of this third Part, and in the Iournall of the first Part, I haue particularly set downe the rates of expences for passengers through those parts. They greatly esteeme English Beere, either for the dearenesse of wine, or indeed the goodnes thereof; and I haue obserued some in their cups thus to magnifie it, *English Beere, English verstant*, English beere makes an English wit. So in the Sea townes of *England* they sing this English rime; *Shoulder of mutton and English Beere, make the Flemmings tarry here*. They say that there be 300 brewers at *Leipz*, and there they imitate the English Beere, and call that kind *Delphs English*. But with no cost could they euer make as good as the English is, though they provided to haue English Brewers, either by reason of the difference of the waters, or rather (as by experience I haue found), because our Beere carried ouer Sea (whereby it workes a new, and gets a better sauour) doth drinke much better then that we haue at home. They say, that of old there were more then 700 brewers at *Torgaw*, till vpon the water diuered or corrupted, they forsooke that place. It is not lawful to sel Rhenish wine and French white wine in the same tauerne, lest they should be mixed: but one man may sell French red wine and Rhenish wine, which cannot well be mixed, without being easily perceiued. And for the same cause they may not sel in one place diuers kinds of the same country wine, and of the same colour. The Netherlanders vse lesse excesse in drinking then the Saxons, and more then other Germans. And if you aske a woman for her husband, she takes it for an honest excuse, to say he is drunken and sleepes. But I will truly say, that for euery day drinking, though it bee farre from sobernesse, yet it is not with so great excesse as the Saxons vse, neither in tauerns (where they, and specially the common sort most meet) and in priuate feasts at home, doe they vse to great excesse as the Saxons. Neither doe drunken men reele in the streets of *Netherland* so frequently, as they do in those of *Saxony*. Only I did once see, not without astonishment, a man of honorable condition, as it seemed by his apparrell, of Veluet, and many rings on his fingers, who lay groueling on the ground, close by the carte rutt of the high-way, with two seruants distending his cloake betweene the Sun and him, and when wee lighted from our waggon, to behold more neerely this spectacle, thinking the man to be killed or sore wounded, his seruants made signes vnto vs, that wee would not trouble him, who was onely drunken, and would be well assoone as he had slept a little. At this we much wondred, and went on our iourney. At feasts they haue a fashion to put a Capons rump in the saltceller, & to contend who shall deserue it, by drinking most for it. The best sort at feasts for a frolike will change hats, whereby it happens that Gallants shal weare a Burgers cap, and a Burger an hat with a feather, crying, *Tousfoiz a mode de Liege*, All fooles after the fashion of *Liege*. Some wanting companions to drinke, lay down their hat or cloke for a companion, so playing theselues both parts, of drinking to, & pledging, till they haue no more sence or vse of reason, then the cloke or hat hath. Lastly, all bargaines, contracts, & solemnities whatsoeuer, are done in their cups.

The longitude of *Denmark* and *Norway*, extends 8 degrees and a half; from the Meridian of 27 degrees and a halfe, to that of 36 degrees. And the latitude extends 10 degrees, from the parallell of 58 degrees, to that of 68 degrees. The Kingdome of *Denmark* is diuided into sixe parts, *Finmark*, *Norway*, *Gothia*, *Scandia*, *Seland* and *Iutland*.

1 *Finmark* reacheth towards the North, beyond the Artick circle, to the *Castle Warthouse*, and therefore must needs be desart and barren.

2 *Norway* in the Germans tongue signifies the way to the North, and it is so large, as of old it had and still retaineth the name of a Kingdome, and towards *Finmark* it reacheth to the Artick circle. The Cities are named, *Anslou* not farre from the narrow Sea, called *Der Soundt*, and *Nidrosia*, formerly called *Trondia*, lying vpon the same sea, and *Bergis* the seate of a Bishop, and *Salzburg* a Citie of traffick. In *Norway* they catch great store of Stockfish, which they beate with cudgels, and dry with cold; and great store of a fish, from the Greeke word called *Plaife*, for the bredth thereof, and they sell great quantity of this fish to the German Cities vpon the sea, which they keep to feede the people, in case the cities should be besieged.

3 The Iland *Gothia* is annexed to the Crowne of *Denmark*, yet the *Succians* tooke it in our time, but the Danes recouered it againe. Histories report, that the Gothes came out of this Iland, yet old Writers vnder the name of *Scandia* containe all the tract of the neck of Land, lying from the *Hiberborean* Sea, betweene the Northerne Ocean, and the *Bodick* Gulfe; from whence it is more probable, that the Gothes came out, then onely from this little Iland, who after seated themselves vpon the *Euxine* sea, and the banke of *Danow*, and from thence made incursions vpon the Roman Empire. And hereupon the said tract, containing not onely *Scandia* and *Gothia*, but all *Norway* and *Succia*, was by old Writers called the shop and sheath of Nations. The Iland *Gothia* yeelds the rich Furres called Sabels.

4 The Iland *Scandia* is also called *Scandia*, and *Scandinavia*, and *Schonlandia*, that is, faire land, the beauty whereof the Danes highly extoll, and for the fertilitie preferre it to *Sealand*, though it passe the same in the buildings of the Kings Court and other houses. The Cities thereof are *Helsenburg*, *Lanscron*, and *London* the Metropolitan Citie.

5 The Iland of *Seland*, (whence they hold the *Zelanders* of *Netherland* to haue come into those parts), is beautified with the City *Copenhagen* (that is, the Hauen of Merchants) where the King hath his Court, and there is an Vniuersity. It hath also the strong Castell *Cronemburg*, built in the Village *Elfenar*, and the City *Roschild*, so called of a Fountaine, being the seate of a bishop, where the Kings are buried. Betweene the Castle *Cronemburg* in *Seland*, and the Castle *Helsenburg* in *Scandia*, is the famous straight of the Sea, called *Der Soundt*, by which the ships enter into the *Baltick* Sea, and returning from *Dantzke* and *Righa*, laded with precious commodities, pay great tributes to the King of *Denmarke*, both at the entrie and going fourth of that Straight.

6 *Intland* signifying a good land in the German language, is the Northerne part of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus* (that is, necke of land) whence the *Cimbri* came, who made war vpon the Romans. And this *Intland* with the foresaid *Seland*, are properly called *Denmarke*, the other parts being peculiar Regions, at diuers times annexed to that Crowne. The chiefe Townes of *Intland*, are *Aleburg*, *Nicopia* and *Wiburg*. The rest of the tract of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, contains the Dukedome of *Holst*, vulgarly called *Holstein*, which of old was part of *Saxony*, but so, as the Danes often forced it to the paying of tribute, and at last about the yeere 1465 they fully subdued it. Part of this Dukedome lying vpon the *Brittan* Sea, betweene the Brooke *Idera* and the Riuer *Eue*, is called *Ditmarcia*, all fenny, so as by casting downe certaine bankes, they may drowne all the Countie, and by this strength, the inhabitants keeping their enemies out, long preserved a rude or rurall liberty, but at last in our time, *Frederike* King of *Denmarke*, vpon aduantage of a great frost in those Fennes, suddenly assailed and subdued them, ioyning that Countie to the said Dukedome of *Holst*. Of which Dukedome the chiefe Townes are *Flensburg*, *Slesuick* (where of old the Dukes held their Court) being seated on the Sea towards the East, and *Gottorp*, and *Melderp* in *Ditmarcia* vpon the Sea towards the West. Vpon the confines of *Holst* lye the faire Imperi- all free Cities *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*, to the freedome whereof the Dukes of *Holst* were great and neere enemies, challenging the same to bee built in their soyle, for which cause the Kings of *Denmark* possessing that Dukedome, are much suspected by these Cities, whom they more and more feare, as their power more increaseth. Some reckon the Ilands *Orcades* for part of *Denmarke*, and they say, that the inhabitants speake the Gothes language: but Histories witnesse, that howsoeuer of old they belonged to the Danes, yet they haue long been subiect to the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

The situa-
tion.

Denmarke lying neere the Artick circle, must needs be subiect to great cold, howsoeuer the mistie aire, cauled by the frequent Iles, doth in some sort mitigate the extremity thereof.

The Fertility

In regard of the clime, it cannot be expected, that fruites should grow here, which are onely ripened by the heate of the Sunne. They haue corne sufficient for their own vs,

vse, and plenty thereof (as of all other commodities) is brought to them from *Danzk* and all other parts, by reason of the frequent concourse of Merchants into the *Sound*, which they enjoy at good rates, and with much ease.

The Danes exchange great plenty of dried and salted fishes, and of other small commodities, for necessities to clothe and feede them; and being in both these kinds frugal *sicke*. and sparing (as the Germans are) they also attaine to some small riches by this poore traffick. And since they feede for the most part on dried fishes, bacon, and salt meates, and little vse fresh meates as veale and mutton, they carry great herds of oxen and calves out of *Holst* into *Netherland*. Lastly, since they haue no other commodities of their owne to transport, and Merchants that passe the *Baltike Sea*, of necessity landing at *Elfenar*, bring them all necessities from forraigne parts, and also take of them such commodities as they can spare, surely howsoeuer the ships of *Denmark* are in strength sayling and lasting next to the English, yet their Merchants seldome make any other voyages then towards the Northerne Isles to take fish. In diet they are much like the Germans, and especially the neighbouring Saxons. Their dainties are bacon and salt meats, but the common people feeds much on diuers kinds of dried fishes, which at the first view of them a stranger may wel perceiue, by their leane and withered faces, and they likewise feede on bread very black, heauy and windy. I did see no common Innes at *Copenhagen*, *Elfenar*, or *Roskilde*, but some are there licensed to keepe Tauerne for selling of wine, where the common table for that purpose is alwaies ready couered with linnen. But passengers must obtaine diet and lodging with some Citizen; and in their houses they shal find honest manners, moderate diet, and cleane beds and sheets. To conclude, the Danes passe (if it be possible) their neighbour Saxons in the excesse of their drinking.

Poland hath the name of *Pole* in that language signifying a plaine, and is a vast kingdom. The longitude thereof exteuds 16 degrees from the Meridian of 38 degrees, to that of 54 degrees, and the latitude extends 9 degrees from the paralel, of 47 degrees to that of 56 degrees. It is diuided into the greater and the lesse.

1 Of the greater *Poland* these are the chiefe townes *Bosna* seated on the Brooke *Barta*, and *Genesua*, and *Ladislauia* seated vpon the Riuer *Vistula* or *Wexel*.

2 The lesse *Poland* lies towards the South, wherein is *Cracouia* (vulgarly *Crakow*) the seat of the Kings. The inhabitants come of the Scythians, and the manners of the common people at this day little differ from the old Sarmatians. This Region is fenny, and great part thereof is woody, but it so aboundeth with corne and pastures, as it supplies all *Europe* with corne, and the neighbour Countries with herds of Cattell. It hath no vines, but it yeelds plenty of pit coale, and much wax and hony, and it no lesse aboundeth with many kinds of the said cattell, as well wilde as tame.

Other Prouinces are annexed to this Kingdom, namely, *Samogitia*, *Massouia*, *Lithuania*, *Volhinia*, *Russia*, and *Podolia*, for I omit *Borussia*, though subiect to this Kingdome vnder a free yoke, because I formerly said, that it is numbred among the Prouinces of *Germany*, the inhabitants being Germans in language and manners, and because I haue in that place formerly described the same.

3 *Samogitia* hath no walled Towne, but the people liue in Cottages, and being rude and of great stature, only apply themselues to the plough, and feeding of cattle, not knowing any vse of mony, scarce the seruice of God.

4 The Metropolitan City of *Massouia* is *Warsouia* (vulgarly *Warsaw*); where the Parliaments of the Kingdome are held.

5 *Lithuania* giues the title of Great Duke, and is a most large Prouince, fenny and woody, so as in Summer there is no passage into it, but in winter when the Fenns are frozen, Merchants trade with the inhabitants. *Vilna* is the Metropolitan city, and seat of the Bishop. It hath very few Townes, and the Villages are commonly distant 20 German miles one from the other. They haue plenty of hony, wax, a kind of beast like an oxe called *Alce*, wilde beasts and rich furies, but they scarce know the vse of mony.

6 *Volhinia* is the most fertile prouince of that Kingdom, and fullest of faire townes and Castles.

7 *Russia* or *Reutenia* hath many Townes, whereof the most knowne is *Leopolis* (vulgarly *Leimpurg*) and it is famous for swift and good horses, not to speake of the rich fures and other commodities.

8 Lastly, *Podolia* aboundeth with excellent Pastures, but hath few Cities or Townes.

The situation. In general, *Poland* is subiect to as great cold, as the lower part of *Germany*, lying vnder the same Paralell, and the Countries, as they lie more Northerly, so they suffer more cold; for the coast of the *Baltike* Sea, the more it lyes towards the East, the more it still bends to the North, besides that, the plainenes of the Countrey, and the frequency of Lakes and Fennes, doe more increase the cold. They vse stoues heated with earthen ouens, for remedy against cold, as the Germans doe.

The fertility. The reuenews of the King and Gentlemen are moderate, scarce sufficient to maintaine a plentiful table, and to exchange with Merchants for Wines and Spices (which they much vse, especially in dressing of fish) and for forraigne Stuffs and Clothes of Silke and Wooll. *Poland* aboundeth with beasts, as well wild as tame, and yeeldeth excellent horses, not great, but quicke and stirring. Neither doe the Gentlemen more delight in any thing, then in their horses, so as they hang gold chaines and Jewels at their eares, and paint them halfe ouer with exquisite colours, but in that vncomeely, that they are not naturall for horses, as the Carnatian colour, and their hinder parts they adorne with rich Fures and skinned Lions and Leopards and the like, as well to terrifie their enemies, as to adorne and beautifie their horses. *Poland* likewise aboundeth with Flesh, Whitmeate, Birds, fresh water-Fish (it being farre within land), and all kind of Pulse, as Pease and the like. It hath some, but very few mines of Gold and Siluer towards the Carpatian Mountaines of *Hungary*, and of Iron and Brimstone. It aboundeth with Hony, which they find in hollow trees and caues of the earth, besides the Husbandmans hives. It yeelds great quantity of Wax, Flax, Linnen clothes made thereof, Hempe, Pich of both kinds, Masts for shippes, Boards and Timber, rich Fures, Salt digged out of pits, Amber, Soape-ashes, and all kinde of Graine, especially Rye, which hath made *Daniske* famous, for relieuing all Nations therewith in time of dearth.

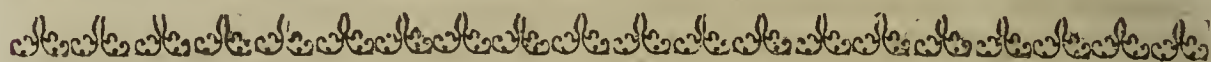
The traffick. No maruell then if Merchants bring vnto them Silkes of *Italy*, Cloth of *England*, Wine of *Spaine*, and the very Spices of *India*, with most remote commodities, since they not onely sell them at what price they list, but also bring from thence such precious foresaid commodities. *Poland* is all farre within land, excepting *Borussia* (vulgarly *Prussen*), which with immunities is subiect to this Kingdome, though I haue described it among the Prouinces of *Germany*, because the people are Germans in language and manners. And the very inhabitants of *Borussia* haue but few ships, vsing strangers to export their commodities. *Poland* aboundeth with the foresaid most necessary commodities, and the people liue content with their owne; yet are they not rich, because they want the foresaid forraigne commodities farre brought, and so deare. And they haue so little Gold and Siluer, as despising all in respect of it, they sell all commodities at a most low rate, especially thole which are for daily foode, and vnfit to be exported.

The dyet. And in truth, my selfe hauing in *Poland* and *Ireland*, found a strange cheapenesse of all such necessities, in respect they want, and so more esteeme Siluer, this obseruation makes me of an opinion much contrary to the vulgar, that there is no more certaine signe of a flourishing and rich commonwealth, then the deare price of these things (excepting the yeeres of famine), nor any greater argument of a poore and weake State, then the cheape price of them, and it makes me confident to conclude, that old wiues snared with papisticall superstition, doe foolishly attribute the late deare prices to the change of Religion in our time, while they ignorantly extoll former times, wherein twenty foure Eggs were sold for a penny: for in our Age, our Kings haue more royall Tributes, our Nobles farre greater reuenews, our Merchants much greater wealth, then euer our progenitors had, and this is the cause that all things for diet and apparel, and our very wanton desires, are sold at much higher prices then in former ages, because

because our riches make vs not able to want any thing to serue our appetite, at what price soeuer it is set. Againe for *Italy*, it hath no great store of flesh, birds, fish, and like things for food, in regard of the populousnesse thereof, yet the Inhabitants holding it no disgrace to be sparing in diet, and modest in apparell (so it be clealy), in regard of this generall temperance, and that the Nobility disdaineth not to weaue silkes, and trade for them, being the sinew of that Countrey, howsoeuer all things are sold there at most deare prices, yet no Princes (considering things to be considered) no Gentlemen, no Merchants of the vniuersall World, haue greater treasures and wealth, then those of *Italy*. I haue said that *Poland* doth abound with all kinds of flesh, whitmeates, fresh water fish, and all things necessary for foode, and that it yeelds no Wine, which the Inhabitants seldome drinke, but in place thereof they vse Beere, which they of *Dantzke* brew very strong and good, and they make a drinke of Hony, which they esteeme almost as much as wine, and the best composition thereof is made in the Prouince of *Masovia*. They haue such store of Butter, as I haue seene them anoint Cart wheelles therewith, but it is more white and lesse sauoury then ours. This Kingdome hath few Cities, and if a stranger will for a time sojourne in any of them, he shall easily find a German or Netherlander to be his Host, who will entertaine him more commodiously then any of that Nation, though perhaps at extraordinary rates, as my selfe found, abiding with a Netherlander at *Crakaw*.

The Innes in the chiefe Cities, affoord conuenient beds, and plenty of flesh and fresh water fish. And these fish they dresse with pepper and spice more then enough, for which kinde of Cookery, the Polonians are praised aboue the Germans or any other Nation, yet the spire being farre brought and deerely sold, makes the sawce farre more costly, then the fish it selfe. There is scarce any Gentleman who hath not the skill, and doth not vse to dresse fish for his owne eating. In Villages and small Cities, by the high way a passenger shall find no bed, but he may carry a bed in his Coach, and sit vpon it conueniently. Others vse to sleepe vpon straw, lapped with a furred horsemans coate, which they vse to weare, and if they haue no such coate, they must be content to sleepe vpon cleane straw: And all the passengers lie together in the warme stooue, with those of the Family, both Men and Vwomen. Neither shall they find in such places any Wine or choice meates, which they vse to bring from Cities in their Coaches. For the Innes in such places are poore naked houses, hauing nothing to sell, but close by them are the shambles, the Bakers & Brewers houses, where the passengers buy beere & such meat as they like, and bring it to the Inne, which a poore Hostesse will dresse, affording them onely fier, and a course Tablecloth. And it seemed to me, that the Lord of the place vseth to impose vpon some vassall this charge to entertaine strangers: for the Hostesse will giue her labour for nothing, except in curtesie you desire her to eate with you, and if you freely giue her a small reward, as three pence for the whole Company, shee will thinke you deale bountifully with her, but shee will aske you nothing. Also you may frelie carrie away in your Coach, flesh, bread, wine, or anie thing that remaines, which I haue seene done many times. No Countrey in Europe affoordes victuals at a lower rate. My selfe and a Companion, did in a Countrey Towne inuite two Guests, and our dinner for foure persons came but to foure Grosli and a halfe. I haue formerly set downe the ordinary expences generally, in a Chapter treating of that Subiect in the first Booke of this thirde Part, and particularlie, in the iourney through *Poland* in the first Part. Now I will onelie adde, that in the Villages and litle Cities by the high way, I haue bought tenné Egges for one Grosli, a Goose for three, a Partridge for two, a loine of Mutton for two, a Pigge for three Grosli, and all like things at a very small price. So as if a passenger haue a Cooke in his companie, or haue himselfe any skill to dresse meate for his owne appetite, I thinke hee shall there want nothing for necessary or delicate foode. But hee may not expect, that a Countrey Hostesse should seeke out, or curiously dresse any dainties for him.

Lastly, the Polonians are as stout drinkers as the Germans, and passe them all, excepting onely the Saxons, yea aboue all that euer I obserued giuen to this vice, they seemed to me to be mad in this kind, that in drinking they are prone to quarrels, brawling and fighting. Giue me leaue to adde one obseruation, which to me seemed very strange. At *Meluin* and *Dantzke* in *Prussen*, betweene Michaelmas and Christmas, the Country people bring in sledges laded with dead Hares, all forzen ouer, which are so preferued aswell and better, then if they were powdred with Salt, till our Lady day in Lent, about which time the frost begins first to breake. And if they will eate a Hare in the meane time, they thaw it at the fier, or the ouen of the warme stoue, or by casting it into water, and so they presently set it to the fier, either to be roasted or boyled. In like sort they preferue Pheasants, or any kind of flesh, being frozen ouer, aswell as if they were salted. And if any man thinke this a Trauellers fiction, let him know, that a most credible person told mee, of his certaine knowledge and experience, that the Moscouites in *Russia*, bring the dead bodies of men in winter thus frozen ouer, and so lay them on heapes in the Bellfrees of the Churches, where they lie without rotting, or ill smell, till about our Lady day in Lent the Snow begins to thaw, and the earth to be fit for digging (for till that time the earth is couered with deepe and hard snow, and if it were not so couered, yet is so hard by continuall frosts, as it cannot bee digged.) And at that time each family takes the bodies of their dead, and takes care to burie them.



CHAP. V.

Of Italy touching all the subiects of the third Chapter going before.

Italy.



THE Longitude of *Italy* extends fourteene degrees and a halfe from the Meridian of twenty seuen degrees and a halfe, to that of forty two degrees. And the Latitude extends eight degrees from the paralell of thirty eight degrees to that of forty sixe degrees. *Italy* of old was called *Saturnia*, *Ianacula*, *Oenotria*, and *Ausonia*, and lastly it had the name of *Italy*. It was called *Saturnia* of *Saturne*, who banished from his Country, taught the Inhabitants of this Country the Art of Husbandry, as Poets fable, and is accounted the first King of this people, then called *Aborigines*, as borne there, not comming from any forraigne part to inhabite there. It was called *Ianacula* of *Ianus* or *Noha*, whom they affirme to haue come thither after the deluge, and to haue taught them the art to plant vines and sow corne, & to haue built the Citie *Ianua*, now called *Genoa*. It was called *Oenotria*, either of the excellent wines, or of *Oenotrius* King of the Sabines, as likewise it had the name *Ausonia* of *Ausonius*, the son of *Ulysses*. Lastly, it was called *Italy* of *Italus* King of *Sicilie*, or of an old Greeke word signifying oxen, and shewing the inhabitants to haue been Heardsmen. *Ptolomy* describes it in the forme of a *Chersonesus* (that is, necke of land), or *Peninsula* (that is, almost an Iland), and *Pliny* in the forme of an Oaken leafe, but others more aptly compare it to a mans leg, from the thigh to the sole of the foote.

Old Writers diuiding *Italy* from *Gallia Cisalpina*, or *togata*, inclose *Gallia* with a line drawne from the Riuer *Varus* beyond *Genoa*, by the *Apenine* Mountaine to the Brooke *Rubico*, where it falles into the Sea neere *Rauenna*, and this line is obliquely stretched from the East to the West, and so they diuide it from *Italy*, and make *Piemount*, the Dukedome of *Milan*, the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, the *Treuissau* Marquisate, and all *Histria*, to be a peculiar part of *Europe*. But these Prouinces being at this time part of *Italy*, it is better inclosed and confined by a line drawne from the head of the Brooke *Varus*, through the *Coccian Alpes* to the Mountaine *Adula*, (which lies vpon the

the Alpes of *Furca* or Mount *Gorhard*) and so through the Rhetian Alpes towards the East, to the Brooke *Arsia*, (confining *Histria*), and the rest of *Italy* is compassed with the Sea. Also the Mount Appenine deriued from the Alpes, runnes all the length of *Italy*, in the forme of a fishes backe bone, and almost in the midst deuides it into two tracts, one lying towards the vpper or Adriaticke Sea, the other towards the nether or Tyrrhene Sea. For howsoeuer the Appennine about *Ancona*, seemes to bend towards the Adriaticke Sea, and there to end; yet after it turnes from thence, and deuides the rest of *Italy*, till it ends vpon the straight of the Sicilian Sea. *Italy* worthily called the Queene of Nations, can neuer be sufficiently praised, being most happy in the sweete Ayre, the most fruitfull and pleasant fields, warme sunny hils, hurtlesse thickets, shadowing groues, Hauens of the Sea, watering brookes, baths, wine, and oyle for delight, and most safe forts or defences as well of the Sea as of the Alpes. Neither is any part of Europe more inhabited, more adorned with Cities and Castles, or to be compared thereunto for tillage and husbandry.

The Prouinces thereof are numbred 14. First beyond the Appenine towards the Tyrrhene Sea, lie five Prouinces, *Liguria*, *Tuscia*, *Campania*, (subdeuided into *Vmbria*, *Latium*, and *Campania*, the happy): *Lucania* (vulgarly *Basilicata*), and *Calabria*, (the vpper and the lower). Also on this side the Appenine towards the Adriaticke Sea, lie five Prouinces, (going backe from the East to the West), *Salentinum*, *Apulia*, *Samnium*, vulgarly *Abrotzo*, *Picenum*, (vulgarly *Marca Anconitana*) and *Flaminia*, (vulgarly *Romandiola*), whereof part beyond the brooke *Rubico*, reacheth into *Gallia Cisalpina*. Againe in the part called of old *Gallia Cisalpina*, are foure Prouinces, *Lombardia*, *Marca Treuisana*, *Forum Iulij*, and *Histria*.

1 The chiefe City in *Liguria*, is *Genoa*, a free City, (or at least hauing the shew of liberty), to which all this Prouince is subiect, which lieth all vpon the Tyrrhene Sea, and is now vulgarly called *La Riviera di Genoa*, being of all *Italy* the most rocky and barren tract: yet whether by Husbandmens art and labour, or by lying vpon the South Sun, I know not; but sure I am, and well remember, that passing that way in the beginning of Winter, I tooke great pleasure in the plenty and goodnesse of the fruites thereof: Besides that, all Men extoll the fertility of Mount *Ferrate*, (a part of *Liguria*, inclosed and watered by the Riuer *Tanoro* and *Po*.)

2 *Tuscia* had the name of Franckensence, which they vsed for Incense, and was formerly called *Heitruia*, at this day named *Toscana*. It was an old Dukedome erected by the Longobards, and after was deuided into many territories of free Cities and Commonwealths, the liberty whereof (namely of *Florence*, *Pisa*, and *Sienna*) the Family of *Medici*, inuaded in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and now possesseth all *Toscany* with title of great Duke, onely the City of *Lucca* still preserving the old liberty of that Commonwealth. It hath very many Cities, of which these are the chiefe; *Florence*, *Pisa*, (an Vniuersity), *Sienna*, and *Lucca*, (which still is a free City).

3 *Campania* (vulgarly *Campagna*) is subdeuided (as I said) into *Latium*, *Vmbria*, and *Campania* the happy. *Latium* hath the name of the Fable of *Saturne*, lurking there in banishment, and it is the Fountaine of the famous Latin tongue, and the head City thereof is *Rome*, which City together with the whole Prouince, is at this day subiect to the Pope, & the Prouince is vulgarly called *Campagna di Roma*. The second part is *Vmbria*, which was held part of *Latium*, & lieth beyond *Rome*, amidst the Mount Apenine of whose shaddow it had the name of *Vmbria*, but is now called the Dukedome of *Spaleto*, to which dignity it was raised of old by the Lombards, and it is subiect to the Pope of *Rome*. The Cities thereof are *Volturnum*, *Assisum*, *Spoletum*, *Perusum*, and *Otricoli*. The third part is *Campania* the happy, vulgarly called *Terra di Lauorr*, hauing the name of the most fertile Plaine of *Capua*, seated vpon the banke of the Riuer *Volturnus*, and to that Citie it was of old subiect, but at this day it is the chiefe Prouince of the Neapolitan Kingdome, the head Citie whereof is *Naples*, of old called *Parthenope*, and *Dysiarchia*, now adorned with stately Pallaces, of Dukes, Earles, and Gentlemen, especially those of the Duke of *Granina*, and the Prince of *Salerno*, these Noble men

dwelling there the greatest part of the yeere. The Capuan delights, corrupting the Army of *Hanniball*, are knowne to all the World. This Prouince is an earthly Paradise, where *Bacchus* and *Ceres* strive for principallitie. I passe ouer *Cuma*, of old a famous Citie, and *Luternum*, famous for the banishment and Sepulcher of *Scipio* the African, since at this day onely remaine some ruines of *Cuma*, and scarce any memory of *Luternum*. Neere *Suessa*, is the Mountaine *Valerius* or *Falernus*, famous for the wine it yeeldeth, and the famous Mountaines *Gaurus*, *Mafsicus* and *Vesunius*. The Mountaine *Vesunius* is now called *Somma*, out of the top whereof, of old great flames broke out, burning the neighbour places, in which flames *Pliny* (liuing in the time of *Traian*) was choaked and perished, while hee curiously searched the cause of those flames. In our age this Mountaine burned, and now daily fire breakes out of it. Here the beautie of all the World is gathered as it were into a bundle. Here be the famous dwellings of the Romans, in the Territorie of *Naples*. Here are the Acherusian Fennes, the Lake of *Auernus*, the Ditch of *Nero*, the Bridge of *Caligula*, and other wonders celebrated by Poets. The Kingdome of *Naples* is subiect to the King of *Spaine*, which together with the Dukedome of *Milan*, also subiect to him, is thought to containe more then halfe *Italy*, besides the Iland of *Sicily*, annexed to this Kingdome, whereof this is the chiefe Prouince, and the bounds of it reach to the Sea, and so lye backward on this side the *Apennine* towards *Samnium*, where it is confined, and diuided from the Mark of *Siiconia*, by the Brooke *Truento*.

4 *Lucania*, vulgarly *Basilicata*, is a small Territory, the Cities whereof are *Felia* and *Laina*.

5 *Calabria* a Prouince of this Kingdome, is diuided into the vpper and the lower. The vpper is called great *Grace*, being of old inhabited by the Greekes, and vsing still that language corrupted with the Italian. The Cities thereof famous of old, are *Rudiae* (where *Ennius* was borne), *Croto* (where *Milo* was borne, who carried an Oxe), *Tarentum* now the chiefe City, and *Locris*. The lower *Calabria* is called *Brutium*, the chiefe City whereof is *Reghio*, so called, because *Sicily* is said to haue been there diuided from *Italy* by an Earthquake.

6 *Salentinum* vulgarly *Terra di Otranto* hath the Cities *Otranto*, and *Brundisium*.

7 *Apulia* vulgarly *Puglia*, is diuided into *Pencetia* and *Daunia*.

In *Pencetia* or *Mesapia*, vulgarly called *Terra di Barri*, are the Cities *Basiglio* and *Bitonto*. In *Daunia*, vulgarly called *Puglia Piana*, are the Cities *Mansfredonia*, *Beneuentum* (made a Dukedome by the Lumbards), *Asculum*, and the Village *Cannae*, famous by the old defeate of the Rowans. And here is the Mountaine *Garganus*, vulgarly called *Sant' Angelo*.

8 *Samnium* of old called *Aprusium*, at this day hath the name of *Abruzzo*, where is *Sulmo*, in which *Ouid* was borne, and here the Kingdome of *Naples* is confined on this side the *Apennine* Mountaine.

9 *Picenum*, vulgarly *Marca Anconitana* is subiect to the Pope, and hath the name of the chiefe City *Ancona*, so called of the crookednesse of the Hauen, which is held the best Hauen of *Italy*. *Pesaurum*, vulgarly *Pesaro*, belongs to this Prouince.

10 *Flaminia* or *Romandiola*, vulgarly *Romagna*, hath faire Cities, *Vrbium*, subiect to the Duke thereof (which some make part of *Picenum*), *Rimini*, *Bologna*, subiect to the Pope, and ancient *Rauenna*, which with the greatest part of this Prouince is subiect to the Pope, who erected *Vrbine* from a County to a Dukedome, with couenant of vassalage (which the Popes seldome omit) yet some part of the Prouince is subiect to the Venetians.

11 *Lombardy* of old was part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, which the Riuer *Padus* (vulgarly *Po*, and of old called *Eridanus*) diuides into *Cispadan* (on this side the *Po*) and *Transpadan* (beyond the *Po*.) *Cispadan* (of old called *Emilia*, now vulgarly *di qua del Po*) containes *Piemont* (so called, as seated at the foote of the Mountaines), whereof the chiefe Citie is *Turin* (of old called *Augusta Taurinorum*), and this Prouince is subiect to the Duke of *Sauoy*. Also it containes the Territory of *Parma*, subiect to the Duke thereof, wherein are the cities *Parma* & *Piacenza*. *Transpadane*, vulgarly *di la del Po*, containes the

Dukedom

Dukedome of *Milan*, the chiefe City whereof is *Milano*, and it hath other Cities, namely *Como*, where both *Plumes* were borne, seated on the most pleasant Lake *Lario*, vulgarly *di Como*, abounding with excellent fishes. Also *Ticinum* vulgarly *Pavia*, (where the French King *Francis* the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of *Charles* the fifth) Lastly, *Cremona*, among other things famous for the Tower. This Dukedome is the largest and richest of all other, (as *Flanders* is among the Counties) and it is subiect to the King of *Spain*.

12 Also *Transpadane Lombardy* contains the Dukedome of *Mantua*, (subiect to the Duke thereof) and *Marca Trevisana*, or *Triuigiana* (subiect to the State of *Venice*). *Mantua* is the chiefe City of the Dukedome, and *Marca Trevisana* hath the famous Cities, *Venice*, *Padoa*, *Treviso*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*. The *Tyrrheni* of old inhabited all *Cisalpine Gallia*, who gaue the name to the *Tyrrhene Sea*, and were expelled by the *Galles*, and of them the *Insubres* inhabited the *Transpadan* part, and there built *Milano*, and the *Senones* inhabited the *Cispadane* part.

13 *Istria* is deuided into *Forum Iulij*, and *Histria*, properly so called. *Forum Iulij* vulgarly *Frioli*, and *Patria* (because the *Venetians* acknowledge they came from thence), was a Dukedome erected by the *Lombards*, the chiefe City whereof is the most ancient *Aquilegia* adorned with the title of a Patriarchate, which at this day is almost fallen to the ground. Neere that City is a Towne, in which they write that *S. Marke* penned his Gospell: Now the chiefe City is *Frioli*. The confines of this Region lie vpon *Marca Trevisana*, and all the Prouince to the Riuer *Tagliamento*, is subiect to the State of *Venice*. The other part is subiect to the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*. Here growes the wine *Pucinum*, now called *Prosecco*, much celebrated by *Pliny*.

14 *Histria*, properly so called, is almost in the forme of a *Peninsule* (almost an Iland) and the chiefe City is *Iustinopolis*, vulgarly *Capo d'Istria*, and all the Prouince is subiect to the State of *Venice*.

Italy in Winter time, (namely the moneths of *December*, *January*, and *February*) hath *The situation* a temperate cold, with little or no frosts or Ice: And howsoeuer my selfe did seee, not onely the Riuers of the State of *Venice*, but the very Inland Seas of *Venice*, frozen and couered with thicke yce, for the space of three weekes, yet the *Venetians* said it was a rare accident. In Summer the heate is excessiue, and the dew falling by night is very vnwholsome, as also thunders and lightnings are frequent, which doe great hurt both to man and beast then abroad, as sad experience often shewes them. But in the Dog daies no man is so hardy as to put his head out of his dores, or to goe out of the City. For they prouerbially say; *Quando il Sole alberga in Leone, chi so mantiene sano, guadagna assai*: that is, When the Sunne lodgeth in the Signe of the Lion, he that preferues his health gaines enough. This excessse of heate they carefully auoid, by inhabiting vpon the sides of the Mountaines and Hilles towards the Sea, which cooleth the windes, and by retiring into vaults vnder ground, or open Tarrasses lying vpon Riuers, and free from the Sunne. Yea, some haue found the meanes, by an artificiall Mill, to draw Winde into a vault, and from thence to disperse it into any roome of the house. All *Italy* is diuided with the Mount *Apennine*, as a back is with the bone, and vpon both sides thereof, as well towards the North as South, the Hilles and Plaines extend towards the *Tyrrhene* and *Adriatique* Seas, in so narrow compasses, as many times a man may at once see both the Seas, from the top of the Mountaine, so as the fresh windes blowing from each Sea, doe not a little mitigate the heate of the clime. For the Sea windes blowing from any quarter whatsoeuer, while they gather cold by long gliding on the water, must needes refresh where they blow, as on the contrary, winds sweeping vpon the earth, increase the heate. Thus in the West part of *Sicily*, when the South East wind blowes, and sweepes vpon the plaine, parched by the Sun, it brings excessiue heate, yet the same wind, yea the very South wind in his nature most hot, when they sweep vpon the Sea, and after beate vpon the Mountaines of *Liguria*, doe bring a pleasant coolenesse with them.

Touching the fertility of *Italy*, before I speake of it, giue me leaue to remember, *The fertility* that *Ierome Turler* writing of Trauell into forraigne parts, relates that a Prince of *Naples*

ples hauing a kins man to his pupill, who desired much to see forraigne Kingdomes; he could not deny him so iust a request, but onely wished him first to see *Rome*, whether he went, and after his returne, the Prince tooke an accompt of him, what he had seene, and finding him sparingly to relate his obseruations in that place, he made this answer to his request. Cozen you haue seene at *Rome* faire Meadows, Plains, Mountaiues, Woods, Groues, Fountaines, Riuer, Villages, Castles, Cities, Baths, Amphitheatres, Play-houses, Temples, Pillars, Statuaes, Colosses, triumphall Arkes, Pyramides, Academies, Gardens, Water Conduits, Men good and ill, learned and vnlearned, more you cannot see in the vniuersall World; then be content, and stay at home. And so he restrained the young Man in his desire to trauell, where n perhaps he rather sought to get liberty then experience. This I write, to shew that the Italians are so rauished with the beauty of their owne Countrey, as hauing by sharpenesse of wit more then the true value of things, magnified and propounded to strangers admiration, each Brooke for a Riuer, each vice for the neighbour vertue, and each poore thing, as if it were to be extolled aboue the Moone, they haue thereby more wronged themselves then vs. For we passing through *Italy*, though we find our selues deceived in the fame of things, yet still we heare and see many things worthy to be obserued; but of the Italians, holding *Italy* for a Paradise, very few sharpen their wits with any long voyage, and great part of them haue not seene the Villages and Cities within ten miles of their dwellings. Hence it is that great part of the Italians haue nothing to boast of, but their naturall wit, while our Nations beyond their Alpes, besides naturall gifts, haue wisdom gained by experience. *Italy* is most populous, so as Gentlemens Palaces & Lands belonging to them, are commonly confined within some few inclosures. The Castles, Cities, Villages, and Pallaces, are most frequent, whence it is, that the Land being narrow, and not well capable of so much people, they plant and sow in the very ditches of the high wayes, in the furrowes of Land, vpon the wals and ditches of Cities and Castles, yea, to the very dores of priuate houses, fitting each least corner, as well to profit as beauty. Onely *Lombardy* hath large and open fields, with pastures to feed Sheepe and Cowes; and with plenty of whitmeats: For they haue delicate Butter, which is not otherwhere to be found, except in the valey of *Pisa*. (or of the Riuer *Arno*), all other places vsing Oyle in stead of it. Neere *Parma* and *Piacenza*, it yeelds excellent Cheefe, much prized of very Princes in forraigne parts, whether great quantity thereof is transported, and greater extracted into other parts of *Italy*.

Lombardy also affoords sheepe to *Toscany*, and other parts of *Italy*, as *Sicily* doth Corne, whereby of old it deserued to be called the Garner of *Rome*. *Italy* hath great store of Goates, the milke whereof is so nutritiue, as they giue it to the weakest bodies for a restoratiue. Great Herds of cattle are brought into *Italy* out of *Hungary*, and from diuers Countries of the Alpes, but the Hungarian Oxen growing leane with driuing farre, and finding in *Italy* no Pastures wherein they may be fatted, this makes Italians basely to esteeme of Beeffe. Out of *Lombardy* the Italians haue few or no Cattle, all *Italy* being like a most pleasant Garden, and hauing few Pastures: And this makes the Italians so tender towards the few Cattle they haue, as for feare of cold forsooth in that hot Clime, they leade them into stables, when they are to bring forth their young. In the plaine Countrey of *Lombardy* they vse Horses, and especially Mares, (of an exceeding little race) to ride vpon, and for bearing of burthens; and Oxen to draw Carts, and sometimes Caroches, (vulgarly *Carozzi*): but in the Mountaines and hilly Countries they vse Asses and Mules, seldome Horses to ride vpon, and for burthens. In the Roman territory I haue seene many Beasts called *Buffols*, like Oxen, but greater and more deformed, hauing great hornes with foule nostrils cast vp into the Ayre: It is a slow and dull Beast, yet being prouoked, hath malice enough, and the backe thereof is commonly bare of haire, and euer almost galled. They eate not the flesh thereof, but trade with the hides, as with those of Oxen, and this beast is held commodious for Husbandry and patient of labour. They haue no race of Horses for beauty or seruice, but onely in the Kingdome of *Naples*. Asses are commonly sold for 10 crownes a peece, and a Mule for 50 or 60 gold crownes, which Beasts are onely vsed in all *Italy*, excepting onely *Lombardy*. Of the Mule I obserued, that he will goe

vnder

vnder a heauy burthen from day-breake in Summer, to darke night, without any bating or rest by the way, onely his meate is tied in a net before his mouth, so as he eates while he goes, and his pace is slow, and when his burthen is taken off at night, he tumbles and rubs his backe in the dust to coole it, and is thereby more refreshed from wearinesse, then a Horse can be with lying halfe the night, otherwise he lies not downe in the stable scarcely once in sixe moneths. A Mule is begotten betweene a Horse and & a shee Asse, but a Mule mounting a shee Mule, an Asse, or any beast whatsoever, doth neuer ingender of them, and the heate of his seed is yeelded for cause thereof. Narrow *Italy* cannot beare red or fallow Deare, onely the woods of *Toscany* yeeld some few wild Boares, which are preserued for the great Dukes game, otherwise a few wild beasts might soone make great spoile in so rich and well tilled fields, as be these of *Italy*.

The hils and mountaines thereof lying vpon the South Sunne, are in generall most fertile or fruitfull of all other, such are the fields and hils of the Neapolitane territory, such are the mountaines and hils of *Liguria*, lying vpon the Tyrrhene Sea, such is the territory about the Lake of *Gardo*, (vulgarly *Il lago di Gardo*) lying at the feete of the South-side of the Alpes. The fields of *Lombardy* are lesse happy in yeelding fruites, but giue excellent pasture and corne, where the Husbandman makes vse of the very furrowes betweene the Akers, for as in the Aker he soweth Corne, so in the furrowes he plants Elme Trees, the loppings whereof serue him to burne, and likewise plants Vines, which shoote vp in height vpon the bodies of those trees, but these vines yeeld but a small wine, by reason they grow so high, and in a plaine Country. In the vpper part of *Italy*, they plant in one and the same field, Oliue and Almond trees, and vnder them sow Corne, and in the furrowes plant Vines, which shoote vp, resting vpon short stakes, and yeeld strong wine of diuers sorts, because they grow not high, and the ground being hilly, hath more benefit from the Sunne beating vpon it. The soyle of *Toscany* being hilly and stony, seemed to me at the first sight to be barren, but after I found it not onely to yeeld fruites plentifully, but also good increase of Corne, as of one measure sowed, commonly eight or ten measures, often fourteene, and sometimes twenty fiue; neither doe they giue the ground rest by laying it fallow, as we doe, but each second yeere they sow part of it with Beanes and Pulse, yeelding plentiful increase, and then burying the stubble to rot in the ground, make it thereby fat to beare wheate againe. My selfe obserued, that at the foot of the South-side of the Alpes, they gather Wheate and Rie in the moneth of *June*, and then sow the same fields with lighter kinds of Graine, which they gather in the moneth of *October*: yet by reason of the multitude of the people, and the narrownesse of the Land, the Italians not onely carry not any grane into forraigne parts, but also the Merchants bringing grane to them, are cherished by the Princes, with faire words and rewards, that they may come againe, more specially by the Duke of *Florence*, who takes care to prouide for his Countrey, not onely grane from *Sicily* and all other parts, but also sheepe out of *Lombardy*, which he deuides among his Subiects, at what price he list, taking this charge vpon him to see that his people want not victuals, as wel for the publike good, as his owne great gaine. *Italy* yeelds plenty of Oranges, which Tree is most pleasant to behold, yeelding fruit three times each yeere, and bearing at one time ripe and Greene Oranges, and buds. They haue like plenty of Citron, Limon, and Cedar trees, which in *Lombardy* grow vpon the bricke wals of Gardens, as Vines doe with vs, and are kept in earthen vessels, but vpon the mountaines and hils of vpper *Italy*, the fields abound with these Trees, which both in body and fruit are as bigge as our Apple-trees, and they transport great store of these fruites into forraigne parts. There be many woods of Chesnuts, which they little esteeme, onely poore people eating them, and with the rest they feed Hogges, as with Acornes. The Chesnut tree is not vnlike the Oake tree, but that it is more small, high, and straight. There be some woods of Pine trees, which are high, without any boughs or leaues to the very top, where they haue a round tuft, and they beare at one time the fruit of three yeeres, one pine Apple round and sharpe at the top, hauing some hundreth or more knobs like hasell nuts,

in which knob the kernell is of little bignesse, but of such vertue to prouoke wantonnesse, as they serue it at all feasts. All the fields are full of figtrees, not small as with vs, but as big in the body as some Appel-trees, and they haue broad leaues. The fruite hath the forme of a long peeze, and a blacke skinne, and a red iuyce, being to be sucked like sugar in taste. Neither doe I thinke any fruite to bee more pleasant then this pulled from the tree, I say pulled from the tree, because the drie figges exported, are not in taste comparable thereunto. In the fields of vpper *Italy* are great plenty of Almond trees, so as you would say, that a whole Prouince is but one Garden. Like plenty haue they of Oliue trees, which yeeld a sweet oyle, vsed by them in stead of butter, and in forraigne parts for wholsomnesse, yet I cannot think that it can be wholsome when it is heated, as the Italians vse it to fry meates. They haue some, but not so great plenty of Pomegranates, which tree is not vnlike that of the white Rose, but the leaues are little, and the flowers and the buds of a red colour. The Husbandmen make ditches about the rootes of all these fruite trees, and the inhabitants of pleasant *Italy* are notable in all kind of Husbandrie. The Cypresse, Pople, and Oake trees, grow in many places, but are little esteemed, as bearing no fruite. *Italy* vpon the Hilles and Mountaines lying towards the Sunne, yeelds rich Wines, and very nourishing, yet some out of experience say, they are not wholsome for fat men, as causing obstructions, and hindring the passage of the vrine, and other euacuations: but I am sure they are more pleasant in taste, then any other wine whatsoever brought into *England* that euer I tasted. But of all the kinds of Wine to be named in my following discourse, I haue spoken more at large in the first Part, writing my iournall through *Italy*.

I haue seene Pease, Artichokes, clouded Gillyflowers, and other flowers of the best kinds, sold in the Market-place of Saint Marke in *Venice* all the moneth of Februarie, but they had not the odoriferous smell of Summer flowers. Also at *Genoa* in the moneth of December, I did see the same flowers and fruits sold, and many of them for one bolineo, yea the flowers were odoriferous in smell, and newly gathered, which made me thinke, that those I did see at *Venice*, were preserued by Art, and not newly gathered. And they of *Genoa* acknowledge, that they learned the art to make flowers grow in Winter, of Cowes by chance nipping of some buds in Summer, which they obserued to bud and put forth againe in Winter: for the Gardners vpon this obseruation, did themselves nip of some buds newly put forth in Summer, and forbearing to water that roote all Summer time, did vpon approach of Winter digge about the roote, and sow cloues about it, to make the Winter flowers haue the better smell, and then couering the roote with earth, began daily to water it, and with this Art sooner or later vsed, they make the earth yeeld Roses, or any flowers in what moneth of the yeere they will, so that the ground lye vpon the South Sunne, and fenced from cold windes.

The Gulfe of *Venice* affords fishing to serue that City in good plenty, the Sea of *Rome* affords lesse, and that of *Genoa* none at all. But in the Sea of *Genoa* neare the Ilands *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, they fish Corals, sold at *Genoa* for three lyres the ownc. In the markets at *Venice* they haue great oysters, but in no great plenty, and diuers kinds of shell-fish, as Cockles, Scalops, and Rasers, called in the Italian tongue *Cape tonde*, (round Cape) *Cape Sante* (holy Cape) and *Cape longe* (long Cape), and these they haue in more plenty, then in most parts of *England*: but the Oysters are very deare, some twenty for a lyre; and I doe not remember to haue seene shellfish in any other City of *Italy*, but onely in *Venice*. Neither haue the Italians any store of fresh-water fish, so as most of their Markets are furnished in very Lent-time with salted and dried fishes, or at least newly dead, which the Germans cannot indure, vsing to see them alieue before they will cate them. They haue at certaine times of the yeere reasonable plentie of birds, but not great in number or variety of kinds, but Hens, and especially those of *Turkey* or the *Indies* seeme more plentifully serued in the Markets, because the common sort feedes onely vpon rootes, diuers kinds of pulse, hearbs, and small meates dried or salted. I remember not to haue seene any Storkes in *Italy*, no not in the free Cities and States, where fabulous Writers say, they most willingly liue, as vnder more

iust

iust Lords and Gouvernours. The Italian Gentlemen much delight in the art to catch birds, and in Gardens fitted to that purpose, with nets, bushes and glades, sparing no cost or industrie in that kind:

Not onely the Gentlemen, but euen the Princes of *Italy* openly professe to be Merchants (which our men, with leaue may I say, foolishly disdaine) and onely permit the retailing of their goods to men of inferiour sort, keeping all trade in grosse or whole sale to themselves, or at least by their treasures (commonly great) and authoritie (such as it is) drawing the chiefe profit thereof into their owne purses. And by this course they keepe the Patrimonies discending from their Ancestors, and daily increase them (while our Gentlemen prodigall in expence, and ashamed to make honest gaine, destroy their Families.) But of all trades, they are most enriched by silke and clothes made of it, especially they of *Florence* and *Lucca*, where the Gentlemen for exercise of this trade, keepe open shops.

The traffick

The Silke-wormes are vulgarly called *Farfalli*, which infold themselves in a piece of silke they weaue of an ouall forme and yellow color, and some of them so infolded, are let out for preservation of the kind, by clipping that piece of silke they weaued; the other pieces are set in the Sunne, that the infolded wormes may die, whereby the silke is made excellent, which otherwise would bee little worth. They feede on the leaues of Mulberry trees, and the Duke of *Florence* plants these trees in the ditches vpon the highway, from which if any passenger pul a bough, he paies a great penalty. Wondring at this making of silke, and the art to weaue the same, after I returned into *England*, by acquaintance with som that for experience kept these wormes, I found, that about the moneth of August they cast seed vpon paper or linnen cloth wheron they are laid, and soone after die. That this seed laid aside al winter, is set forth in the Sun the next May, or as soone as the Mulberry trees yeeld leaues to feede the wormes. That by the Suns heate, the wormes take life of that seede in the forme of an horse haire at the first; after growing to a strange bignes, feeding greedily vpon those leaues. That they begin then to be sick, & growing of a yellow color leaue their feeding. That they are then put into a place fitted for their work, with corners little distant one from the other that they then weaue and infold themselves in their webs (as I said.) That part of the webs are laid aside to preserve the wormes, out of which they eat out their way, and come forth winged like butterflies, but little vse the wing, and these webs yeeld no silke thread, but being dressed and seuered, do serue for baser vses. That the rest of the webs are put into an ouen, to choke the wormes, which webs yeeld excellent silke, dissolving it selfe into small threads. Lastly, that the wormes preserved by spoiling their webs, out of which they eat their way, do (as I said) cast a seed or glutinous matter vpon a paper or linnen cloth, and then die. And that all these things, namely, to come to life, to be fed vp, to weaue their web, to leaue seede for generation, and to die, are finished in the space of foure moneths.

Silk wormes

After taking my iourney into *Turkey*, I did see infinite numbers of these wormes in the greater and lesser *Asia*, where I found, that these wormes grow to full bignes from the moneth of February to the moneth of May, then leaue their meate, then haue houses made of reedes for them of purpose like the hives for Bees, but more large, where (as I said) they inuolue themselves in their owne webs, which being set in the Sunne, the wormes die within them, and the webs moistned with hot water, are with wheelles drawne into small threads. That some of these webs for preservation of the kind, are laid aside within the houses, where the wormes eat out their way, and coming forth winged, are laid vpon a linnen cloth, vpon which they leaue the foresaid seed or glutinous matter, and so die. That these clothes are laid aside in winter, but in the moneth of February next following, are set out in the sun, or more frequently caried in the bosoms of country people, both men and women, by which heat the seed yeelds worms at first no greater then a graine of mustard seed, but after growing to the length of a mans haire as he vsually weares it on his head, & to the thicknes of a mans little finger. Formerly in the chapter of Prouerbs, I said that prouerbiially the Merchants of *Florence* were called crafty, those of *Lucca* greedy, those of *Venice* bold (ventring al in one vessel)

The traffick

those

those of *Milan* faithfull (professing if neede be, that the plague is in the house they desire to sell.) And I there mentioned this prouerb of the Venetian trafficke; *Il bianco & il Nero (cioè pepe & cotone) hanno fatto venetia ricca*. Black and white (that is, pepper and cotton) haue made *Venice* rich. English Merchants bring into *Italy* Tinne, Leade, Herrings (especially dried, which they esteeme among dainties), Conny skins, Veches, Kerfies, and sometimes English Corne. They also bring thither diuers commodities from *Dantzke*, as Cordage, Hempe, Cauiale, Tallow, Waxe, Indian Hides, and like commodities of *Poland* and *Moscovy*. The Netherlanders bring into *Italy* dried fishes, and the commodities of all Nations (with which they trade both here and in all places.) Into *England*, *Netherland*, and ouer parts, the Italians send Veluets of *Genoa*, Taffaties of *Florence* and *Lucca*, Sattens of *Bologna* and other Cities, Stuffs of *Milan* as Fustians, and diuers kinds of Silke wouen and in thread, Gold and Siluer, Clothes of gold and siluer, Alom, and like commodities brought to *Venice* out of *Turkey*. From the Ilands of the *Mediterranean* Sea subiect to *Venice*, they send to vs Malmesies and Muskedine wines of *Candia*, Corrands of *Zant* and *Cephalonia*. The ships of our parts which bring Corne or any victuals into *Italy*, are receiued with all courtesie, especially by the Duke of *Florence* in the hauen of *Ligorno*, and euen by the Pope in the hauen of *Ciuita Vecchia*. The Italians haue great traffick with the Turks in the *Mediterranean* Sea (wherof we shal speak more hereafter) but out of the straights of that Sea, they trade little in our age, or nothing at all, (except sometimes into *Spain*) with their owne ships. And for Nauigation (wherof I must speake in the Chapter of Commonwealths) they haue small skill in that art. Their ships are of great burthen to receiue commodities, and well furnished with Ordinance against the Turkish Pyrates, but they are slow, and not easily turned, so as sometimes the Turkes lesse daring at sea, yet take some great Venetian ships with their small barques or gallies. For the Italians and Turkes make their Nauall fights with gallies, and no other ships, whereof the Venetian and Spaniard haue great numbers in this Sea. Wee reade, that the Pope made league with the Venetians and Spaniards for bearing some charge of war against the Turkes, and it is likely he hath some galleys, in that one sole hauen of *Ciuita Vecchia* belonging to him, but I neuer chanced to see any of the Popes gallies. The Duke of *Florence* at this time had ready armed to spoile the Turkes some 5 or 6 gallies: the other Princes haue none at al. These gallics are much different in bignes, and haue their names of the number of the oares rowing them, as *Triremes* of three oares on each side, *Quindeciremis* of fifteene oares, and the *Mediterranean* Sea, being subiect to small ebbings or flowings of tides, and little subiect to stormes, these gallics safely row betweene the neighbouring shoares, and euery night put into some Hauen or Baye. The Italians are so much inamored of their owne land, as they desire to see no other soyle, and abhorre from venturing themselues at Sea, so as they seldome proue expert in Nauigation, neuer bold. The Venetians haue a Law, that euery ship shall carry a young Gentleman of *Venice* in it, allowing him diet and a stipend, and also shall bring vp a Venetian boy in it. Thus their wise Progenitors tooke care, that neither Gentlemen, nor the inferiour sort should be ignorant in Nauigation. But the Gentlemen at this day so they may haue the benefit of the Law, by receiuing the stipend and the value of their diet for the Voyage, care not for the experience, and rather desire to stay at home, then trouble the ship any further. And for this cause the Venetians altogether vse Greekes as well for common Marriners as for Officers and Masters of their ships. And these Greekes (as I haue often found by experience) except they can see the shoare (which by reason of the narrowesse of the Sea, and frequent Iles, may often be scene), are often in doubt, sometimes ignorant where they are, and the least storme arrising, make such a noise and confusion, as they bewray their ignorance and want of courage. Our English ships comming forth of the Harbour of *Venice* together with a Venetian ship, will saile into *Syria* and returne backe againe, before the Venetian ship can come thither. Wherof two reasons may be giuen. One that the English Marriners are paid by the voyage, not by the dayes or moneths of absence, contrarily the Greekes are paid by the Italians after the dayes of absence
not

not after the voyage. The other reason is, that not onely the Italian ships are huge and great and flow of saile, but also the Masters, vpon the first change of wind, or foreseeing of ill weather, either for feare, or because they are paid by the day not by the voyage, presently put into some Hauen, whence commonly they cannot come forth, but with one or very few windes, whereas the English on the contrary haue not onlie nimble swift ships, but themselves are so expert and bold, as in regard their losse is the greater the longer they are from home, they either saile if the winde be any whit fauorable, or lye at hull, if the winde be full contrary, and so are reedy to take the first blast of winde seruing their turne.

Concerning the diuers kinds of diet in diuers Italian Cities, I haue before related *Their diet.* these things prouerbially said. The Neapolitans are magnificall, spending more sugar then bread. The Florentines are of spare diet, but wonderfull clenlinesse. Those of *Lucca* keepe golden mediocritie in all things. The Tyberine Peares and Martio-line cheeses are great dainties. Those of *Genoa* are of most spare diet, and no clenlinesse. The Mantuans feede on base beanes. The Ferrarians are inhospitall. The Padoans sup with halfe a penniworth of fish. The Venetians liue sparingly. The Siennesi magnifically, and their dainties are Goates flesh, and fresh cheese. The Milanesi liue plentifully, and prouoke appetite with sharpe sawces. The Nouocomenses eat without end, and drinke stoutly. Those of *Piemont* diet after the French manner, and those of *Ancona* basely.

And these things may perhaps be truly said, if the Italian Cities be compared one with the other, but many things may seeme lesse aptly said, if generally they be compared with the Cities of forraigne parts.

The Italians generally compared with English or French, are most sparing in their diet. Generally they require small preparation or furniture of their table, they eate neatly and modestly, but as they are not like the Spaniards, who are said to eate sparingly at their owne cost, largely at other mens tables, so howsoeuer they are not so great flesh-eaters as the Northerne men, yet if the bread bee weighed, which one of them eates at a meale, with a great Charger full of hearbes, and a little oyle mixed therein, beleue mee they haue no cause to accuse Northerne men for great eaters.

They seldome make feasts, but if they make any, then out of their innated pride, disdaining to be surpassed by any, they make them sumptuous, and that much more then ours, alwaies making the comparison equal of one degree against the other. And this is most certaine, that they infinitely passe vs in the expences about their Gardens, in fitting places for birding, in drawing water to them, and adorning the Conduits head with Imagry, in Chapels, and other buildings, of which things some yeeld them fruite, the other last perpetually: for they bestow their money in stable things, to serue their posteritie, where as our greatest expences end in the casting out of excrements, which makes me lesse commend our expences in great prouisions of meate, as well at feasts as daily diet.

And giue me leaue to hold this paradox, or opinion against that of the common sort; that the English were neuer more idle, neuer more ignorant in manuell Arts, neuer more factious in following the parties of Princes or their Landlords, neuer more base (as I may say) trencher slaues, then in that age, wherein great men kept open houses for all commers and goers. And that in our age, wherein we haue better learned each man to liue of his owne, and great men keepe not such troopes of idle seruants, not onely the English are become very industrious, and skilfull in manuell Artes, but also the tyranny of Lords and Gentlemen is abated, wherby they nourished priuate dissentions and ciuill Warres, with the destruction of the common people. Neither am I moued with the vulgar opinion, preferring old times to ours, because it is apparant, that the Cloysters of Monkes (who spoiled all, that they might bee beneficiall to few), and Gentlemens houses (who nourished a rabble of seruants in idlenesse, and in robbing by the high waies) lying open to all idle people for meate and drinke, were cause of greater ill then good to the Common-

wealth. Yet I would not bee so vnderstood, as if I would haue the poore shut out of doores, for I rather desire, that greater workes of charitie should be exercised towards them, to which wee should bee more inabled by honest frugalitie, then by foolish prodigalitie; I call it foolish, and thinke the vulgar sort of prodigals worthy of all ignominy, who with huge expences keepe many kennels of dogs, and casts of hawkes, and entertaine great numbers of strangers, sometimes not knowne by name, often scoffing at the entertainer, alwaies ingratefull, and so not only vse them to liue vnlawfully without labour or sweate of their browes, but also in the meane time themselves will haue a brother for their Butler, and are so niggardly towards their kintmen, yea, children and wiues, as they provide not necessaries for them, and haue no care of their advancement, education, and meanes to liue, but preferre vaine-glory before these religious cares. How much better were it for these prodigall men to lay aside some good part of their reuenue to nourish learned men, to procure good Preachers for their companions and guides, to relieue vertuous men in their wants, and to spend the same to like noble and princely ends.

But I returne to my purpose. A stranger may liue in *Italy* with lesse expence, then in *Germany*, where he must beare the charge of his conorts excessiue drinking. And if any obiekt the dearth of victuals, and wickednesse of Hosts in *Italy*, he shal find, that this is his owne want, not any ill of the Country; and when he hath experience to do his owne affaires there, he will be of my opinion. The Italians haue small moneys of brasse, and for the least of them a man may buy bread, little papers of spice, or any such thing that is to be sold. These small moneys, the abundance of people in a narrow land, and the common peoples pouerty, but most of all their innated pride, such as they had rather starue for want, then beg, these things make them doe any seruice for a stranger for a small reward, and make the passages of Riuers, or Channells (as at *Venice*), and all necessaries, to be afforded for a small piece of money. Neither is it a small commoditie of these little brasse moneys, that it makes the meaner sort more ready to giue almes. This benefit the English may well know by the want of like moneys, whereby the hire of Porters, all rewards and each almes being giuen in siluer money, and the small pieces thereof being rare, all expences are much increased. The women of *Italy* know not the price of any thing, or euer goe to Markets (scarce are allowed to go to Church) neither do they trust their seruants to make their market, but the richest of all *Italy*, and most noble (especially in *Venice*) daily buy their owne victuals and other necessaries. And in all Market-places stand little boyes with baskets, to carry any thing that is bought to their houses, which they easily find, knowing all streetes and allyes, and neuer faile to performe this honestly, though the buyer leaue them, and (according to their custome) goe about his other affaires; for if they should fayle, they cannot escape punishment, being easily to be found in the Markets where they vse daily to stand, and well knowne by face and name. Yet in truth the Italians dyet is so sparing, as almost strangers alone vse these little Porters, and the very Gentlemen of *Venice* (which notwithstanding arrogate to themselves a preheminence aboue all Gentlemen of *Italy* with the singular title of *Clarissimi*), carry home what they buy to eate, either in the sleeues of their gownes, or in a cleane handkercher. They spend much bread and oyle, and the very Porters feede on most pure white bread, almost without any other meat, except it be some roots. And those that are richer, do for the most part feede on bread, neither remember I to haue euer seene brown bread in *Italy*; only they eate sallets of hearbs with their bread, and mingle them with oyle. And I remember that I saw a barrell of oyle sold for twenty lyres, and a bushell of Wheate (containing forty eight measures, called *Sata* by the Latines, & vsed by the Hebrews) for 120 lyres, but the very Gentlemen buy their bread of the Bakers. Many times, especially in short dayes of Winter, they will breake their fasts with a bit of cake-bread or sweet bread (called vulgarly *pasta reale*, *ciambolini*, and generally *Gentilezze*), and a cup of sweete Wine, and so abstaine from dinner.

For the most part at table they vse blacke or bay salt, which the Venetians hauing of their owne, forbid the vse of any white salt brought into the territory, so as it is
only

onely sold by stealth, and with danger of penaltie. The Magistrate daily vseth to set the price of flesh, and all things sold in the Market, especially in the vpper parts of *Italy*, and namely at *Sienna*, where strangers liue very commodiously, and by this custome, a stranger can no more be deceiued, then one of the Country. In the State of *Florence*, and especially at *Sienna*, a stranger may liue more commodiously, then in any other part of *Italy*, because the inhabitants are most curteous (so as at *Sienna* they admit strangers to conuerse and dance, with the chiefe Gentlewomen of the Citie), and because the language, especially at *Sienna*, is held the most pure, as also for that victuals are very cheape, and strangers neede not stand in feare of being murthered, as in *Lombardy* they doe. In the State of *Milan*, there is plenty of all kinds of flesh, especially of mutton, and abundance of whittmeates, being commended aboue all other parts of *Italy* for delicate butter (not to be had otherwhere, except in some few large Valleys), and excellent cheeses (whereof great quantity is transported into forraigne parts.) And they no lesse then the Netherlanders, serue in butter and cheese euery meale for the first and last dishes. In the Market places of *Venice*, there is plenty of mutton and veale, sold in little portions and by weight (there as in all *Italy*), and there is also plenty of fish, hennes, egges, Turkey hennes, and some store of birds, with great abundance of red herrings and pickled herrings, *Sardelle*, *anchone*, and like pickled fishes, of *Cauiale* (a salt liquor made of fish) and *Botargo* (as I thinke the rone of a fish), of Piacentine cheese, and cheese of *Parma*, of mushrooms, snailles, the hinder parts of frogs (all held for great dainties). And these things are to be had in more abundance, because the common sorte ate little or no flesh, or fish, or birds, but onely hearbs, pulse, snailles, and rootes, with white bread. I haue spoken formerly of their fishing at Sea, and their shell-fishes (which they much esteeme), and Sea-fishes are indeed rarely found, but onely at *Venice*. Also they haue little store of fresh-water fish, onely there is great abundance of eeles, where the Riuer *Po* endes in a Lake, neere the *Adriatick* Sea, in the Dukedome of *Feraria*. The vpper parts of *Italy* yeeld the same things, but in a farre lesse quantity, and in *Toscany* they frequently eate young Goates flesh, which is very good and sauory, and sometimes there will be wild Bores to be sold, and they delight much in fresh curds newly pressed, and made into little cheeses. The Italians sell all kinds of flesh in little pieces, and all things for diet in little portions, that the meaner sort, if they list, may at least taste the greatest dainties. The inner parts of Goates (vulgarly *Animale*), and the stones of Rammes and Regles, (vulgarly *Granella*), are esteemed great dainties, especially in *Toscany*, which we cast away, being very good meate fried. And because the land is more populous then plentiful in victuals, they eate layes and other birdes, which we esteeme vnwholsome.

In generall the Italians, and more specially the Florentines, are most heate at the Table, and in their Innes from morning to night the Tables are spread with white cloathes, strewed with flowers and figge leaues, with Ingestars or glasses of diuers coloured wines set vpon them, and delicate fruits, which would inuite a Man to eat and drink, who otherwise hath no appetite, being all open to the sight of passengers as they ride by the high way, through their great vnglased windowes. At the Table, they touch no meate with the hand, but with a forke of siluer or other mettall, each man being serued with his forke and spoone, and glasse to drinke. And as they serue small peeces of flesh, (not whole ioints as with vs), so these peeces are cut into small bits, to be taken vp with the forke, and they seeth the flesh till it be very tender. In Summer time, they set a broad earthen vessel full of water vpon the Table, wherein little glasses filled with wine doe swimme for coolenesse. They vse no spits to roast flesh, but commonly stew the same in earthen pipkins, and they feed much vpon little fishes and flesh cut and fried with oyle. They haue no skill in the Art of Cookery, and the meate is serued to the table in white glistering and painted dishes of earth (wherof the finest are much esteemed with vs.) They are not willingly inuited to eate with other men, esteeming basely of those, who liue at other mens trenchers, calling them vulgarly *scroccatori d'i pasti*, shifters for meales. And the reason hereof is, that they would not

be tied to inuite others againe, which in their pride they would doe, if they should be inuited to them, and this is the chiefe cause that makes them nice to conuerse with strangers. Of the Florentines, though most courteous, yet sparing, other Italians ieast, saying, that when they meete a man about dinner time, they aske *Vos' Signoria ha desinato*, Sir, haue you dined? and if he answer, I, they replie as if they would haue inuited him to dinner: but if he answer no, they reply *Andate Signor, ch'è otta*, Goe Sir, for it is high time to dine. They thinke it best to cherrish and increase friendship by meetings in Market places and Gardens, but hold the table and bed vnfit for conuersation, where men should come to eat quickly, and sleepe soundly. Thus not prouoking appetite with variety of meates, or eating with others for good fellowship, they must needs be more temperate, then others intised by these meanes to eat beyond hunger. In Cities, where many take chambers in one house, they eat at a common table, but each man hath his owne meat provided, the Hostesse dressing it, and seruing each man with his owne napkin, glasse, forke, spoone, knife, and ingestar or glasse of wine, which after meate are seuerally and neatly laid vp by the Hostesse. And at the table, perhaps one man hath a hen, another a piece of flesh, the third potched egges, and each man seuerall meat after his diet: but it is no courtesie for one to offer another part of his meate, which they rather take to be done in pride, as if he thought that he that had a sallet or egges, could not haue a hen or flesh if hee listed for want of money. To conclude, they hold it no honour or disgrace to liue plentifully or sparingly, so they liue of their owne, and be not in debt, for in that case they are esteemed slaues. Thus liuing of their owne, they giue due honour to superiours, so they returne due respect to them, otherwise they dispise him that is richer, saying in scorne, Let him dine twice a day, and weare two gounes if he will, it is enough for mee to haue conuenient diet and apparrell. They haue a very delectate sauce for roasted meates, called *Sauore*, made of slices of bread, steeped in broath, with as many Walnuts, and some few leaues of Marioram, beaten in a morter, and mingled therewith, together with the iuyce of Gooseberries, or some sharpe liquor put in when it is set on the table.

In some Cities and Vniuersities, especially for the Germans sojourning there, and vnwilling to buy their owne meate, they haue ordinary tables to be paid by the weeke or moneth, at the rate of some eight or ten Crownes the moneth, which liuing they call *a la dozina* (that is, by dozens or by the great); but it is much more commodious for him that hath some experience and skill in the tongue, to buy his owne meat, since in *Camere locande* (that is, hired chambers) the Hostesse at a reasonable rate of the chamber, is tied to dresse his meate; and giue him napkins with like necessaries, and there wants not good commoditie to buy al things he wants, and to liue cheapely, as I haue shewed in the expences of my iournies through *Italy*.

The Italian Hosts are notable in fawning and crouching for gaine, so as they meete passengers at the Cities gates, and emulously inuite them to their houses, with promise of all dainties, as if they would giue them for nought, but when they are once come into the houses, all things threaten famine, and for that meate they haue, if the passenger first agree not for the price, they extort so vnreasonably, as nothing can be added to their perfidiousnesse and couetousnesse. The Germans say, these are faire-spoken, and most obsequious men in all things, till they come to the shot: for if any man loue honourable titles, capping, bending of knees, and an humble looke, they will obserue him to the full, but in the end the shot will be intolerable, and he shall pay for their fained courtesie and lowlinesse. And this extortion is not to be auoided by the best experienced, if they stand not continually vpon their guard with these Fencers, especially in both the Marks (or Marquisates) where they are not Hostes, but deuourers of passengers: And howsoeuer the Italian Hosts are more excusable in their extortions, because the Princes granting licenses to keepe these Innes, doe not sheare but indeede deuoure them, and he that buyes, must needs sell, yet the Marchians inhospitall nature is singular and aboue all others. For the Florentines oppressed with like or greater exactions, yet vse strangers much more curteously. I would aduise the vnexperienced passenger, that there being in these Italian Innes two ordinarie courses of
eating,

eating, one *al conto*, that is vpon reckoning, the other *al pasto*, that is, by the meale at a set rate (seldome exceeding three Giulij) the passengers for cheapnes should take his breakfast vpon reckoning, or carry about him some almonds, figs dried, or Raysons, that dining vpon reckoning, in case the Hosts set an excessive price on meat (for w^o to him that eates without first knowing the price), he may seeme content to eate of his owne, taking onely bread and wine, (whereof the prices are knowne and ordinary), and so may containe their rapacity within some reasonable bounds: But at night because of his bed, he shall doe well to sup at the Ordinary, and before supper to know his bed and get cleane sheetes: yet he must not expect a feather bed, which that clime beares not, as too hot for the R^ehines, but an hard mattresse, onely he shal haue cleane sheetes, at least if he curiously demand them. Howsoeuer against the worst euent, he shall doe well to carry linnen breeches, and to weare them in the ordinary sheetes; for the Italians if they haue no kind of the French pox, yet for the most part are troubled with an itch, witnesse the frequent cry in their streetes of *Vnguento per la rogn*a, Ointment for the Itch. I formerly said that a passenger needs haue no care of his Horse by the way, for it is the custome to agree for their meate as well as hire with the Vetturines, (so they call those that let Horses, and goe on foot or send a seruant to meate them): But since the same Vetturines will also offer a passenger to agree with him in like sort for his owne diet, surely (as I haue said in the Chapter of the manner to take iournies) the passenger is in ill case, that is dieted by them, neither would I aduise any so to doe, except onely in the way from *Rome* to *Naples* and backe againe, where a passenger in such a tumultuary iourney, and by reason of that old custome, should otherwise be worse entreated. Lastly, a passenger shall doe wisely, especially at night to goe to the best Inne and of most fame, that he may be more safe from the losse of his money or hazard of his life.

The Italians hold it a great shame to be drunken, they sometimes salute one another with a cup, in manner of a health, but leaue it to his pleasure when he will pledge them, and then he salutes him that drunke to him, as well as him to whom he drinke, saying; *Faccio ragione a vos signoria, brindisi a vos Signoria*. Sir I pledge you, and I drink to you Sir. The word *Brindisi* comes of the Dutch phrase, *Ich brings euch*, I will bring it to you, vsed when they drinke to any man, and this shewes the custome is borrowed from the Germans, and vsed by the obsequious Italians to please them, yet abhorring from drunkenesse, so pleasing to the Germans.

Italy yeeldes excellent Wines, and the common red wine is held very nourishing; so as the fairest Weomen will dine with the same, and a sop of bread dipped in it, thinking it will make them fat, (which kind of Women the Venetians most loue, all things else being equall), yea, and more faire: So as they Prouerbi ally say; *Chi beue bianco, piscia bianco, a chi beue rosso, auanza il colore*. He that drinke white, pisses white, he that drinke red, gaine the colour: These are the most famous Wines of *Italy*. *La lagrima di Christo*, (the teare of Christ) and like wines neere *Cinqueterre* in *Liguria*: *La vernaza*, and the white Muscadine, especially that of *Montefiaschoni* in *Toscany*: *Cecubum* and *Falernum* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and *Prosecho* in *Histria*. In generall the grapes that grow high vpon Elme-trees in the plaine, as in *Lombardy*, & especially the grapes of *Modena*, yeeld very small Wines, but those that grow vpon hils and mountaines, resting on short stakes, yeeld very rich Wines. In the shops where they sell Muskadines, there be continually boyes attending with little wigges of sweete bread and lunkers, which the Italians dip in the wine; and hauing thus broke their fasts in winter time, they commonly eate no more till supper.

The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Geographicall description of Turkey, the Situation, Fertility, Trafficke, and Diet.



THE Longitude of *Turkey* extends fifty five degrees and a halfe, from the meridian of forty foure degrees and a halfe, to that of an hundred degrees, and the Latitude extends forty degrees from the Paralell of tenne degrees, to that of fifty degrees. The Prouinces of this Empire in *Europe*, are thus numbred. *Illyris*, *Albania*, *Epirus*, *Gracia*, *Macedonia*, *Theffalia*, *Thracia*, *Mysia*, *Dacia* (or *Transiluania*), *Hungaria*, and the Ilands vnder him, that lie in *Europe*.

1 *Illyris* a part of *Scythia*, is subiect partly to the *Turkes*, partly to the House of *Austria*; the chiefe Cities whereof are *Zara*, (which together with the territory thereof, the *Turkes* tooke from the *Venetians*; the rest of the Prouince being still subiect to the House of *Austria*): and *Scordona*, lying vpon the Sea, as doth the former City, and all the Prouince. Also *Croattia* vulgarly *Craneten*, and of old called *Laburnia*, belongs to this Prouince. 2 *Albania* hath these knowne Cities, *Dirachium*, (vulgarly *Dorazzo*, of old called *Epidaurus*), and *Vallona*. 3 *Epirus* hath these Townes *Chimera*, *Meiandria*, *Batrinto*, *Cestrina*, and *Nicopolis*. Of old part of *Epirus* was called *Acarnania*. Of the roiall blood of this Prouince was *Alexander Scanderbeg*, who brought vp in the Great *Turkes* Court, and vpon occasion falling from him, did so much trouble that vast Empire.

4 *Gracia* was of old diuided into *Peloponessus* and *Helles*. *Peloponessus*, of old called *Aiggealia*, *Appia*, and *Pelaugia*, is at this day named *Morea*, and it is a *Chersonesus*, that is, a necke of Land almost an Iland, onely ioined to the continent with an *Isthmus*, that is a narrow peece of Land. The rest is compassed with the Sea, and was of old diuided into *Sutonium* (which hath the Cities *Sutton* and *Carinthus*); *Argolis* (which hath the Cities *Argos* and *Neapolis*), *Achaia* or *Elis*, (whereof the chiefe City was *Elis*); and *Arcadia* (whose chiefe Townes are *Psefis* and *Arcomenus*.) And here the Riuer *Emaus*, or *Erimanthus*, springeth, and ioyning with the Brooke *Alpheus*, falls into the gulfes of *Arcadia*. Also the Riuer *Inachus* springs in the Mountaine *Parthenius*, and falls into the gulfes of *Neapolis*. Moreouer *Peloponessus* hath a fifth Prouince called *Lacedemonia* or *Laconia*, (whereof the chiefe City was *Lacedemon* or *Sparta*, most famous of old). The sixth Prouince is *Messina*, in which is the City *Metona*, now called *Modon*. The straight necke of Land ioyning *Peloponessus* to the Continent, was against the *Turkes* fortified with a wall by the Christians, but the *Turkes* cast downe the wall, and tooke all the Prouince. *Helles* or *Achaia*, the second Prouince of *Greece*, containes *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Boetia*, *Phocis*, *Regio Locrorum*, and *Atolsa*. *Attica* is more famous then the rest, in which was the famous City *Athens*. *Megaris* is a small Region, the chiefe City whereof was *Megaria*, in which *Euclides* was borne. *Boetia* is a very large Region, so called of an Oxe leading *Cadmus* thither, who built the Boetian *Thebes*, so called for difference from nine other Cities called *Thebes*. The Mountaines *Thermopule*, deriued from the Mountaines *Acroceraunij*, lying vpon *Epirus*, deuide *Greece* from the West.

West to the East, (as the Apennine diuides *Italy*), and the famous mountaines *Otris Pelion* and *Ossa*, are parts thereof. Of old *Aulis* was a famous City of *Boetia*, in which *Iphigenia* Daughter to *Agamemnon* was sacrificed. *Phocis* is a small Region, the townes whereof were *Elatea*, and *Delphis* seated at the foot of the Mountaine *Parnassus*, hauing the Temple of *Apollo*, not in the Towne; but vpon a Rocke of the Mountaine, where springs the Castalian Fountaine, sacred to the Muses, and the Mount *Helicon* lies neere the same. The Region of the *Locri* is small, and the chiefe City is now called *Lepanto*. Of old a people called *Pierres*, comming out of *Thrace*, dwelt vnder *Parnassus*, of whom it was called the Pierian Mountaine, and the Muses were called *Pierides*. *Doris* pertaines to the Region of the *Locri*, and the chiefe City is *Doricum*, whence came the *Doric Dialect*. The last Prouince of *Helles* and of all *Greece*, is *Ætolia*, deuided from *Epirus* by the Riuer *Achelous*, falling from the Mount *Pindus*, and the chiefe Townes thereof are, *Naupactus*, now called *Lepanto*, neere the gulfe whereof, the Christian Navy vnder the commaund of *Don Iuan* of *Austria*, gaue a famous ouerthrow to the Turkish Navy in our Age. The other City is called *Chaledon*, whence was the *Chaledonian Boare*, sung of the Poets.

5 The fifth Prouince of *Turky* is *Macedonia*, of old called *Migdonia*, and *Emathæa*, the chiefe City whereof is *Thessalonica*, vulgarly now called *Saloniche*, to the Citizens wherof *S. Paul* wrote his Epistle. The Mountains of this Prouince *Olimpus Pelion Ossa*, are famous by the fables of the Giants, & *Athos* is fained to passe the clouds with his top. 6 The lower part of *Macedonia* is called *Thessalia*, or *Æmonia*, of *Thessalus* the son of *Æmon*, (or as others say of *Iafon*) the chiefe Towne whereof was *Pharsalos*, whose fields are famous by the victory of *Cæsar* against *Pompey*. 7 *Thracia* hath faire Cities, *Trimontium* (of old called *Poneropolis* and *Philippopolis*), *Adrianopolis*, and the head City *Constantinopolis*, (of old called *Bysantium*, now *Stambol*) seated vpon the *Bosphorus* of *Thracia*. It hath famous Mountaines, *Rhodope*, *Mela* and *Ismarus*: Vpon *Propontis* the *Thracian Chersonesus* (or necke of Land) lies vpon the Hellespont, in which are the Townes *Sesto* and *Callipolis*. 8 The vpper *Misia* is deuided into three parts, *Rascia*, *Bosnia* and *Serua*, and the lower *Misia* into three parts, *Bulgaria*, *Wallachia* and *Moldauia*. In *Bulgaria* the Riuer *Danubius* beginnes to be called *Isther*, which fals into the Euxine Sea, with foure strong and three lesser channels. 9 *Dacia* or *Transilvania*, was of old possessed by the Saxons, who there built seuen Cities or Castles, of which the Prouince is called *Septem-Castrensis*, vulgarly *Sieben burgen*, and of old it belonged to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, but at this day is tributary to the Turks. 10 *Hungaria* so called of the people *Huani*, was of old called *Pannonia* the lower, and of right belongs to the German Emperour, but of late the Turkes haue subdued the greater part thereof. It hath many and strongly fortified Cities, as *Debrecinum*, *Varadinum*, *Segedinum* (vulgarly *Seget*); *Castrum* (taken by the Turkes) *Strigonium* vulgarly *Gran* (taken by the Turkes in the yeere 1543) *Alba Regalis* (at that time also taken by them) *Quinqueecclesie* (the seate of the Bishop) *Buda* seated vpon the *Danow*; (twice or thrice taken and regained on both sides, of old the Kings seate) called vulgarly *Offen*, and *Pesta* (seated on the other side of *Danow*) vulgarly called *Newoffen*. The Hungarian Nation yeelds to none in strength and courage, not vnlike the Scythians in language and manners. 11 The Islands of *Eurrpe*, in the Ionian Sea are these, *Corcira* (vulgarly *Corfu*) *Cephalonia*, and *Zaintos*, (in Latin *Zazinthus*, vulgarly now called *Zante*); all three subiect to the Venerians. All the Islands in the *Ægean* Sea, are subiect to the Turke, being innumerable, among them are the *Cyclades*, so called because they lie round together, the chiefe whereof are *Cytnos*, *Cyphnos*, (vulgarly *Sifano*); *Parus* (now called *Paris*, famous for the Marble), *Tenos* (now called *Tenasa*), *Naxus*, *Andros*, and *Delos* the chiefe of all, where *Apollo* and *Diana* were borne. Next them, are the *Sporades*, so called of lying disperfed, among which are *Melos*, *Lera*, *Nicaria*, *Ægina*, and *Lemnos* (vulgarly *Stalemine*, whether they fable that *Vulcane* was cast downe.) The Island *Ibea*, now vulgarly *Negroponte* is attributed to *Greece*, being separated from the continent with so little distance, as it can hardly be named an Island, and it lies close to the City of *Athens*.

The *Turke* hath great part of *Asia*, deuided into *Asia* the lesser and *Asia* the greater. The lesser is now called *Natolia* or *Anatolia* of a Greeke word signifying the East, being a kinde or *Isthmus* of necke or land, lying betweene two Seas, the *Euxine* towards the North, and the *Mediterranean* towards the South, as it hath the *Thracian Bosphorus* (as passable by an Oxe swimming) and *Propontis* (as lying before the Sea) and *Hellepont* & the *Aegean* Sea) towards the West, and is confined with the Riuer *Euphrates* towards the East. This lesser *Asia* is all subiect to the *Turk*, and hath 16. Prouinces. *Bithinia*, *Foëus*, *Paphlagonia*, *Capadocia*, *Gallatia*, *Frigia* (the greater & lesser) *Misia*, *Ionia*, *Charia*, *Lidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lacaonia*, *Licia*, *Cilicia*, the lesser *Armenia* & *Chomagena*.

1 *Bithinia* is at this day called *Migtonia*, and the chiefe Cities thereof are *Nicea* (the Metropolitan Citie, famous for the Councell in the yeere 314. of 318. Bishops meeting to beat downe the *Arrian* heresie, and there making the *Nicene* Creed), *Lybissa* (where *Hannibal* was buried,) *Chalcedo* (where one of the eight olde Councils was held by 530 Bishops,) *Heracilia*, *Nicomedia*, *Phrassé*, (where *Esculapius* was born,) and *Bursa* leated ouer against *Constantinople*, where some *Turkish* Emperours lye buried, and thither the great *Turkes* eldest sonne is sent to gouerne, (or in a kinde of exile, for he neuer sees his Father more till he be dead,) and thither he is sent as soone as hee is circumcised. 2. Some accompt *Pontus* for part of *Bithinia*, 3. *Paphlagonia* is the third Prouince. 4. *Capadocia* the fourth so called of the Riuer *Capadocis*, and the chiefe Citie is *Trapezuntium*, now called *Genech*. And here the *Amazones* are said to haue liued from the destruction of *Troy*, to the time of *Alexander* the Great. 5 *Frigia* the lesser was called *Frixus* of *Frixus* sonne to the King of *Thebes*, flying with his sister frō his step-mother, who mounted on a *Ram* with a golden Fleece (perhaps a Ship so called) his sister being drowned, & giuing the name to *Hellepont*, and he came himself to this part of *Asia*, which at this day is called *Palormi*, & yeelds a most excellent Wine, and in this Prouince are *Illium* (or *Troy*) the Mountaines *Ida* and *Tmolus*, and the Riuer *Pactolus*. The ninth *Sybilla* that prophesied of Christ, was a Frigian, and here reigned King *Tantalus* by couetousnesse leeing the vse of his goods, of whom the Poets so fable. The greater *Frigia* is within Land. 6 The chiefe Cities of *Misia* are *Traianopolis* built by *Traian* and *Adramitbium*, whereof mention is made in the seuenteenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and where *Gallene* was borne, who liued 140 yeeres. 7 *Gallatia* or *Gallogreecia*, was possessed by the Gals vnder *Brennus*, whereof the chiefe City is *Laodicia*, and to this Prouince belongs *Pisidia*, the chiefe City whereof is *Antiochia*. 8 The chiefe Cities of *Ionia* are *Ephesus*, (where was the Temple of *Diana*; which *Erostrates* a Gothe did burne, to be famous), *Miletum* (where *Thales* and *Anaximines* were borne) & *Smyrna*. 9 The chiefe City of *Charia*, was of old *Halicarnassus* (in which was the Sepulcher of *Mausolius* the King, held for one of the seuen miracles of the World). 10 The chiefe City of *Lydia* was *Sardis*, where *Crasus* reigned. 11 The chiefe City of *Pamphilia* was *Zelotia*, and in this Prouince is the Mountaine *Chimera*, vpon the wild top whereof Lyons were found, as in the middle part yeelding grasse, Goates did feed, and in the bottome were Serpents, whereof came the fiction of the Monster. 12 In *Lacaonia* of old were these cities, *Iconium* (Metropolitan) & *Lystre*, where *Timothy* Saint *Pauls* Disciple was borne, and the Riuer *Xanthus* runnes through this Prouince. 13 *Licia* lies vpon the Sea, between *Pamphilia* & *Charia*. 14 *Cylicia* lies vnder the Mountaine *Taurus*, vpon the furthest bosome of the *Mediterranean* Sea, or *Iccian* Gulfe, where *Alexander* the Great ouercame *Darius*, and there is *Tarsus*, now called *Bias*, in which Towne Saint *Paul* was borne. 15 *Armenia* the lesser, is thought by some to be the Land *Ararat*, vpon the Mountaines whereof the Arke of *Noah* rested after the deluge. Vnder this Prouince some comprehend 16 *Chomagena*, being ful of Mountaines, and confining vpon *Asia* the lesser towards the East.

The Geographers diuide *Asia* the greater into fise parts, according vnto fise Empires, the first of the Duke of *Moscovia*, the second of great *Cham* ouer the *Tartars*, the third of the Persian King, the fourth of diuers Indian Kings, the fifth of *Ottomen* ouer the *Turkes*. And this last onely belongs to my purpose, therefore omitting the rest, I will speake of it. The great *Turke* hath these Prouinces in *Asia* the greater, namely, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, and diuers Ilands.

Siria is vulgarly called *Sorya*, and contains *Palestina*, *Phenitia*, *Calosyria*, *Damascena*, *Sirophenitia*, (and as some account) *Mesopotamia*. *Palestina* of old called *Canaan*, is subdivided into *Idumæa*, *Iudea*, *Samaria*, *Galilea*. *Idumæa* of old called *Edom*, is not vnfertile, and abounds with Palme-trees, but where it confines vpon *Arabia*, is said to bee barren, and there are the Mountaines called *Sur* in Scriptures. It had these chiefe Cities of old, *Maresa*, *Ascalon*, *Asotos*. *Iudea* is the second Prouince of *Palestina*, so called of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and *Ierusalem* the chiefe City thereof is at this day called *Chutz*. The most famous places therof are *Bethlehem*, *Bethania*, *Mount Olinet*, *Ierico*, *Ioppe* where *S. Peter* raised *Dorcus* from the dead, *Lydda* (where he healed the man sicke of the Palsie,) *Arimathia* (where *Ioseph* was borne), and *Hebron* (where *Saray* the wife of *Abraham* and foure Patriarkes lye buried), The *Hebrewes* say, that the vally called *Sittim* by *Moses*, was most fertill, where now is the Lake *Asphaltis*, and in this valley stood *Sodom* and *Gomora*. Beyond *Iordan* is the desert of *Betabora*, where *Iohn* baptised, and the Land *Gilliad*, where the *Amonites* and *Moabites* dwelt of old. *Samaria* the third Prouince of *Palestine*, had these Cities, *Sichim*, *Capernaum*, seated vpon the Lake *Geneseret*, *Nahim*, where *Christ* raised the widowes son, *Betzaida* & *Coratzen*, & beyond the Lake *Gadera* is *Samaria*, the chiefe City of the ten Tribes, that fel from *Iuda*. *Galilea* the last Prouince of *Palestine*, is deuided into the vpper and the lower. The vpper called *Gallile* of the Gentiles, contains the Kingdome *Basen*, and hath these Cities, *Chana* the Greater, *Cesarea Philippi*, *Seleutia*, and *Gaulon*, and this Prouince had the title of *Tetrarch*. The lower had the same title, and contains the Regions of *Decapolis*, and *Tracconitis*, beyond *Iordan*. The chiefe Cities thereof were *Betsaida*, *Chana* the lesser, and *Nazaret*. And here is the Mount *Tabor*, where *Christ* was transfigured: And the Riuer *Iordan* running through all *Palestine*, hath two heads, *Iar* and *Dan* vpon the Mount *Antilibanus*, and running thence into the lake *Asphaltis*, by the way makes two Lakes, *Samachonitis* (vpon the confines deuiding the two Galilies), and *Genesaret* or *Tyberias*, (vpon the confines betweene the lower *Galily* and *Samaria*). *Phenicia* the second part of *Syria*, lies vpon the Sea, and reacheth to *Serophenicia*, from the City *Dora* vpon the Sea, to the Mount *Carmelus*, where it is confined with the Mount *Lybanus*. The chiefe Cities thereof were, *Dora*, *Ptolemais*, *Acon*, *Tyrus*, *Sarepta*, and *Sydon*. *Selosiria* the third part of *Syria*, so called as crooked or hollow, had of old the title of *Tetrarch*, in which is the City *Damascus*, which giues the name *Damascena* to the fourth part of *Syria*, and here Allabafter growes, of which they make vessels. *Damascus* is thought to be built by the seruants of *Abraham*, and neere the City is a place, where *Christ* appeared to Saint *Paul*, and the Sepulcher of *Zacharias* is said to be there; and they shew a place, where *Caine* is said to haue killed *Abell*. The soile is most fertile, so as Writers and the consent of all Men witness, that grapes grow there all the yeere, and that there is plenty of Quinces, Figges, Almonds, and Damasco Prunes. *Sirophenitia* the fifth part of *Syria*, hath these Cities, *Beritum* (of old called happy *Iulia*) *Biblus*, *Tripolis*, *Ladicia*, *Antiochia* (of old called *Reblatha*) which after it had beene decayed by a great Earthquake, was rebuilt by the Emperour *Iustinian* and called *Theopolis*, a famous City in which the Professours formerly called Disciples, first had the name of Christians, and Histories testifie that Saint *Peter* was the first Bishop thereof. *Mesopotamia* the last part of *Syria*, is so called as lying betweene two Riuers, swift *Tygris* (so called of the swiftnesse, *Tygris* in the Medes tongue signifying an Arrow) and *Euphrates*. And by the yeerely ouerflowing of these Riuers after the Solstice (as *Egypt* by that of *Nilus*) the soile is made most fertile, whereof Writers report wonders, namely that one measure sowed, yeeldes fifty and in some places sixty measures, and that plants perpetually flourish there, yet that the inner parts want water, so as the Inhabitants finding a spring, vse to keepe it secret, that it may not be knowne to their enemies. At this day the Turkes call this Prouince *Diarbecke*, the Cities whereof are *Edeffa* and *Carra* (which *Moses* in the twelfth Chapter of *Genesis* calls *Haram*) where *Abraham* dwelt when hee came out of *Chaldea*.

2 *Arabia* is the second part of the Turkish Empire in *Asia* the greater, which is subdivided into *Petrea* (rocky), desert, and happy *Arabia*. The Israelites liued forty yeeres in

in rocky Arabia, being full of Mountaines and barren, whereof proceeded their murmurings. There is famous Mount *Sinay*, vpon which Gods Law was published, and ouer against it Mount *Horeb*. In *Sinay* is the Region *Nabathæa*, and the City thereof *Petra* (after called *Arech*) is in the Scriptures called *Petra* of the desert, and neere it lies the Region *Agra* or *Agara*, the Inhabitants whereof were called *Agarens*; as comming of *Hagar* Concubine to *Abraham*. Desert Arabia is barren, destitute of waters and couered with deepe sand, the Inhabitants whereof doe liue in Tents, hauing no certaine abiding; but neere Euphrates some dwellings are, where is the famous Towne *Tapfacum*, after called *Amphipolis*. Happy Arabia lies almost in the forme of a Chersonesus or necke of Land, betweene the two great gulfes of the Sea, the Arabian gulfe and the Persian, and it yeelds Cinnamon, Franckensence, Mirh, the Gumme *Ladanum*, and other precious Odours, and abounds with Hony, Waxe, and all kinds of Cattell, excepting Swine onely. It is said that Granes of Gold as bigge as Acornes are found here among the cloddes of the Earth. It hath the Bird *Phænix*, of which kinde there is neuer more then one onely, which by striking of stones together, kindles a fier and burnes her selfe in her nest of myrh, and of the Ashes comes a worme, which becomes a Bird, and so the *Phænix* liues againe. They fish pearles in the Arabian gulfe, and Iewels are found vpon the Sea shore. The Nation of the *Sabæans*, is more famous then any other in this Prouince, whose Region called *Saba*, is celebrated for plenty of Franckensence, and it hath woods of Trees, which being cut, yeeld a frothy humour that turnes into that odour. The Cities of happy Arabia are, *Medimnat Tolnaby* (that is, the City of the Prophet, because *Mahomet* is said to haue written his Alcoran there) and *Mecha* (famous by *Mahomet's* Sepulcher.) The Kingdome of *Ormus* is part of happy Arabia, hauing a peculiar King, but tributary to the King of *Spain*, as he is King of *Portugall*, the Metropolitane City whereof rich in trade, is called *Ormus*.

3 *Babilonia* the third part of the Turkish Empire in *Asia*, hath the metropolitane City of old called by the same name, but in these dayes called *Bagdet*.

4 *Chaldea* the fourth part lies on the East side of *Babilonia*, whereof the chiefe City is called *Vhrr* in the Scriptures, from whence *Abraham* vpon Gods commandement went to Haran a City of Mesopotamia.

5 *Assiria* the fifth part is so called of *Assur* the sonne of *Shem*, whereof the chiefe Cities are *Ninus*, called *Niniue* in the Scriptures, (the old seate of the Kings, built by *Assur*), and *Aruela* (famous by the victory of *Alexander* the Great against *Darius* the Persian King.)

6 The Ilands of *Asia* are the sixth part of the Turkish Empire in *Asia* the greater, and they lie either in the Mediterranean Sea, or in the Archipelagus, or in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean Sea, lies *Candia* (of old called *Creta*) famous of old for hauing one hundred Cities, and by the labyrinth of *Dædalus*, and it was called *Creta* of the Earths whitenesse, from whence great quantity of Muskadine Wines are exported into diuers parts of Europe, and it is subiect to the State of *Venice*. *Rhodes* lieth in the same Sea, and was of old famous for the residence of the Knights of *Hierusalem*, but at this day is possessed by the Turkes druing out those Knights, (who now haue their residence in *Malta* an Iland, neere that of *Sicily*). *Cyprus* is an Iland in the same Sea, and is most fertile, yeelding Canes of Hony, whence Suger is made, and rich Wines, and abounding with many things required for life and for pleasure, and this Iland the Turks in the last Age took from the Venetians by force of Armes, the chiefe Cities whereof are *Famagosta* and *Nicosia*. The Archipelagus hath innumerable Ilands, whereof the principall and most fruitfull are, *Tenedos* (small in circuit) but famous by the Nauy of the Greekes harbouring there at the siege of *Troy*; *Lesbos*, *Lemnos*, *Mitelene*, (at this day called *Metalon* of the chiefe City); *Samnus* of old called *Sicania*, (where *Hypocrates* was borne) and *Chios* (now called *Zio*) more esteemed then any of the rest, for the Marble, Malmesey wine, Masticke, (the iuyce or gumme of the tree called *Lentiscus*), and no lesse for the many rich commodities it yeelds, then for the goodnes and largenes of the soyle.

The

The Islands of the *Indian* Sea belong not to the Turkes, and therefore I will omit them.

The Turkish Empire stretcheth it selfe yet farther, containing great part of *Affrica*, which by the Grecians was called *Libia*, and the word in the Greek tongue signifying horror and cold, gaue the name to *Africa*, as being void of cold. The Mountaine *Atlas* in *Affrick* (as *Taurus* in *Asia*, which in some parts is called *Caucasus* and *Imaus*, as the Mountaines of *Europe* are generally called the *Alpes*), doth diuide this Countrie into many parts, stretching it selfe towards the East, and so forward to *Nilus*; which parts or Prouinces are knowne by these names; *Mauritania*, *Affrica* the lesser, *Syrenai- ca*, *Marmarica*, *Egyptus*, *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, the Regions vnder the Mountaines of *Luna*, and the Islands.

1 *Mauritania Tingitana*, containes two Kingdomes, *Fessa* (whereof the King of *Spaine* holds som part) and *Morocco* (subiect to the Turkes.) Of old it had these townes *Tingis* (Metropolitane) and *Luxon*, (neere which are the Gardens *Hesperides*, which the Poets fable to haue Aples and trees of gold.) At this day the two chiefe Cities are called *Fessa* and *Morocco*. At the Straight Sea, betweene *Spaine* and *Affricke*, the mountaines *Abila* in *Affrick*, and *Calpa* in *Spaine*, are of that forme, as men would iudge they were once ioyned, whereupon the Poets fable, that *Hercules* deuided them, and did let in the *Ocean*, and so made the *Mediterranean* sea, and for this cause the Straight is called the narrow Sea of *Hercules*, and the Pillars of *Hercules* were erected on *Affricke's* side, which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth added to his Coate of Armes. *Mauritania Cesariensis*, was also called *Numidia*; for the people being rich in Cattell, and dwelling in Tents, and when they had eaten the grasse of one place, then remouing to another, were of their pastures called Nomades, and after changing a letter, became to bee named *Numida*.

2 *Affrica* the lesse, a most fertile Region of old, is at this day called the Kingdome of *Tunis*, and the chiefe Citis, are *Hippōn* (Metropolitan, where Saint *Austin* was Bishop), *Vtica* (renowned for hauing *Cato* a Citizen), *Carthage* (where *Tertullian* was borne), *Tunis* (at this day chiefe), *Madaura* (where *Lucius Apuleius* was borne), and *Tacapa* (where the Vines are said to yeeld Grapes twise in the yeere.) The Brooke *Rubricatus* is famous for the Serpent killed there by *Attilius Regulus* in the time of the first Punike warre. The quick-sands or shoales of the Sea adioyning, are much feared of Marriners, lying sometimes deepe, sometimes shallow, as the sands are driuen into diuers parts, by diuers winds blowing and stormes, and they are two. The lesse not farre from *Carthage*, the greater towards *Syrenai- ca*. At this day all this Sea-coast is called *Barbary*, and is subiect to the Turkish *Ottoman*.

3 *Syrenai- ca* hath the name of the chiefe Citie *Syrene*, which of old had emulation for greatnesse with *Carthage*, and therein were borne, *Aristippus* the Philosopher, *Calimachus* the Poet, and *Erato- stines* the Mathematician, and (as some say) *Symon* who carried the Crosse of Christ.

4 *Marmarica* is sandy, and of old therein was the Temple of *Iupiter* called *Hammōn* of the sands, and these two Prouinces are annexed to *Egypt*.

5 *Egypt* is most fertile, the very garner of the vniuersall World, and famous for the antiquitie of the Kingdome. The vpper part thereof was called *Thebais*, the lower (towards the *Mediterranean* Sea) was called *Deltica*, of the letter *Delta*. The Cities thereof no lesse famous in these dayes then of old are these. *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander* the great at the mouth of the Riuer *Nilus* (whose body there buried, was seene by *Augustus*), and heere *Ptolomy* was borne, who did gather in this Citie the famous Library of seuen hundred thousand volumes, which were all consumed by fier. The next chiefe Citie is *Canopus*, where stood the Temple of *Syraps* or *Osyris*. Then *Pelusium*, at this day called *Damiata*, seated vpon the mouth of *Nilus* called *Pelusium*. Lastly, the chiefe Citie of all, is *Babylon*, built by the Babylonians permitted to dwell there, which at this day is hugely increased, and is called *Alcaiero* (that is, This *Caiero*), from whence some fortie

stadia distant towards the North, lye the three famous Pyramides. Three dayes iourney towards the East, in a Garden called *Materia*, being well fortified, of old grew, and still growes the hearb Balsamum, sweating Balsam out of the boughes, and being cut with a knife, yeelding the more precious Opobalsamum, and at this day the same is found euen at *Caiero* in the Gardens of the richer sort. They say also that Corall is found in the Red Sea. I had almost omitted the Citie *Arsinoe*, also called the Citie of the Crocadiles, because the Crocadile was there worshipped. *Nilus* falles into the *Mediterranean* Sea in seuen great Armes, which haue the names of the adiacent Townes, namely, *Heracleoticum* (or *canopicum*), *Boluiticum*, *Sebaniticum*, *Patinicum*, *Mendesium*, *Caniticum*, and *Peluseacum*: the first and the last whereof are one hundred and seuentie miles distant one from the other. The *Nilus* doth yeerely ouerflow, and thereby giues incredible fertility to the ground, and the snow melting vpon the Mountaines of *Luna*, or the constellation of the Moone and Mercury, are thought to bee causes of this ouerflowing. And the same happening to bee greater or lesse then vsuall, or comming later or sooner then vsuall is a signe of dearth to them, whereof *Pliny* saith, that *Egypt* in twelue cubites height of the floud, feeleth famine, atthirteene cubites is hungry, but that fourteene makes them merry, fiftene safe, and sixteene brings plenty and dainties. It is strange, that all other Riuer eating and consuming their bankes, *Nilus* rather increaseth them, by bringing with it a mud, that couers the sand, and doth as it were dung the fields, to make them more fertill. In sixty dayes after the floud, the fields are cleare of water. The floud increaseth from the Summer *Solstice*, to the Suns entring into *Libra*, and after the water retires into his owne bed. About the twelfth of October they sow their fields, and in May following reape their haruest. *Egypt* with the Prouinces belonging to it, hath long been subdued by the Turkes.

6 *Lybia* hath diuers Prouinces. *Biledurget*, that is, the Region of Dates, is inhabited by the black *Getuli*. From thence towards the Riuer *Niger*, lye the Deserts of *Lybia*, waste, and full of Lyons, Pardes, and other fierce and venemous beasts (whereof came the fictions of *Medusa* and *Perseus*.) The inhabitants of *Atsanaga*, are of a colour betweene tawny and blacke. At the Promontory called the white Cape, is the Citie called *Argen*, where the Arabians and Portugalls trade together. At the Promontory, called the greene Cape, the Riuer *Niger* falles into the *Atlantick Ocean*, and the inhabitants are called Nigrite. This tract containes many Kingdomes, namely, *Senige*, *Gambrey*, *Tambot*, *Guangara* (where the *Garamantes* dwelt of old), two Kingdoms of *Nubia*, and other Kingdomes, which I omit as subiect to their Kings, or to *Pretz Ian*, and so not belonging to our purpose.

7 *Ethiopia* is diuided by *Nilus* into inward and outward. Inward *Ethiopia* is diuided by old Writers into *Ethiopia* properly so called, *Trogloditica*, and *Barbaria*, and in the middes thereof is the Iland *Meroe*, made by *Nilus*, in which was a City called *Meroe*, the seate of the old Kings, after called *Saba*, whence was the queene which came to *Salomon*, and the Eunuch of Queene *Candaces*, whom *Philip* baptized. The *Troglodites* lue in caues of the earth, and their kingdom is at this day called *Adel*. *Barbaria* extends eight degrees beyond the *Aequator*, from the promontory called *Capo di Guardani*, to the Gulfe of *Barbary*, and was so called of old. The outward *Ethiopia* is called *Agisimba* by *Ptolomy*, and containes the Kingdome of *Amatzen*, and of *Vangue*, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line. All *Ethiopia*, and part of *Libia*, are said to bee subiect to *Pretz Ian*, therefore I say no more of them, nor of the Kingdomes vnder the Mountaines of *Luna*, as pertaining not to my purpose.

8 Onely of the many Prouinces vnder the Mountaines of *Luna* beyond the *Aequinoctiall* line, I will adde, that the inhabitants of *Capo di buona speranza* (the cape of good hope) are exceeding blacke, and nothing different from the *Ethiopians* and *Lybians*, though they haue a greater latitude by thirtie degrees towards the South, equall to the latitude of the farthest part of *Spaine*, and lue vnder the temperate Zone.

9 The greatest Iland of *Affrick* called *Madagascar* by the inhabitants, and *Saint Laurence* by the Spaniards, is of the Mahometan Religion, and is said to abound with the medicinall wood *Santalum*, with Amber and Elephants. The Canary Ilands called of old the fortunate Ilands are sixe (or more as some write) in number, where of *Canaria* the greatest gaue the name to the rest, which are subiect to the King of *Spaine*, as are likewise the *Hesperides*, little Ilands seated ouer against the greene Cape. The Turkish Emperour hath (to my knowledge) no other Ile of *Affricke* vnder him.

The Turkish Empire being so vast, and containing great part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrick*, the temper of the aire cannot bee otherwise described, then by particular parts thereof. But out of the description of this Empire (in the iournall of the first Part), and by comparing the particular Prouinces, with others of the same longitude and latitude, and by the fruits and exported commodities here to be mentioned, the temper of the ayre may bee knowne, or at least coniectured more easily. To this purpose I will onely adde, that I landing in *Palestine* about the end of May, found their wheate haruest almost inned, and in the Hauen of *Ioppa*, bought about a thousand Abricots for sixe Aspers. And the yeere following when I sailed from *Constantinople* towards *Italy*, that about the middit of March, I did eate pease and other pulse in the Greeke Ilands.

The situation.

Lastly in *Palestine*, *Cyprus* and those parts, partly I vnderstood by others, partly I found by experience, that it seldome raines; and that about September and October onely, and not often at that time, but so violently for the time, as if it would beate downe the very houses, falling (as it were) by palefulls at once, and that the fields are watred with night dewes, at the fall whereof no man stirres out of dores, but with his head well couered, for danger of sicknesse, all men vsing to keepe in the house till the dew be dried, while in the meane time by day the heate is so excessiue, as a man can hardly indure his apparrell, though it be of linnen or silke, if it hang not loose but be close about him.

The fertilitie of the soyle generally through this Empire, is exceeding great, and the goodnesse and varietie of the fruits, equalleth and in some places passeth *Italy*. The wines of *Greece*, of Mount *Libanus*, and especially of *Palormo* in *Natolia*, are exceeding rich and good. Yet haue the Turkes lesse plenty of all things then *Europe*, for they very sparingly and onely to serue necessity, either set plant or sow, great part of the people being wasted with warres, and they that remaine, hauing not free fruition of their owne goods, in the great tyranny vnder which they liue, as well of the Emperour, as of vnder-Gouernours changed at least once a yeere, and the generall rapacity and licentiousnesse of the souldiers. Hence it is that there be vast solitudes and vntilled Desarts on all sides, where yet the ground of it selfe brings forth diuers wild fruits without tillage. They haue diuers kinds of graine, Wheate, the graine called Milet; Barly, Oates, Rye, Pease, and al kinds of Pulse, which for the kinds are like those of *Europe*, but the Wheate for the bignesse of the graine, and so the rest, are to bee preferred before them. There is great abundance of Rice, Flax and Cotton growing in the fields. They haue good plenty of all kinds of Cattell, yet are no more industrious in grasing and feeding heards, then in sowing or planting; and so they haue Egges, Hennes, Rice, Hony (which in a composition they drinke), Fruits and Bread for daily foode, they desire no other dainties or greater riches, since they can neither inioy their goods while they liue, nor yet bequeath them at death, and nothing is more dangerous, then to be accounted rich. The *Caloiri* or Greeke Monkes in *Candia*, with whom I abode for a time, shewed mee fields, which the yeere past had yeilded them ninety five measures of graine for one sowed: but *Candia*, though it lie in the compasse of the Turkish Empire almost on all sides, yet is subiect to the State of *Venice*.

The fertility.

The Iland *Chios* (vulgarly *Zio*) is subiect to the Turkes, and is famous for the pleasantnesse, as also for the fertilitie, yeelding Mastick (the fruit of the tree *Lentiscus*), and hauing abundance of Patridges, & of all kinds of foule. I haue in my Iornal of the first

Part spoken of the most fertile Ilands, *Cyprus* and *Mettilene*.

In *Syria* they haue sheepe of strange bignesse, whereof many haue tailes weighing twenty, and some thirty pounds, bearing wooll, and being wrethed to their heeles, more then the hornes of Rammes are. And let no man thinke this incredible, since the same is reported of Sheepe in *Affrick*; and this is confirmed by consent of all, who haue been in these parts. Mules are somewhat rare, but they haue innumerable Camels, a beast most apt to carry burthens, and lying patiently downe to receiue them, and most able to beare hunger, and especially thirst. When the male and female ingender, they lye downe on their bellies, with tayle to tayle, and their heades many Elles distant one from the other, and in the time of the yeere when they are naturally prone to generation, they are fierce with a kind of madnessse, so as their masters then take heede of any violence they may doe them. The Turkes also haue many Dromedaries, a kinde of beast not vnlike the Cammell, but farre passing horses in swiftnesse, and very Cammels in patience of labour. Their Horses are rather faire then strong, and they make their skin shine, by laying them vpon their owne dung dried. These horses either runne, (which often they put them to for spurts, and in brauery) or goe a foote pace (as they vse to follow laded Cammels in iournies), but they are not taught either to trot, or amble, as ours are, and are good for short iournies, but not able to indure so long iournies as ours doe. Therefore the Turkish Caualtery for warre is of more swiftnesse then strength, and the Germane horses being heavy, they easily ouertake them flying, and as easily flye when they are beaten.

The Turkes haue great plenty of sea and fresh water fish, and of birds and all foule, and for Christian buyers (whereof are great multitudes, especially at *Constantinople*) they furnish their markets therewith. And in truth at *Constantinople*, there is as great varietie and goodnesse of these kinds as can be wished. Onely the Oysters, though pleatifuill, yet haue not the delicate salt taste that ours haue, the *Mediterranean* Sea being nothing so salt as the *Ocean*. But in generall, the Turkes, by reason of the foresaid tyranny, and of their temperance in diet, doe little vse fishing or fowling, or any like exercise.

The traffick - Yea, by reason of the same tyranny of the Emperour, Gouvernours and Souldiers, the Turkes carelesly and coldly exercise trafficke with Merchants. I grant, that they trade in *Natolia*, and other parts of their owne Empire after a cold manner, but they make no voyage by sea into forraigne parts, excepting some few that come to *Venice*. For they doe not labour in any kind more then necessitie forceth, and are so far from the insatiable desire of riches, as they auoide nothing more, then the opinion to bee rich. So as the Iewes, the Greekes subiect to the Turkes, and other confederate Christians, exporting their commodities, they themselves haue very few ships, the Emperour onely hauing some twelue great ships, well armed, to bring him necessaries from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*. In like sort they haue few Marrines, and those vnexperienced and fearefull, vsing the Greekes their vassals, and other slaues taken in warre, to that purpose, and they much esteeme (that is gently treat) captiues skilfull in Navigation. Some Townes keepe at their priuate charge a few small Gallies and Barkes, to rob the Christians, and the great Turkes Nauie consists all of Gallies, nothing comparable to those of *Venice*, and they winter at *Constantinople*, and another Hauen in *Greece*, whereof I shall write more largely in the discourse of the Turkes Commonwealth.

Among other Cities of trade, they haue two very famous, one in *Asia*, the other in *Affrick*. That of *Asia* is called *Haleppo*, and it being within-land, the Port thereof is called *Scanderona* by the Turks, and *Alexandretta*, by the Christians, whence the commodities of Merchants are carried vpon Cammels, and the fifth day arriue at *Haleppo*, whether the commodities of *Persia* are brought by the River *Euphrates*, and vpon Cammels backs, from the Citie *Taurus*, of old subiect to the Persians, but in our age subdued by the Turkes. The Indian commodities are brought thither by the red sea, and the Gulfe of *Arabia*. The famous Citie

Citie for trade in *Affricke* was called *Babylon*, and now is named *Alcaiero*, whence the commodities of *India*, *Egypt*, and all *Affricke* are exported. Moreouer, vpon the mouth of the greatest arme of the River *Nilus*, the City *Alexandria* is seated vpon the Sea, some few dayes saile from *Alcaiero*.

The Venetians bring into *Turkey* woollen clothes, which they call broad, being died Scarlet, Violet, and of all colours, and they are so strong & well made, as they will last very long, so as the Turks prefer them before our English clothes. And because the Venetians furnish them in great quantity, they vse few other clothes of that kind. Also the Venetians bring to them Sattins, and Damasks (made in *Italy* of Dalmatian silk) and great quantity of Gold and Siluer, to buy the pretious commodities of *Turkey*. Whence they carry out raw silke. For by reason of the foresaid tyranny, as the Turks are negligent in Husbandry and trade, so are they in manuell Arts, not drawing their Silke into threads, nor weauing the same into clothes. And howsoeuer they haue infinite numbers of Silke-wormes, especially at *Tripoli*, and in most parts of *Asia*, which make great quantitie of Silke, (as I formerly said in the discourse of *Italy*), yet they sell this Silke raw and vnwoven, and buy of the Venetians the foresaid clothes made of their owne silke, so as the silkwormes, may well be said to bee more diligent, and more to promote the publike good, then the inhabitants, for they swarming in all Gardens, diligentlie finish their web, while the idle inhabitants yeeld the commoditie thereof to strangers.

The Venetians also export from *Turkey*, Spices, and Apothecary wares, and great quantitie of the Dye called Indico. They export Galles, Cotten, wooll, Cotton threads, Chamlets or Grogams, made of the finest haire of Goates, not sheared but pulled off from their backs, and wouen in *Galatia*, a Prouince of the lesser *Asia*. They export *Turkey* Carpets, Goates skinnnes wrought, and died into diuers colours.

The English bring to the Turkes Kersies wrought and dyed of diuers colours and kinds, but they bring little Broad-cloth, wherewith they are aboundantlie furnished from *Venice*. They also bring to them Tinne, and blacke Conni-skinnes in such quantitie, as the Turkes admiring the same, a Frenchman merily taxing our womens affabilitie, laid, that in *England* there was such plenty of Connyes, and they so tame, as they were taken in the Tauerns. The English export from them Spices and Apothecary wares (for the Trade into the East *Indies* was not then set vp), they also export the foresaid commodities, raw silke, Indico, and other precious Dyes of Scarlet, Purple and the like, Galles, Mastick growing onely in the Iland *Zio*, Cotton, and the thread thereof, *Turkey* Carpets for tables, Chamlets, Grogams of Goates haire. The Merchants comming to *Constantinople*, hardly find there any commodities to export; therefore the English ships hauing vnladed there, saile empty to *Alexandretta*, and there receiue the commodities of *Haleppo*. Againe, the Italians who bring much gold and siluer to *Haleppo* for the commodities there to bee sold, doe againe receiue gold and siluer for such commodities as they bring to *Constantinople*, and carry the same backe to *Venice*. The English lying at the Ilands of *Zant* and *Cephalonia*, subiect to the Venetians, and at *Petrasso*, seated in the Gulfe of *Corinth*, and subiect to the great Turke) export Corrands: others from *Algier* (a Port of *Barbary*) export Sugar: others from the Iland *Candia* (subiect to the Venetians) export Muskadines: and others from diuers Ilands export earthen dishes and vessels painted, which for the purenesse are much esteemed and vsed in *Italy*, and in our parts Northward.

The swords of *Damasco* are famous for the mettall, piercing iron, and cutting a naile in pieces, but the exportation of them is forbidden, though our Christians supply the Turkes with all warlike munitions, which they might shame to haue particularly named in this discourse of traffick. The precious Orientall commodities of *Persia* and the East *Indies*, haue made the Trade of Turkish Cities to bee famous, namely, their spices and rich dyes, and Iewels, which notwithstanding the Turkes haue in part of their owne. For I formerly said, that *Arabia* yeelds Frankinsence, Mirrh, Cinamon, and Iewels, and *Egypt* yeeldes Balsam, and Opobalsam (the more

precious gumme of the Balmetree) in great quantity, omitting many commodities, which beides they haue of these kinds. I speake not of *Theſſalonica* a City of *Macedonia*, now called *Saloniche*, nor other Hauens and Cities of trafficke in *Greece*, as being of lesse moment. All the precious traffick of *Turkey*, by reason of the inhabitants slothfulnesse, is in the hands of Iewes and of Christians, and was long in the sole hands of the Venetians, but the French in the age past, and the English in our age, haue had (as I may say) a traffickiug league with the Turkes, and so partake that trade. And these three States onely (not to speake of the Germans, who at this time had warre with the Turkes, and neuer saile so farre to exercise trafficke) among so many States of Christians, haue their Ambassadors at the Turkish Court. And if any other Christians arriue in that Empire (as the Flemmings often doe), they vsed at this time to come vnder the Banner of one of these three Nations. The Reader must vnderstand, that when I was in *Turkey*, the English and Flemmings had not as yet begun their traffick in the East *Indies*, which is like to destroy the trafficke in *Turkey*, bringing many rich commodities from the well head.

For their dyet, the Turkes liue sparingly, I had said slouenly, but that I remembred their frequent bathings and washings, and the curious clenlinesse of the linnen, and all other clothes which they weare: but I will bee bold to say, they feede negligently, and without any pompe or magnificence. The richer sort doe sit at meate like Tailors with their knees bended, vpon carpets, or vpon the grasse when they eate by Riuer sides and in Gardens, as they doe more frequently then in the house. And their table is so low, as they may well reach to it sitting vpon the ground. About this table they cast a long towell to wipe their hands, but passengers by the high-way, and generally the ordinary sort of Turkes, vse grasse in stead of this towell. Others carry about a table of leather coloured red or yellow, which table shuts and opens like a purse, and vpon it they can set but one dish at once, it hanging hollow vpon certaine buckels. Commonly they eate by the high-way vpon the ground, and alwaies with their knees bended like our Taylors. They seeth their meat till it be very tender, so as they may breake it with their fingers, for they haue no kniues, neither haue they variety of dishes set before them, but all sitting in a circle, fall vpon one dish. Taking meat, they all together say a short prayer or grace, and talke not whilest they eate, but silently fall hard to their worke. They haue aboundance of all things for foode, as well of flesh (excepting swines-flesh) as of birds, and other meates, but they abstaine from fish. They haue plenty of Corne (at least sufficient for their temperate dyet), which is exceeding good, and farre bigger then ours. They are ignorant of the Arts of birding, fouling, hunting, or cookery, and hauing no lasciuious appetite prouoking them to gluttony, are content with simple meates. Their sobrietie in this kind cannot sufficiently be commended, and since their greatest men can bee content to feede on rice, and drinke water, it is no maruell, that with ease they keepe great Armies in the field.

All the Turkish householdstufte is contained, in one poore pot to seeth meate in, one spoone of wood, one cup of leather or wood to drinke in, a poore bed or matresse, yea often a single couerled alone, and the earth serues them for bedsted, table and stooles. They haue no neede of a troope of cookes and scullions to dresse meate, and make cleane dishes. They willingly eate curds turned sower and mingled with bread and water, commonly called *Mishmish*, and fresh cheesc or curds, and haue plentie of milke, as well of coves as of goates. In stead of bread, they eate vnleauened cakes, baked on the cinders, which commonly are mingled with a kind of feede. They feede commonly on hens, and rice (either sod alone, or with a hen or mutton, in a vessell full of holes, without any liquor put in when it is set on the fier, so as there being no other iuce, but that of the meat, the rice is made very thick.) Within these narrow bounds is their most costly feeding restrained. In time of the yeere they feed much vpon fruites, and keepe grapes all winter, so as you would iudge them fresh. They abhor from swines flesh, as the Iewes do, for the rest I did neuer see, nor heare by relations of others, that the richest of them did affect any other variety of meate,

meate, then I haue named; and I haue often seene Men of the better sort, eating out of the seething pot, without any dish set before them. The aboue named flesh of Muttons is very sauoury, and the sheepe of *Syria* and the adioyning parts of *Asia*, are of such greatnesse, as many times a taile of them, hanging to their heeles, and very woolly and fat, and close wouen in many plights, doth weigh thirty or more pounds. They haue also Venyson, for in the woodes there be many wild Goates disperfed, and I haue seene a kind of fallow Deare in *Syria* called *Gazelle*, of which kind I haue seene some brought out of *Barbary* into *England*.

And they much delighting in fruites, haue excellent of many kindes, and in great quantity, namely Abricots, and muske Melones, and diuers kinds of Pumpions; whereof one called Angouria, as bigge as our Pumpions, is exceeding full of a very cold iuyce, being most pleasant for the coolenesse in any great heat; which coolenesse though I take to be vnwholsome for one sicke of an ague, yet my selfe almost wasted with the burning of that disease, did vehemently desire to eate of this fruite, and found it nothing hurtfull or rather healthfull to me. In the Hauen of Alexandretta (or Scanderona) a Græcian the Master of a Venetian ship, gaue me a present of foure or fise Apples, which he called (as they vulgarly doe) the Apple of *Adam*, and I neuer in my life tasted so delicete a fruite. It was of forme like a long Peare, or rather for the crookednesse like a Cucumer of the lesser sort, and it had a most thinne skinne, of colour like a Peeches skinne, the least part whereof being opened, the iuyce was easily to be sucked out, which was very pleasant, and not much vnlike to the iuyce of a figge newly pulled from the tree. If I should particularise all the kindes of pleafant fruites, I might be infinite therein.

The Turkes when they haue eaten, not while they eate, goe like good fellowes together, and like Horses at once drinke for that meale, as greedily as if the water were turned into wine, which kind of drinke those that are zealous of their Law, and those that iourney by the high way, more specially, and all Turkes in generall most commonly vse, for which cause, those that iourney vse to pitch their tents, vpon the banks of pure fountains or running waters, which they no lesse know, or as curiously search out, as we doe the best Innes or Tauernes: Besides commonly they haue a cup (if I may so call it, being a purse of leather that opens or shuts with strings) hanging at their Horses saddle pomell, which as they sit on Horsebacke, they put downe into the fountaines, and draw water to drinke, not omitting to taste a good spring of water, no more then we would a peece of rare Wine. Their water, especially in Prouinces lying neere the Sunne, is in this property contrary to ours, that it loosens the body no lesse, then the rice binds it. In Cities diuers kinds of drinckes are to be sold, some esteemed as much as wine with vs. One kind I remember presented vnto vs in *Palestine* by the Sobasha of *Ramtha*, which was made of medicinall hearbs, to purifie and coole the blood, and they drinke it hot, so as it seemes a very physicall potion. They drinke sugar or hony mingled with water, and water sodden with grapes, rosewater, and hony: and they haue whole Tunnes of the iuyce of Cytrons and Limons, which they willingly drinke; and all these kinds are to be sold in their Cities, Wine is forbideen by *Mahomets* law, which permits Aquauite vulgarly called Harech, which Aquauite they often drinke euen to drunckennes. And whether it be out of the common error of mankind to desire forbidden things, or out of the licentiousnes of Souldiers, which euery day growes greater then other, howsoeuer in Idleness they obey their lawe in not planting Vines, yet not only the Ianizaries, but euen the religious men, will drinke wine largely, euen to drunkenesse, with Christians as well Ambassadors as others, yea, if Christian passengers carry wine by the way for their owne drinking, and haue a Ianizary to protect them, yet they will familiarly come to drinke with them; and if they haue no protector, they will take their wine and whatsoever they haue else at their pleasure, so as their false Prophet hath onely prouoked vice by forbidding it. Many Prouinces yeeld rich wines, the chiefe wherof are the Greek wines, (which notwithstanding seemed to me for the most part to be corrasive, fretting the stomacke and entrals); and as well the white as red wines of Mount *Lybanus* and *Antilibanus*, which

are carried to *Tripoli*, and as farre as *Maleppo*, (the wines about *Ierusalem* being sharpe and small): but the best wine of all is the white wine of *Palormo* in *Natolia*, which is like the Spanisli sacke, but more pleasant to the taste, being not so swete as the Canary wines, nor so harsh and strong as the Sherry sacke. This Wine is carried to *Constantinople*, where also good wines grow, planted by Christians there, but this is most esteemed: For onely Christians plant Vines, and make wine, howsoeuer the Turkes are content to take part of them at the Christians charge.

The Turkish Souldiers being to fight, if they can find no wine, drinke the iuyce of blacke poppy, called Opium, to raise their spirits to a kind of fury, thinking themselves made more valiant thereby: For howsoeuer we thinke this hearbe, especially taken largely, to be dangerous for the health, yet there is not a Turke from the highest to the lowest, who doth not as it were daily vse it, nothing being more frequently sowed, nothing more plentifully growing, especially in *Natolia*, nothing more easily finding a buyer: yea, if their Cammels and Dromidaries faile by the way, or vpon necessity must goe further then they vse to iourney, as sometimes it falls out in Armies and other Iourneys, then they giue them this hearbe, by which they report their spirits so to be stirred vp, as they will goe till they fall downe dead.

In this vast Empire I did see no Innes, no not in their Cities, and a man shall rarely find any beds among Christians, and if he doe, yet the sheetes are made of cotten, intolerable for heate: For in *Turkey* generally they lie vpon Tapestry Carpets, and sometimes in Cities vpon a mattresse, with a quilt to couer them, and by the high way they lye vpon straw, hey, or grasse. And in all places neere *Palestine*, they either by night lie vpon the house tops on a plastered floare, or in yards vpon the earth and in open Ayre, hauing the spangled Heauens for their Canopy. And not onely passengers, but all Turkes daily weare linnen breeches, so as in these Prouinces not subiect to cold, a man may better endure this poore kind of lodging: But the Turkish passengers, in stead of lynes, haue certaine Hospitals, built of stone with Cloysters after the manner of Monasteries, where by charitable legacy of Almes, all passengers may haue meate for certaine meales or dayes, especially the Pilgrims towards *Mecha*, for whose sake they were especially founded: And these houses are vulgarly called *Kawne* (or as others pronounce *Cain*) and the couered Cloysters of them, (built after their manier but one rooffe high), are common as well to Turkes as any other passengers to lodge in openly, and like good fellowes altogether, vpon such mattresses as they carry, or vpon the bare ground, if straw be not to be had. For Christian passengers carry such mattresses and necessary victuals, which failing, they supply them in Cities and euery day in Villages may buy fresh meates, but they must dresse their owne meate.

Neither is the Art of Cookery greater in *Turkey* then with vs in *Wales*, for toasting of Cheese in *Wales*, and seething of Rice in *Turkey*, will enable a man freely to professe the Art of Cookery.

No stranger vseth to trauell without a Janizary or some other to guide him, who knowes the places where most commodious lodging is to be had: but passengers by the way vse not to goe into Cities, but onely to buy fresh meates, which done they returne to the Tents of their Carrauan, which vse to be pitched in some field adioyning. In hot climes neere the Sunne, (as I haue said in the first Part writing my iourney through *Turkey*) the Turkes there dwelling vse to beginne their iourneys towards the euening, and to end them two or three houres after the Sunne rising, resting in their Tents all the heat of the day. Christian passengers shall doe well to goe to the Italians Friers at *Ierusalem*, and to Merchants their Countrey men, or at least to Christians in Citties of traffick, and to the Ambassadors or Merchants of their owne Country at *Constantinople*, who being themselves strangers, and not ignorant of the euils incident to strangers, will no doubt in curtesie direct them to get conuenient lodgings and other necessities.

CHAP. II.

Of France, touching the particular subjects of the first Chapter.



THE Longitude of *France* extends thirteene degrees from the Meridian of sixteene degrees to that of twenty nine degrees, and the Latitude extends eight degrees from the Paralell of forty two degrees to that of fifty degrees. *France* of old was deuided into *Cisalpina* and *Transalpina*: In the description of *Italy* I haue formerly spoken of *Cisalpina*, which was also called *Togata* of Gownes the Inhabitants wore, and *Tonsa* because they had short haire.

Transalpina, was subdeuided into *Comata* and *Narbonensis*. *Comata* so called of *France* de- their long haire, was againe subdeuided into *Belgica*, (of which I haue spoken former- scribed, ly in the description of *Neetherland*), into *Aquitania* and *Celtica*, or *Lugdunensis*. *Aquitania* the second Part of *Comata*, was of old called *Aremorica*, lying vpon the Moun- taines *Pyreni*, and they differ in Language from the French, being more like to the Spaniards: next to the *Pyreni* dwelt the *Ansi* or *Ansitani*, called vulgarly *Gnascons*, com- ming from *Spaine*. Their chief City is *Toulouse*, where is a famous Vniuersity, & the Par- liament of that Prouince. Another City called *Bordeaux*, hath also an Vniuersity, but is more famous by the generall concourse of Merchants trading for French Wines. Beyond the Riuer *Garumna* running through the midst of *Aquitania*, dwell the *San- tones*, an ancient people, whose Countrey is called *Santoigne*. Next lie the *Pictones* or *Pictaui* vpon the Riuer *Loye*, whose Countrey is called *Poitou*, abounding with Fish, Fowle, and all Game for Hunting and Hawking. It hath three chiefe Cities, all seates of Bishops, *Poitiers*, *Lusson*, and *Maillezais*. The necke of Land adioyning is called *Aulone*, and the Ilands, *Noir de Chauet*, *De Dieu*, and *Nostre Dame De Bouin*, &c. yeeld great quantity of Salt to be transported. The Countrey of the *Rituriges* is called *Berry*, and the chiefe City *Burges*, of old called *Auaricam*, being an Vniuersity, and the Citizens at fixe Faires in the yeere, sell great quantity of woollen cloath: for the Countrey hath rich pastures, feeding many flockes of sheepe, of whose wooll this cloath is made, besides that it aboundeth also with Wine, Corne, and all kinds of cat- tell. The City is within Land, and is called in Lattin *Bituricum* of two Towers. Next the same lies the Dukedome *Burbonois*, and other small territories.

Celtica or *Lugdunensis* another part of *Comata*, contains the part of *Transalpina*, that lies betweene the Riuers *Loye* and *Seyne*, beyond which last Riuer *France* of old ex- tended, and included good part of *Neetherland*. First towards the West lies the Duke- dome *Bretaigne*, which hath three Languages in it selfe, all differing from the French. The first is of the people called *Bretons Bretonnant*, comming from the English or Cor- nish Brittons the first Inhabitants, and the chiefe Cities are *Saint Paul*, and *Tre- guiers*. The second people are called *Bretons Galot*, being of Language neere the French, and the chiefe Cities are *Rhenes*, (where is the Parliament of the whole Dukedome), and *Dol*, and *Saint Malo*. The third is mixt of the two former, and the City thereof called *Nantes*, is the Dukes seate, and chiefe City of the Dukedome. From the Sea Coast thereof great quantity of salt made by the heate of the Sunne is transported, and there be mynes of Iron and Lead. Towards the East lies *Normandy*, so called of Men of the North, namely the *Cimbri* there inhabiting, and the chiefe City is *Roane*. Within Land lies *Turroyne*, vpon the *Loye*, and the chiefe City is *Orleance*. Next lies the little Countrey of *France*, like an Iland betweene two Riuers, so called of the *Franckes* a people of *Germany*, conquering and giuing that name

to the whole Kingdome. The chiefe City and seate of the Kings is *Paris*. *Picardy* lies towards the North, and the chiefe City is *Amiens*. Vpon *France* within Land towards the East lies the Prouince *Champaigne*. Next to it lies the Dukedome of *Lorrayne*, the Dukes whereof beare their Armes, an Arme armed breaking out of Cloudes, and holding a naked Sword, to signifie that the Dukes haue supreme power from God alone. And the chiefe Cities of the Dukedome are *Nancy* (the seate of the Dukes), and *Toul*, and *Nenfchastell*. The next Countrey of old esteemed part of *Lorrayne*, was inhabited by the *Lingones*, and by the *Mediomatrices*, and the chiefe City by the Latines called *Mediomatricum* and *Metis*, is now vulgarly called *Metz*, which City the King of *France* tooke in the yeere 1551 from the Empire, in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, who besieged the same long, but in vaine; the Kings of *France* still holding it. The Dukedome of *Burgundy* belonged of old to the Empire, but is now subiect to the Kings of *France*; the chiefe City whereof is *Dijon*, where the Parliament of the whole Dukedome is held. It hath other Cities, namely *Boanlue*, *Challon*, *Chastillon*, *Noyres*, and a place called *Bourgogne*, which gaue the name to the Dukedome, yet others write that it had the name of *Bourges*, (that is Townes). The County of *Burgundy* belonged of old to the Empire, but is now subiect to the King of *Spaine*, whose progenitor married the daughter and heire of the Duke of *Burgundy*, at which time the Kings of *France* tooke the foresaid Dukedome from the said daughter and heire. And this County is vulgarly called *Franche Conte*, as free from tributes. It hath two free Cities, *Dole* (an Vniuersity) and *Besancon*.

2 The second part of *Transalpina Gallia* is *Narbonensis*; (which onely at this day, yet not all, may truly be called *Gallia*): It was of old called *Braccata*, of the Inhabitants apparell, and is called *Narbonensis* of the chiefe City *Narbona*, lying vpon the Riuer *Atkesis*, neere the Mediterranean Sea, which *Strabo* witnesseth to haue beene of old a famous City for trafficke. The Riuer *Rhodanus* runnes through it, which falling from the Alpes, and increased by *Araris*, but still retaining the first name, falls into the Mediterranean Sea. This part called *Narbonensis*, by the benefit of the Ayre and Sunne, yeelds Figges, Grapes, Cytrons, Peaches, Pomegranates, Chestnuts, rich Wine, and all delicate fruites, and all the fields are made odoriferous by wild Rosemary, Myrtels, Palmetrees, and many sweete hearbes: and the Inhabitants haue lately planted Canes of sugar. To conclude; the Prouince is very pleasant and plentiful in all things. On the West side of *Rhodanus*, the *Tectosages* dwelt of old in the Prouince called *Languadoc*, hauing that name, because the Inhabitants vse *Oc* for the French *Ouy*. The chief Cities thereof are *Narbona* (aforesaid) *Mompeliers* (of old a famous Vniuersity) & *Clermont*. The Dukedome of *Sauoy* lies in a corner, from the alps to the mediterranean Sea, of old inhabited by the *Focuntij*, and it lying on the same side of the Alpes with *France*, is reckoned a part thereof, but the Duke thereof is an absolute Prince, and the chiefe City is *Chambery*. The Prouince is very fertile, and where it is more barren, yet affoordes excellent fruites and all things for foode at a conuenient price. *Dolphiny* lies betweene the Riuer *Rhodanus* and the Dukedome of *Sauoy*, and giues the name of Dolphin to the French Kings eldest sonne. *Prouence* is a most sweete Territory, and hath the Cities, *Marseile*, (famous by trade wirth the Turkes), *Arles*, and *Auignon* (subiect to the Pope; for when many Popes were at one time, *John* the two and twentieth did long sit in this City, giuen by *Ioane* Queene of *Naples* to the Popes in the time of *Clement* the sixth, alienated from the Kingdome of *Naples* by her, and annexed to the Patrimony of Saint *Peter*, in the yeere 1360.) The Principalltie of *Orange* is an absolute dominion, hauing the chiefe City of the same name, and seated betweene *Languedoc*, *Dolphiny*, and the Popes Territorie of *Auignon*.

The situation;

The ayre of the Northerne part of *France* is purer then that of *England*, and being not couered with cloudes drawne out of the Sea as *England* is, for that cause in winter becomes more cold, and in summer more hot, and farre lesse annoied with mists & rainy weather. But on the other side, more & lesse according to the clyme, the parts of *France* lying

lying towards the Mountaines *Pirenei* and neerer to the Equinoctiall line, are subiect to intemperate heate, yet often allaid by the winds blowing from the Sea, and by the shaddow of the Mountaines. This Southerly part yeeldes all the fruites of *Italy*, and in the Northerly parts as in *Normandy*, they haue abundance of Apple and Peare trees, of which they make great quantity of Sider and Perry, and this part as towards the Sea it yeelds also plenty of Corne, so within Land it affoordes the like of Wines. And in the very Northerly Iland called *France*, they haue plenty of Grapes vpon pleasant hils watered with sweet Riuer, but the wine made of them is small and sharpe. All *France* is most pleasant, and not onely about *Narbona*, but in many other territories (according to the commodity of the clime), it yeelds great plenty of red and white wines exported in great quantity, which are held excellent to be drunke, the white in the moaning, and the red with meate, which red is otherwise reputed vnhol-some, as prouoking and causing rhumes. *France* aboundeth with all things necessary for food, as well Corne as Cattell, red Deare, Fowle, and also with all kinds of Fish, by reason it is partly compassed with the Sea, and vpon all sides is watered with sweete Riuer. For fier they vse wood and coales, yet haue they no pit coales or sea coales, but haue their sea coales out of *England* for their Smiths Forges, and where they haue lesse store of wood within land, there they burne straw, fures, and other kinds of stub-ble. They haue good races of Horses, which the greater part vse in the Warre, who are not able to buy Neapolitan Coursers, Spanish lanets, or English Coursers, bred of the Neapolitan Horses and English Mares: but for their iournies they haue no Guel-dings or ambling Nagges, as wee haue, but commonly vse trotting and stoned Nagges.

The Gentlemen doe not meddle with trafficke, either because it was of old forbid-^{The fer-} den to great Lords and Gentlemen, lest the Kings impositions should thereby suffer^{tility and} damage, they being by singular priuiledges exempted and freed from all such bur-^{trafficke.} thens, or because in deed they thinke such trafficke ignoble and base, and so vnfit for them, which error the French no lesse deerely buy then the English, (as I haue shewed in the discourse of *Italy*, and shall againe proue in that of *England*). In generall, the French are lesse studious of Nauigation or industrious in that kind, because they abound almost with all things for plentifull foode and rich attire, and if they want any thing, strangers gladly bring it to them, and exchange it for their wines, salt, and course linnen cloaths; neither haue I heard or read, that they euer did any braue exploit by sea. They haue in time of warre some few men of warre for piracy, and some few ships to export their commodities, but they saile onely to neighbour Countries, as out of *Normandy* and *Bretaigne*, into *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low-Countries*, and onely those of *Marseile*, to *Tripoli* in *Syria*. As for the Colonies which in our Age they haue led into the West Indies, their vnhappy successe therein, hath discouraged them from like new attempts. And whosoever sees their rich Cities within Land, witnessing that their wealth consists in natiue commodities, more then trading by Sea, may easily guesse, that they are not much addicted to Nauigation. The French haue many commodities by which they draw forraigne Coynes to them, but foure especially, Wine; Salt, Linnen course cloth, and Corne, which in that respect some call the loadstones of *France*. Neither is it a matter of small moment, that they haue many Riners, gi-ving commodity to the mutuall trafficke of their Cities.

They haue plenty of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof they make canuas, sayles, ropes, and cables: Neither want they wooll, whereof they make cloth, little inferiour to the English cloth, but not in quantity to be exported. *Bordeaux* is a famous City for exportation of Wines, as *Roche*ll and the neighbour Ports are no lesse for Salt. *France* yeeldeth Saffron, and *Oade* for dying, which they call *Du Pastell*, and many small commodities to be exported, as Cards, Pinnes, Paper, and the like: yea they export into *Spaine*, linnen cloathes made thinne with wearing, and sell them there for a good price. The *Spaniards* bring into *France* some quantity of wooll, raysons, Oliues, Oyle, Cytrons, and other fruites, whereof *France* needes no great quantity, and *Cochinillo* for dying. The *Portingals* bring into *France* holy Thistle, (an hearbe like a white

white thorne, hauing leaues like cotten on them) and sugar, and diuers kinds of Indian wood, as Fernambuckewood, Schomache, Fustocke, and Logwood, and a smal quantity of Dates. And these carry out of *France* great quantity of Linnen cloth, which we call white Roanes, and greater quantity of vittree Canuas, and Paper, some woollen cloth, much Corne, especially Wheate, good quantity of waxe and cardes, and the like commodities. The English bring into *France* great quantity of woollen cloaths, called Kerfies and Cottons, Leade, Tynne, English Vitriall, or Shooemakers blacke, sheepe skinner, and by stealth other Hides, forbidden to be exported; great quantity of Hearings, and new found land Fish dried, of wooll (though forbidden to be exported), Oyle, Soape tunned, Soape ashes, old worne cloakes, and (I know not to what vse) very old shooes, with other natie and forraigne commodities. And they bring from thence Linnen cloathes, called white Roanes, and Vitree Canuas, Paper, white and red wines in great quantity, Threed, Saffron, Waxe, and from *Paris* Gold and siluer. The Hollanders bring into *France* two or three kindes of their Linnen cloathes, Copper, Feathers, and Wier, and they carry thence the foresaid Linnen cloathes, Wines, Prunes, Paper, and the aboue named commodities. The French carry into *Italy* Tinne, Lead, dry fish, called Poore Iohn, (brought to them by the English), and their owne aboue named commodities. And they bring out of *Italy* silke cloaths, and other Italian commodities. Among the French, onely those of *Marseile* trafficke with the Turkes, and their greatest trade is onely at *Tripoli* in *Syria*, who carry into *Turkey* Spanish siluer, and French Linnen cloathes, and bring from thence raw silke, spices, gals, cotton, and Indico for dying.

Their Diet.

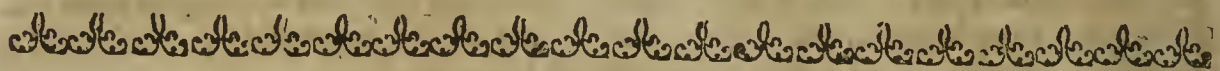
Old Writers relate that the Gals vsed to lie on the ground, to feed on milke and Swines flesh, and to be giuen to gluttony. At this day none eat lesse Bacon or dried flesh for ordinary diet, then the French, yet I cannot commend their temperance, since all, as well Men as Weomen, besides dinner and supper, vse breakefasts and beuers, which they call collations and goustes, so eating foure times in the day. All *France* abounds with necessaries for food, as well all kinds of Cattle, as fruites not inferiour in some places to those of *Italy*, and wild Boares, and Red Deare, (for they haue no fallow Deare); and Birds and Fowle, and all kinds of Fish, affoorded by the Sea, and their many pleasant riuers, but their Beef is neither very good, nor much vsed. Their Sheep are lesse then ours in *England*, but the flesh of them is sweete and sauoury. In the Innes they haue greater plenty of Partridges, and diuers kinds of Birds, because the Countrey people neither doe nor may eat them, and the Gentlemen are generally sparing in their ordinary diet, so as great plenty of these dainties is brought to the chiefe Innes. Howsoeuer *England* be happy in all abundance, and hath some dainties for food proper to it selfe, as Godwits, and some other kinds of Sea Fowle, and especially fallow Deare and Brawne: Though it passeth *France* generally in plenty of Sea Fowles, and as well the variety as plenty of Sea fishes, yet hath it not such abundance as *France* hath of Land Fowle, or such as haunt the woods and fields, as Partridges, Feasants, Woodcocks, and the like, or at least by reason of the common sort not feeding thereon, and the said spare ordinary diet of the Gentlemen, *France* seemeth much more to abound with them, being common in all the chiefe Innes. I speake of *England* in generall, for in some places they so abound with vs, as they beare little or no price.

The French are commended and said to excell others in boyled meates, sawces, and made dishes, vulgarly called *Quelques choses*, but in my opinion the larding of their meates is not commendable, whereby they take away all variety of taste, making all meates sauer of Porke; and the French alone delight in mortified meates. They vse not much whitmeates, nor haue I tasted there any good Butter, which our Ambassadors cause to be brought vnto them out of *England*, and they haue onely one good kinde of Cheeses called *Angelots*, pleasing more for a kind of sharpenesse in taste, then for the goodnesse. As well the Gentlemen as Citizens liue more sparingly then the English in their ordinary priuate diet, and haue not their Tables so furnished with variety and number of dishes. They dine most with sodden and liquid meates, and sup with roasted meates, each hauing his seuerall sawce: but their Feasts are more sumptuous

tuous then ours, and consist for the most part of made fantasticall meates and sallets, and sumptuous compositions, rather then of flesh or birds. And the cookes are most esteemed, who haue best inuention in new made and compounded meats. And as in all things the French are chearefull and nimble, so the Italians obserue that they eate or swallow their meate swiftly, and adde; that they are also slouely at meate, but I would rather say they are negligent or carelesse, and little curious in their feeding. And to this purpose I remember an accident that happened to a Frenchman, eating with vs at the Masters table in a Venetian ship gouerned by Greekes, and sailing from *Venice* to *Hierusalem*, who turning hir foule trencher to lay meat on the cleane side, did so offend the Master and all the Marriners; as well the best as common sort, as they hardly refrained from offering him violence. For Marriners in generall, but especially the Greekes are so superstitious, as they tooke this his negligence in turning his trencher, (being of like opinion for the turning of any thing in the ship vpside downe) as if it had been an ominous signe, that the ship should be cast away.

In a Village of *Normandy* halfe way betweene *Roane* and *Diepe* called *Totes*, and in like sort in all the Innes of those parts, before the ciuill warre, as soone as passengers lighted from their horses, the Hoast gaue them water to wash, and bread and wine; for the French haue not the patience to expect their supper without some refection. Then at supper the table was serued with Mutton, a Capon or Pullet, Patridges and like meates, with a kind of banquet, as in Summer, Apples, Cherries, and Grapes, and in Winter, Chessenuts, Rice, Raysons, and stewed Prunes. Then they gaue their guests cleane sheetes, drying them at the fier in their presence, and in the morning gaue them for breakfast some buttered tostes, or morsell of meate; and for all this together with horsemeate, each man paid some twenty two or twenty five soulz; as likewise the bating at noone for horse and man, cost each some ten soulz. After the ciuill warre I passed through these parts, and commonly each meale paid twelue or fiftene soulz, with worse interertainment, and for breakefasts paid seuerally, but no great rate. Towards the confines of *Flanders*, the Hoasts onely couer the table, and a side table, vpon which euerie passenger hath his glasse, for the French are curious not to drinke in another mans cup, and the Hoasts are onely to bee paid for this seruice. Otherwise at times of eating, they call the Cookes dwelling neere the Innes, who bring the best meates they haue, and when the guests haue chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe to dresse it, and so send it warme with sawces. In generall, through the Cities of *France*, passengers seldome dine at their Innes, but with some companions goe to the Tauernes or Cookes shops: but at night they must eate with the Hoast that giues them beds; where they shall haue cleane sheetes, and see them dried before their faces; but they are of course cloth, and very few chambers are priuate, but most haue three or foure beds, wherein they lye not single, but for the most part with bedfellowes. Also the guests aswell Merchants and Gentlemen, as those of common sort, eate at an ordinary table, and for supper commonly large with diuers roasted meates, each man payes some fiftene soulz. He that hires a chamber in Cities, which he may haue well furnished at *Paris* for some two Crownes a moneth, he must buy his meate at Cookes shops, which are frequent and very cleanly; neither is it any disgrace, as with vs, to buy a morsell of meate there, and to agree for the price before it bee eaten. And they that hier chambers can haue no better conueniency for diet, either at *Paris*, or in other Cities. But hee that stayes long in a Citie, may agree in a Citizens house, or an Inne for his diet and lodging by the yeere, which hee may haue at *Paris* in extraordinary sort for some one hundred fifty Crownes yeerely, and ordinarily for lesse; and at *Rone* for one hundred twenty, or one hundred Crownes, and in many Cities for eighty Crownes, and in many good Innes for sixty Crownes yeerely. Drunkenesse is reprochfull among the French, and the greater part drinke water mingled with wine, and alwaies French wines, not Sacke or Spanish wines (which are sold as Phisicke onely by Apothecaries), or

other forraigne Wines, whereof I remember not to haue seene any in the Northerne parts of *France*. Yet Marriners, Souldiers and many of the common sort vsed to drinke Perry and Syder to very drunkennes, yea, I haue seene many drink wine with like intemperance, and when these kinds of men sit at drinking, they vse much mirth and singing (in which art they take great delight), as the French in generall are by nature chearefull and liuely. Women for the most part, and virgins alwaies (except by stealth they offend against the custome) vse to drinke water, except it be in the Provinces yeelding Perry and Syder, which all sorts vse to drinke without exception. And at *Paris* I remember to haue seene a poore woman to beg a cup of water, which being giuen her, she drunke it off, and went away merily, as if she had receiued a good almes.



CHAP. III.

Of England, touching the particular subiects of the first Chapter.

England.



THE Longitude of *England* extends nine degrees and a halfe from the meridian of thirtcene degrees and a halfe to that of twenty three degrees, and the latitude extends fixe degrees from the paralell of fifty degrees and a halfe to that of fifty six degrees and a halfe. Learned *Camden* (whom I gladly follow in this description of *England*) makes the circuite of all *Britany* to be one thousand eight hundred thirty six miles. This is the most famous Iland of all the World, and is diuided into two Kingdomes, that of *England*, and that of *Scotland*. *England* is subeuided into diuers Counties or Shyres and Ilands.

1 In the description whereof I will first begin with *Cornmall*, of old inhabited by the *Danmonij*. It is for the most part a Mountanous Country, but the soyle is not unfertile, besides that the people incredibly fatten the same with laying vpon it the owes of the Sea, called Orwood, and a certaine mud. The Sea coast (as *Camden* writeth, whom I follow) is beautified with very many Townes, which haue much shipping. The inward parts abound with a rich vaine of Mettals, where wonderfull quantitie of most pure Tinne is digged vp, and not onely Tinne, but Gold and Siluer with it, and Dyamonds formed into Angles by nature it selfe, which we call Cornish Dyamonds. *Eringo* grows plentifully all along the Sea side, and with great labour of the Husbandman, they haue such aboundance of Corne, as great quantity of wheate is yeerely exported thence into *Spaine*. Also the inhabitants make great gaine by the fishing of Pilchards, which they salt and drie in the smoke, and export an huge multitude of them yeerely into *Spaine* and *Italy*. Here is the famous Mount *Michael* (of old called *Dinsol*, and by the inhabitants the Rock *Cana*.) This Rocke is somewhat high and craggy, vpon the top whereof is a Chappell, dedicated to *Michael* the Arch-Angell. The Towne *Falemouth* hath a faire Hauen, capeable of very many shippes, and most safe from stormes, where the Rockes doe fortifie two Castles, built by *Henry* the eight, and this Hauen is by *Ptolomy* called *Ostium Cenionis*.

2 *Deuonshire* likewise inhabited by the *Danmonij*, hath fairer Hauens, being no lesse rich in the vaines of Tinne, and beautified with frequent Townes. In no part of *England* the ground requireth more expence, for in many places it is barren, till it bee fatted with the Owes or sand of the Sea, which makes it wonderfully fruitfull, but in the remotest parts from the Sea, this sand is dearely bought. The Riuer *Plimus* giues the name to the Towne *Plimmouth*, of old called *Sutton*, which grew from a fishers Village to a faire Towne, by the commoditie of

of the Hauen, being most safe euen for great ships, as well in the said Riuer, as in another called *Tamera*. Not farre from thence is the place, where they fable, that *Coryneus* wrestled with *Gogmagog*; and in this Towne was borne Sir *Francis Drake* Knight, the cheefe glory of our Age for Nauigation, who for two yeeres space did with continual victories as it were besiege the Gulfe of *Mexico*, and in the yeere 1577, entring the straight of *Magellan*, compassed the World in two yeeres and tenne moneths, with many changes and hazards of Fortune. The Towne *Dorsetmouth* is much frequented with Merchants and strong shippes, for the commodity of the Hauen, fortified with two Castles. The City *Excester* called *Ifen* by *Ptolomy* and of olde called *Monketon* of the Monkes, is the cheefe City of the County, and the seate of the Bishop.

3 *Dorsetshire* was of old inhabited by the *Durotriges*. The Towne *Weymouth* hath a Castle built by *Henry* the eighth, to fortifie the Hauen. *Dorchester* is the cheefe towne of the County, but neither great nor faire.

4 *Sommersetshire* was of old inhabited by the *Netherlanders*, and is a large and rich County, happy in the fruitfull soyle, rich Pastures, multitude of Inhabitants, and commodity of Hauens. The chiefe Towne *Bridgewater* hath the name of the Bridge and the water. In the Iland *Auallon*, (so called in the Britans tongue of the Apples), which the Latins calls *Glasconia*, flourished the Monastery *Glastenbury*, of great antiquity, deriued from *Ioseph* of *Arimathia*. *Dunstan* casting out the ancient Monkes, brought thither the *Benedictines* of a later institution, and himselfe was the first Abbot ouer a great multitude of Monkes, indowed with Kingly reuenewes. In the Church yard of this Monastery, they say that the great worthy of the Britans Prince *Arthur* hath his Sepulcher. The Episcopall little City called *Wells* of the *Wells*, or Fountaines, hath a stately Bishops Pallace. The City *Bathe* is famous for the medicinall Baths, whereof three Fountaines spring in the very City, which are wholsome for bodies nummed with ill humours, but are shut vp certaine howers of the day, that no man should enter them till by their sluces they be purged of all filth. The Bishop of *Welles* buying this City of *Henry* the first, remoued his Episcopall seate thither, yet still keeping the old name of Bishop of *Welles*, and there built a new Cathedrall Church. The City *Bristowe* is compassed with a double wall, and hath so faire buildings, as well publike as priuate houses, as next to *London* and *Yorke*, it is preferred to all other Cities of *England*.

5 *Wiltshire* was also inhabited by the *Belga* or *Netherlanders*, and lies all within land, rich in all parts with pastures and corne. *Malmesbury* is a faire Towne famous for the woollen clothes. The Towne *Wilton*, of old the cheefe of this County, is now a little Village, beautified with the stately Pallace of the Earles of *Penbroke*. The City of *Salisbury* is made pleasant with waters running through the streetes, and is beautified with a stately Cathedrall Church, and the Colledge of the Deane and Prebends, hauing rich Inhabitants in so pleasant a seate, yet no way more famous then by hauing *Iohn Iewell* a late worthy Bishop borne there. Some fixe miles from *Salisbury*, is a place in the fields where huge stones are erected, whereof some are eight and twenty foote high, and seuen broade, standing in three rowes after the forme of a crowne, vpon which other stones are so laied acrosse, as it seemes a worke hanging in the Ayre; whereupon it is called *Stoneheng* vulgarly, and is reputed among Miracles, as placed there by *Merlin*, there being scarce any stone for ordinary building in the Territory adioyning.

6 *Hampshire* of old was inhabited within Land by the *Belga* or *Netherlanders*, and vpon the Sea coast by the *Regni*. *William* the Norman Conquerour, made here a Forrest for Deare, destroying Towns and holy buildings for some thirty miles compasse, which ground now well inhabited, yet seruing for the same vse, we call *New-Forest*. *Southampton* a faire little City, lies vpon the Sea. *Wintchester* of old called *Venta* of the *Belga*, was a famous City in the time of the Romans, and in these daies it is well inhabited, watered with a pleasant Brooke and pleasantly seated, and hath an olde Castle; wherein there hanges against the wall a Table of a round forme

vulgarly called Prince *Arthurs* round Table: but *Camden* thinkes it to haue been made long after his time. It hath a Cathedrall Church, and large Bishops Pallace, and a famous Colledge founded for training vp young Schollers in learning, whence many learned men haue been first sent to the Vniuersity, and so into the Church and Commonwealth. In the Towne or Fort of *Portsmouth*, lies a Garrison of souldiers, to defend those parts from the incursions of the French by Sea.

7 *Barkshire* was of old inhabited by the *Atrebatij*. *Newbery* a famous Towne enriched by wollen clothes, had his beginning of the ancient Towne *Spina*. *Windsore* is famous by the Kings Castle, neither can a Kings seate bee in a more pleasant situation, which draweth the Kings often to retire thither, and *Edward* the third kept at one time *Iohn* King of *France*, and *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, captiues in this Castle. The same *Edward* the third built here a stately Church, and dedicated it to the blessed Virgin *Mary* and to *S. George* the Capadocian, and first instituted the order of Knights, called of the Garter, as an happy omen of victory in warre (happily succeeding), who weare vnder the left knee a watchet Garter buckled, hauing this mot in the French tongue grauen in letters of gold, *Hony soit qui mal y pense*, and the ceremonies of this order hee instituted to be kept in this Church.

8 The County of *Surry* was of old inhabited by the *Regni*. *Otelands* is beautified with the Kings very faire and pleasant house, as *Richmond* is with the Kings stately Pallace.

9 The County of *Sussex*, of old inhabited by the *Regni*, hath the faire City *Chichester*, and the Hauens *Rhie*, knowne by being the most frequented passage into *France*.

10 The County of *Kent* is rich in medows Pastures & pleasant Groues, and wonder fully aboundeth with Apples and Cherries. It hath most frequent Townes, and safe Harbours for ships, and some vaines of Iron. *William* the Norman Conquerour, after the manner of the Romans, instituted a Vwarden of the fiue Ports, *Hastings*, *Douer*, *Hith*, *Rumney*, and *Sandwicke*, to which *Winchelsey* and *Rie*, the chiefe Hauens, and other Townes are ioyned as members, which haue great priuiledges, because they are tied to serue in the warres, and the Vwarden of them is alwaies one of the great Lords, who within his iurisdiction, hath in most things the authority of Admirall, and other rights. *Detford* Towne is well knowne, where the Kings ships are built and repaired, and there is a notable Armory or storehouse for the Kings Nauy. Not farre from thence vpon the shore, lie the broken ribs of the ship, in which *Sir Francis Drake* sailed round about the World, reserued for a monument of that great action. *Greenewich* is beautified with the Kings Pallace. *Eltham* another house of the Kings is not farre distant. The Towne *Grauesend* is a knowne Roade. The City *Rocheester* is the seate of a Bishop, and hath a stately Cathedrall Church. *Canterbery* is a very ancient City, the seate of an Archbishop, who in the Hierarchy of the Roman Bishop, was stiled the Popes Legate, but the Popes authority being banished out of *England*, it was decreed in a Synod held the yeere 1534, that the Archbishops laying aside that title, should be called the Primates and Metropolitanes of all *England*. Before the Rode of *Margat* lie the dangerous shelves or flats of sand, whereof the greatest is called *Goodwin* sand. *Douer* is a Port of old very commodious, but now lesse safe, onely it is more famous for the short cut to *Callis* in *France*. The Towne *Rumney* one of the fiue Portes, in our Grand-fathers time lay close vpon the Sea, but now is almost two miles distant from the same.

11 *Glocestershire* was of old inhabited by the *Dobuni*. *William* of *Malmesbury* writes, that this County is so fertile in Corne and fruites, as in some places it yeelds a hundred measures of graine for one sowed: but *Camden* affirmes this to bee false. The same Writer affirmes that the very high waies are full of Appell trees, not planted, but growing by the nature of the soyle, and that the fruits so growing, are better then others planted, both in beauty, taste, and lasting, being to be kept a whole yeere from rotting. He adds, that it yeelded in his time plenty of Vines, abounding with Grapes of a pleasant taste, so as the wines made thereof were not sharpe, but almost as pleasant

pleasant as the Fench wines, which *Camden* thinkes probable, there being many places still called Vineyards, and attributes it rather to the Inhabitants slothfulness, then to the fault of the Ayre or soyle, that it yeeldes not wine at this day. *Tewkesbury* is a large and faire Towne, hauing three Bridges ouer three Riuer, and being famous for making of woollen cloth, for excellent mustard, and a faire Monastery, in which the Earles of *Glocester* haue their Sepulchers. The City of *Glocester* is the cheefe of the County, through which the *Seuerne* runnes, and here are the famous Hills of *Cotswold*, vpon which great flockes of sheepe doe feede; yeelding most white wooll; much esteemed of all Nations. *Circester* is an ancient City, the largenesse whereof in old time appeares by the ruines of the wals. The Riuer *Onse* springeth in this County, which after yeeldes the name to the famous Riuer *Thames*, falling into it.

12 *Oxfordshire* also was inhabited by the *Dobun*, a fertile County, the plaines whereof are bewtified with meadowes and groues, the hills with woods, and not onely it abounds with corne, but with all manner of cattle, and game for hunting and hawking, and with many Riuer full of fish. *Woodstocke* Towne is famous for the Kings House and large Parke, compassed with a stone wall, which is said to haue been the first Parke in *England*, but our Progenitors were so delighted with hunting, as the Parkes are now growne infinite in number, and are thought to containe more fallow Deere, then all the Christian World besides. Histories affirme, that *Henry* the second, for his Mistris *Rosamond* of the *Cliffords* house, did build in his house here a labyrinth vnpassable by any without a threed to guide them; but no ruines thereof now remaine. The Towne it selfe hath nothing to boast, but that *Ieffry Chaucer* the English *Homer* was borne there. *Godstowe* of old a Nunnery, is not farre distant, where *Rosamond* was buried. *Oxford* is a famous Vniuersity, giuing the name to the County, and was so called of the Foorde for Oxen, or of the Foorde, and the Riuer *Onse*.

13 *Buckinghamshire* was of old inhabited by the *Cattienchiani* (which *Camden* thinks to be the *Cassii*), and it hath a large and pleasant towne called *Ailbury*, which giues the name to the Valley adioyning. The city *Buckingham* is the chiefe of the County, and the Towne of *Stonystratford* is well knowne for the faire Innes and stately Bridge of stone.

14 *Bedfordshire* had the same old inhabitants, and hath the name of *Bedford* the chiefe Towne.

15 *Hertfordshire* had the same old inhabitants, and the chiefe Towne is *Hertford*. In this County is the stately house *Thibaulds*, for building, Gardens and Walks. *Saint Albons* is a pleasant Towne, full of faire Innes.

16 *Middlesex* County was of old inhabited by the *Trinobanti*, called *Mercij* in the time of the Saxon Kings. In this County is the Kings stately pallace *Hampten-court*, hauing many Courtyards compassed with sumptuous buildings. *London*, the seate of the Britains Empire, and the Chamber of the Kings of *England*, is so famous, as it needes not bee praysed. It hath Colledges for the studie of the municipale Lawes, wherein liue many young Gentlemen Students of the same. The little citie *Westminster* of old more then a mile distant, is now by faire buildings ioyned to *London*, and is famous for the Church (wherein the Kings and Nobles haue stately Sepulchers) and for the Courts of Iustice at *Westminster* Hall, where the Parliaments are extraordinarily held, and ordinarily the Chancery & Kings Bench, with like Courts. Also it hath the Kings stately Pallace called *Whitehall*, to which is ioyned the Parke and house of *Saint Iames*. The Citie of *London* hath the sumptuous Church of *Saint Paul*, beautified with rich Sepulchers, and the *Burse* or *Exchange* a stately house built for the meeting of Merchants: a very sumptuous and wonderfull Bridge built ouer the *Thames*: rich shops of Gold-smiths in *Cheape-side*, and innumerable statelie Pallaces, whereof great part lye scattered in vnfrequented lanes.

17 *Essex* County had of old the same inhabitants, and it is a large Teritorie, yeelding

much Corne and Saffron, enriched by the Ocean; and with pleasant Riuers for fishing, with Groues, and many other pleasures: It hath a large Forrest for hunting, called *Walsham* Forrest. *Cherisford* is a large and faire Towne, neere which is *New-Hall* the stately Pallace of the *Ratcliffes* Earles or *Sussex*. *Colchester* is a faire City, pleasantly seated, well inhabited, and beautified with fiftene Churches, which greatly flourished in the time of the Romans. *Harewich* is a safe Hauen for ships. *Saffron-Walden* is a faire Towne, the fields whereof yeeld plenty of Saffron, whereof it hath part of the name.

18 The County of *Suffolke* was of old inhabited by the *Iceni*, and it is large, the soile fertile, pleasant in groues, and rich in pastures to fat Cattle, where great quantity of Cheese is made and thence exported. *Saint Edmondsberry* vulgarly called *Berry*, is a faire Towne, and so is *Ipswich*, hauing stately built Churches and houses, and a commodious Hauen.

19 The County of *Norfolke* had of old the same Inhabitants, and it is a large almost all Champion Countrey, very rich, and abounding with sheepe, and especially with Conies, fruitfull and most populous. The City *Norwich* chiefe of the County, deserues to be numbered among the chiefe Cities of *England*, for the riches, populousnesse, beauty of the Houses, and the faire building of the Churches. *Yarmouth* is a most faire Towne, fortified by nature and diligent Art, and hath a very faire Hauen. Vpon the bay which *Ptolomy* names, *Æstuarium Metaris*, vulgarly called, the *Wasbes*, lieth the large Towne of *Linne*, famous for the safety of the Hauen, most easie to be entred, for the concourse of Merchants and the faire buildings.

20 *Cambridgeshire* had of old the same Inhabitants, and consists all of open corne fields, (excepting some places yeelding Saffron), and it giues excellent Barly, of which steeped till it spring againe, they make great quantity of Mault to brew Beere, in such quantity as the Beere is much exported euen into forraigne parts, and there highly esteemed. *Cambridge* is a famous Vniuersity, seated vpon the Riuer *Grant*, by others called *Came*, of which and the Bridge over the same, it is called *Cambridge*. The Northerne part of this County consists of Ilands Greene and pleasant in Summer, but all couered with water in the Winter, whereof the cheese called *Ely*, giues the name to all the rest, called (as if they were but one Iland,) the Ile of *Ely*, the cheese Towne whereof called also *Ely*, is famous for being the seate of a Bishop.

21 *Huntingdonshire* had of old the same Inhabitants, the cheese Towne whereof is *Huntingdon*.

22 *Northamptonshire* was of old inhabited by the *Coritani*, and is a Countrey most painefully tilled and full of Inhabitants. *Northampton* is the cheese City large and walled. *Peterborow* is the seate of a Bishop. Neere *Stamford* is the stately Pallace *Burleigh*, built by *William* the first, Lord *Burleigh*.

23 *Leycestershire* had of old the same Inhabitants, a Champion Country and fruitfull in bearing Corne. In *Lutterworth* a little Towne of Trade, *John Wickliffe* was Pastor or Minister. *Leicester* the cheese City, hath more antiquitie then beauty.

24 *Rutlandshire* had of old the same Inhabitants, and is the least County of *England*, and had the name of the red Earth. The Towne of *Vppingham* deserues no other mention, then that it is the cheese Towne of the County.

25 *Linconshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and is a very large County, rich in Corne and Pastures, and abounding with Fowle and Fish, and all things necessary for foode. The great *wasbes* of *Holland* when the Sea flowes are couered with water, but when it ebbes, the ground is discovered to be passed, but not without danger, and with a good guide. *Lincolne* the chief City, was of old one of the most populous Cities of *England*, and one that had greatest trade, and hath a sumptuous Cathedral Church.

26 *Nottinghamshire* had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe City wherof is *Nottingham* pleasantly seated. In the Western part is the Wood called *Shirewood*, feeding infinit numbers of Fallow and Red Deare, whether the Kings of old were wont to retire for hunting.

27 *Darbyshire* had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe towne whereof is *Darby*, faire

faire and well inhabited, the Ayle whereof is for goodnesse prouerbially preferred before that kind of drinke in any other Towne. The Westerne part hath high Mountaines, called *Peake*, yeelding Leade, which they make into Sowes, and *stibium* in his proper vaines is there found. Likewise there Mil-stones are cut out, and there is the old Castle, called the Castle in the *Peake*, neare which is a great hole or caue in the Mountaine gaping wide, and hauing many inward caues, and this hole (with reuerence be it spoken) is vulgarly called, *The Diuels ars at Penke*, of which many fables are told, and the place is accounted among the miracles of *England*. The like fables are told of *Eden* hole not farre distant, very steepe and deepe.

28 *Warwickshire* was of old inhabited by the *Cornauij*; wherein is *Couentry* a large, faire and walled Citie, so called of the Couent of Monkes, and at this day it is the fairest City within-land, wherof the chiefe trade of old was making round caps of wooll, but the same being now very little vsed, the trade is decayed. *Warwick* is the chiefe City of the County, and neare the same vpon the hill *Blacklow*, *Peter of Gaueston* was beheaded by the Lords of the Kingdome. Not farre thence is a transparant and pleasant, but little Wood, and there be cleare Fountaines, which place yeelds sweete solitude for the Muses, and there they report, that the famous worthy *Guy of Warwick* after many aduentures atchieued, did first liue an Heremites life, and was after death buried.

29 *Worcestershire* had of old the same inhabitants, which after in the time of *Beda* were called *Wiccij*, either of *wic*, signifying a corner or bay, or of *wyches*, signifying salt-pits in the Saxons tongue. And there are excellent salt-pits or Brookes, and new fountaines of salt are daily found. The Country is happy in the healthfull ayre, fertility of soile, and sweete Riuers, but especially yeeldeth abundance of Peares, of which they make Perry a counterfeit wine, but cold and flatuious, as all those kinds of drinke are. *Worcester* the chiefe City of the County was built by the Romans, and is compassed with a wall, and hath the seate of a Bishop, and a faire Cathedrall Church, with the Monuments of *Iohn King of England*, and *Arthur Prince of Wales*. It is also beautified with many inhabitants, rich trade of wollen cloth, faire buildings, and the number of Churches.

30 *Staffordshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and towards the South it hath pit-coales, and some vaines of Iron (but the greatest quantitie and best kind of pit-coales is in *Nottinghamshire*.) *Stone* is a Towne of Traffike. *Lichfeild* is a large and faire City, so called, as the field of dead bodies, and it is beautified with the seate of a Bishop, his Pallace, and the house of the Prebends. My selfe passing that way, did reade these Epitaphes in the Cathedrall Church. The first of a Deane;

*Sis testis Christe, quod non iacet hic lapis iste
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.*

O Christ me witnesse beare, that this stone lies not here,
To grace the vile body, but the soules memorie.

And another excellent Epitaph but superstitious and I know not whose.

*Quisquis eris, qui transferis, sta per lege, plora,
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me precor ora.*

Who ere thou be, that passest by, stand, reade, and houle,
Such shalt thou be, I was like thee, pray for my soule.

Yet I remember not well, whether these were two Epitaphes, or onely one and for one man.

31 *Shropshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and was a fortified and manned frontier against the Welsh then diuided from the English and their enemies, and thereupon was named the Marches. *Ludlow* is a Towne of more beauty then antiquity, beautified with the Pallace of the King (or rather of the Prince of *Wales*), and there is a Counsell or Court of Iustice erected for *Wales* & the borders, not vnlike to the French Parliaments, and instituted by *Henry* the eight. It consists of the President of *Wales* there residing, of a Secretary, an Attourney, a Solicitor, and foure Iustices of the Counties of *Wales*, and as many Counsellors as the King shall please to appoint. In *Hack-*

slow Forrest, at the hill *Stiperstons*, are great heapes of stones, which the vulgar sort dreame to haue been the diuels bridge. *Wrocketer* of old the chiefe Citie built by the Romans; is now a pretty village, and from the decay thereof grew the well knowne Citie *Shrewesburie*, now the chiefe Citie, fortified by art and nature, rich by making wollen cloth, and trading with the neighbouring Welchmen, where *Henry Percy* the younger with his forces, was ouerthrowne by *Henry* the fourth.

32 *Cheshire* is a great County of Gentlemen, no other County hauing so many Knights houses. *Westchester* is a faire Citie, where the twentieth Legion called *victrix* lay in Garilon, in the time of *Vespasian* the Roman Emperor. Most white Salt is made at *Nantwich*, and lesse white made at *Middlewich* and *Norwich*. It is rich in Pastures, and sends great quantitie of cheeles to *London*. I know tl at *Worcester* cheeles are most esteemed, but there is not such quantitie to transport them. I know that *Suffolke* and the Fennes of *Essex* yeeld huge cheeles in great number to bee exported, but they are not so pleasing to the taste as these. I know that in all the Counties, some quantity of very good cheeles is made for priuate mens vses, but not in proportion to bee exported. Whereas *Cheshire* yeelds great quantity of very good cheeles, comparable to those of *Holland*, seruing the greatest part of *London* therewith, and extorting the same into other parts. When the heyres males of this COUNTRY failed, *Henry* the third added this large patrimony to the Crowne, so as the Kings eldest sonne should be Earle of *Cheshire*. And *Richard* the second, of a County made it a Principality, and himselfe was called Prince of *Cheshire*: but *Henry* the fourth reduced it againe to a Countie Palatine, and at this day it hath Palatine iurisdiction, administred by a Chamberlaine, a speciall Iudge, two Exchequer Barons, three Sericants at Law, a Sheriffe, an Atturney, an Elcheator, &c.

33 *Herefordshire* was of old inhabited by the *Silures*, and it so much aboundeth with all things necessarie for the life of man, as it is not content in that respect to haue the second place among all the Counties of *England*. *Hereford* is the chiefe Citie thereof. *Lemster* iustly boasteth of the Sheepes wooll feeding in those grounds, with which no part of *Europe* can compare, excepting *Apulia* and *Tarentum*. It yeelds excellent Flax, and so good Wheate, as the bread of *Lemster*, and drinke of *Weabley* (a neighbour Towne) are prouerbiably praised before all others.

The shires
of Wales.

34 *Radnoxshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and is the first County of *Wales*, whereof *Radnox* is the chiefe Towne.

35 *Breconshire* the second County of *Wales*, had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne, seated in the middest thereof, where *Henry* the eight instituted a Collegiate Church.

36 *Monmouthshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and is so called of the chiefe Towne, no way so glorious, as in that *Henry* the fifth Conquerer of *France* was borne there. It hath also another faire Towne called *Chepstow*.

37 *Glamorganshire* the fourth County of *Wales*, had of old the same inhabitants, and the chiefe Citie *Caerdyffe* hath a commodious Hauen.

38 *Caermardenshire* the fifth County of *Wales*, was of old inhabited by the *Dimetæ*, and is fruitfull in Corne, abounds in Sheepe, and in some places yeelds Pit-coale. It hath the name of the chiefe Citie, where *Merlin* was borne, begotten by an Incubus Deuill, whom the common people tooke for a most famous Prophet.

39 *Pembrookeshire* the sixth County of *Wales*, had of old the same inhabitants. Here a long neck of land makes an Hauen, called *Milford* haued, then which *Europe* hath not a more noble Hauen, or more safe, or more large, with many creekes and safe roades, made more famous by the landing of *H.* the seuenth *Pembrook* is the chiefe Towne of the County. The Flemming hauing their Townes drowned by the Sea, had a Territorie of this County given them to inhabit by *Henry* the first, before *Wales* was subdued, and they euer remained most faithfull to the Kings of *England*.

40 *Kardiganshire* the seuenth County of *Wales*, and had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe City.

41 *Montgo-*

41 *Montgomeryshire* the eight County of *Wales*, was of old inhabited by the *Ordovices*, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne.

42 *Merionethshire* the ninth County of *Wales*, had of old the same Inhabitants, where vpon the mountaines great flockes of sheepe feede, without any danger of the wolfe: for the wolues were destroyed through all *England*, when *Edgar* King of *England* imposed the yecrely tribute of three hundredth wolues vpon *Ludwall* Prince of *Wales*. The little and poore towne *Bala*, is the cheefe of this Mountenous people.

43 *Caernarvonshire* the tenth County of *Wales*, had of old the same Inhabitants, and was called *Snodenforest*, before *Wales* was reduced into Counties, so called of the mountaines, whose tops are alwaies white with snow, deseruing to be named the Alps of *Britany*; and it is certaine that there be lakes and standing waters vpon the tops of those Mountaines. The walled City *Caernarvon* cheefe of the County, hath a most faire Castle, built by *Edward* the first, wherein his sonne *Edward* the second was borne, and named thereof. *Bangor* (that is, faire Chancell) is the seate of a Bishop: *Aberconway* deserues the name of a strong and faire little City, rather then of a Towne, saue that it is not full of Inhabitants.

44 *Denbighshire* the eleuenth County of *Wales*, had of old the same Inhabitants, and hath the name of the cheefe Towne, well inhabited. The little Village *Momglath* had the name of the mines of lead, which that pleasant territory yeelds. Not far thence is the Towne *Wrexham*, bewtified with a most faire Tower, called the *Holy Tower*, and commended for the muscicall Organes in the Church.

45 The little County *Flinshire* the twelfth of *Wales*, had of old the same Inhabitants, the fields whereof the first yeere after they haue line fallow, yeeld more then twenty measures for one, in some places of Barly, in other places of Wheate, and generally of Rie, and after for foure or fise yeeres, yeeld Oates. *Holmwell* (named of the sacred Fountaine) is a little Towne, where is the Fountaine of *Winefrede* a Christian Virgin, who being defloured by force, there was killed by the Tyrant, and this Fountaine is farre and greatly famous for the Mosse there growing of a most pleasant smell. A faire Chappell of Free stone is built vpon the very Fountaine, and a little streame runnes out of it among stones, vpon which a certaine bloody humour growes. The Castle *Flint* gaue the name to the County.

46 I will omit *Anglesey* the thirteenth County of *Wales*, because it is to be described among the Ilands.

47 *Yorkeshire* is the farre largest County of all *England*, and was of old inhabited by the *Brigantes*. In the Forrest called *Hatfield Chase*, are great Heards of red Deare and Harts. The Townes of *Sheffield* and *Dancaster* are well knowne, but of all other *Hallifax* is most famous, for the Priuiledges and the rare Law, by which any one found in open theft, is without delay beheaded, and boasteth that *Iohn de sacrobosco* (of the Holy Wood) who writ of the Sphere, was borne there. *Wakefield* is a famous Towne for making Woollen cloth. *Pontfreit* named of the broken bridge, is a towne fairely built, and hath a Castle as statly built as any can be named. Neere the little Village *Towton* are the very *Pharsalian* fields of *England*, which did neuer see in any other place so great Forces, and so many Nobles in Armes, as here, in the yeere 1461, when in the ciuill warres, the faction of *Yorke* in one battell killed fise and thirty thousand of the *Lancastrian* faction. Neere the Castle *Knarshorow*, is the Fountaine called *Droppingwell*, because the waters distill by drops from the rockes, into which any wood being cast, it hath been obserued, that in short space it is couered with a stony rinde, and hardens to a stone. *Rippen* had a most flourishing Monastery, where was the most famous neede of the Archbishop *Wilfred*. It was a narrow hole, by which the chastity of women was tried, the chaste easily passing through it, but others being detained and held fast, I know not by what miracle or art. Neare the little towne *Burrobridge*, is a place, where stand foure Pyramides, the Trophees of the Romans, but of rude workmanship. *Yorke* the chiefe Citie of the *Brigantes*, is the second of all *England*, and the seate of an Archbishop. The Emperour *Constantius Chlorus* died there, and there begat his sonne *Constantine* the great of his first wife *Helena*, whereof may be gathe-

gathered, how much this seate of the Emperours flourished in those daies. By a Pall (or Archbishops cloake) sent from Pope *Honorius*, it was made a Metropolitan Citie ouer twelue Bishops in *England*, and al the Bishops of *Scotland*, but some five hundred yeeres past, all *Scotland* fell from this Metropolitan seate, and it selfe hath so deuoured the next Bishoprickes, as now it onely hath primacy ouer foure English Bishops, of *Durham*, of *Chester*, of *Carlisle*, and the Bishop of the Ile of man. *Henry* the eight did here institute a Councell (as he did also in *Wales*) not vnlike the Parliaments of *France*, to giue arbitrary iustice to the Northerne inhabitants, consisting of a President, Counsellors, as many as the King shall please to appoint, a Secretary, &c. *Hull* a well knowne Citie of trade, lyes vpon the Riuer *Humber*, where they make great gaine of the *Iseland* fish, called Stockfish. Vpon the very tongue, called *Spurnhead* of the Promontory, which *Ptolomy*, calles *Ocellum*, vulgarly called *Holderness*, is a place famous by the landing of *Henry* the fourth. *Scarborough* is a famous Castle, where in the sea is great fishing of Herrings.

48 *Richmondshire* had of old the same inhabitants, and the Mountaines plentifully yeeld leade, pit-coales, and some brasse, vpon the tops whereof stones are found, which haue the figures of shellfishes and other fishes of the neighboring sea. Neare the Brookes *Helbecks* (as infernal), are great heards of Goates, Fallow and Red-Deare, and Harts (notable for their greatnesse, and the spreading of their hornes.) *Richmond* is the chiefe Citie of the County.

49 The Bishoprick of *Durham* had of old the same inhabitants, and the land is very gratefull to the plower, striving to passe his labour in fruitfulnessse. It is pleasant in Meadowes, Pastures and groues, and yeelds great plenty of digged Coales, called Sea-coales. The Bishops were of old Counts Palatine, and had their royall rightes, so as Traytors goods fell to them, not to the Kings. *Edward* the first tooke away these priuiledges, and *Edward* the sixth dissolued the Bishopricke, till *Queene Mary* restored all to the Church, which it inioies to this day, but the Bishop in *Queene Elizabeths* time, challenging the goods of the Earle of *Westmerland* rebelling, the Parliament interposed the authority therof, and for the time iudged those goods to be confiscated towards the *Queenes* charge in subduing those Rebels. *Durham* is the chiefe City of that County.

50 *Lancashire* had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the title of a Palatinate. *Manchester* an old towne, faire and wel inhabited, rich in the trade of making woollen cloth, is beautified by the Market-place, the Church, and Colledge, and the clothes called *Manchester Cottons* are vulgarly knowne. Vpon the Sea-coast they power water vpon heapes of sand, till it get saltnesse, and then by seething it, make white Salt. There be some quicksands, wherein footemen are in danger to be wrecked, especially at the mouth of *Cocarnus*. *Lancaster* the chiefe Towne hath the name of the Riuer *Lone*. The Dukes of this County, obtained the Crowne of *England*, and *Henrie* the seuenth Duke of *Lancaster*, vnited this Dutchy to the Crowne, instituting a Court of Officers to administer the same, namely, a Chauncelor of the Dutchy, an Attorney, a Receiuer, a Clarke of the Court, sixe Assistants, a Pursuiuant, two Auditors, twenty three Receiuers, and three ouerseers.

51 *Westmerland* had of old the same inhabitants, and *Kendale* the chiefe Towne well inhabited, is famous for making of woollen cloth.

52 *Cumberland* had of old the same inhabitants, and hath mines of Brasse and vaines of siluer, in all parts yeelding blacke leade vsed to draw black lines. *Carlisle* a very ancient City is the seate of a Bishop. In this County still appeare the ruines of a wall, which the Romans built to keepe out the Pictes from making incursions, being so poore as they cared not to subdue them. And the Emperike Surgeons (that is, of experience without learning), of *Scotland* come yeerely to those fields of the borders, to gather hearbs, good to heale wounds, and planted there by the bordering souldiers of the Romans, the vertue of which herbs they wonderfully extoll.

53 *Northumberland* was of old inhabited by the *Ottadini*, and the inhabitants of our time, now exercising themselves in warre against the Scots, now resisting their incursions

curfions vpon these borders, are very warlike and excellent light Horsemen. In very many places this County yeelds great quantity of Sea coales. *Newcastle* is a faire and rich City, well fortified against the incurfions of the bordering Scots, whence abundance of Sea coales is transported into many parts. *Barwicke* is the last and best fortified Towne of all *Britany*, in which a Garrison of Souldiers was maintained against the incurfions of the Scots, till the happy Raigne of *James* King of *England* and *Scotland*.

To describe breefly the Ilands of *England*. In the narrow Sea into which the *Seuerne* falls, are two little Ilands 1 *Fatholme*, and 2 *Stepholme*, and the 3 Iland *Barry*, which gaue the name to the Lord *Barry* in *Ireland*. There is also the 4 Iland *Caldey*, and that of 5 *Londay* much more large, hauing a little Towne of the same name, and belonging to *Deuonshire*.

On the side vpon *Pembrookeshire*, are the Ilands 6 *Gresholme*, 7 *Stockholme*, and 8 *Scalmei*, yeelding grasse and wild thime. Then Northward followes 9 *Lymen*, called *Ramsesey* by the English, and Saint *Dauids* Ilands, right ouer against the seate of the Bishop of Saint *Dauy*. Next is the 10 Iland called *Enhly* by the Welsh Britans, and *Berdsey* (as the Ile of Birds) by the English, wherein they report that twenty thousand Saints lie buried.

Next lies 11 *Mona*, (that is the shadowed or dusky Iland) which after many yeeres being conquered by the English, was by them called *Anglesey*, (as the Iland of the English). It is a most noble Iland, the old seate of the *Druides* (Priests so called of old), and so fruitfull, as it is vulgarly called the Mother of *Wales*, the cheefe Towne whereof is *Beaumarish*. Neere that lies 12 *Prestholme*, (that is, the Priests Iland), whereof the Inhabitants and Neighbours make incredible reports for the multitude of Sea Fowle there breeding.

Next followes 13 *Mona* or *Monoeda*, (as the farther *Mona*), which we call the Ile of *Man*, the Inhabitants whereof are like the Irish in language and manners, but haue something of the *Norway* men. It yeeldes abundantly Flaxe and Hempe, hath pleasant Pastures and Groues, and is fruitfull of Barly, Wheate, and especially of Oates, the people feeding on Oaten bread, in all parts are multitudes of Cattle, but it wants wood, and for fier vseth a kind of Turffe. *Russia* which of the Castle we call *Castletowne*, is the cheefe Towne, and hath a Garrison of Souldiers; but *Duglas* is the most frequented and best inhabited Towne, because it hath an excellent Hauen easie to be entered. In the Western part *Bala-cari* is the seate of the Bishop vnder the primacy of the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and there is the Fort called the *Pyle*, wherein a garrison of Souldiers is kept. Vpon the Southerne Promontory lies a little Iland, called the *Calfe of Man*, which aboundeth with Sea Birds, called Puffins, and a kind of Duckes engendered of rotten wood, which the English call *Barnacles*. In generall the Inhabitants haue their proper Tongue and Lawes, and had their proper Coyne. They abhorre from stealing, and from begging, and are wonderfully religious generally, and most readily conforming themselues at this day to the Church of *England*, and the people in the Northerne part speake like Scots, and in the Southerne part like Irish. *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, subdued the Northerne people, and subiected them to the Crowne of *England*, yet with many changes of Fortune, this Iland long had their owne Kings, euen since the *Normans* conquered *England*, and since the time that *John* King of *England* passing into *Ireland*, by the way subdued this Iland about the yeere 1210, till the Kingdome came to the Scots in the yeere 1266. After that time, *Mary* the daughter of *Reginald* the last, laid claime to the Iland before the King of *England*, as supreme Lord of *Scotland*, and when shee could not preuaile, *William Montague* her Kinsman tooke the Iland of *Man* by force, which his Heire sold for a great summe of money in the yeere 1393, to *William Scroope*, who being beheaded for Treason, the Iland fell by right to *Henry* the fourth King of *England*, who assigned the same to *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, with prouiso that he and his Heires at the coronation of the Kings of *England*, should carry the Sword, (vulgarly called *Lantaber Sword*) before the King, but the same *Persey* being also killed in ciuill warre, the

King

King gaue that Iland to *Stanlye*, from whom discend the Earles of *Darby*, who kept the same, till *Ferdinand* Earle of *Darby* dying without heire male, and the Earledome falling to his Brother, but this Iland to his Daughters, as Heires generall, Queene *Elizabeth* thinking it vnfit that Women should bee set ouer her Souldiers there in garrison, gaue the keeping thereof to *Sir Thomas Gerrard*. But King *James* the foureteenth of *August* in the fifth yeere of his Raigne, granted by Letters Pattents this Iland with all things thereunto appertaining, to *Henry* Earle of *Northampton*, and *Robert* Earle of *Salisbury*, their Heires and Assignes for euer, they vpon doing homage for the same, presenting his Maiesty with two Falcons, and his Heires and Successours at their Coronation in like sort with two Falcons. And howsoeuer no vse or intent of this grant be mentioned in these Letters Pattents, yet no doubt the grant was made to the vse of those vpon whose humble petition to his Maiesty the Letters Pattents were granted, as therein is expressely declared, namely of *William* Lord *Stanly*, Earle of *Darby*, heire male to *John* Lord *Stanly*, and of *Elizabeth* Countesse of *Huntington*, *Anne* wife to the Lord *Chandois*, and *Francis* wife to *Sir John Egerton* Knight, being the Heires generall of the said *John* Lord *Stanly*.

The famous Riuer *Thames* falls into the German Ocean ouer against *Zeland*, and before it falls into the same, makes the (14) Iland *Cannuey* vpon the Coast of *Essex*, so low as it is often ouerflowed, all but some higher hills, to which the sheepe retire, being some foure thousand in number, the flesh whereof is of delicate taste, and they are milked by young men. Neere that is the (15) Iland *Sheppey*, so called of the sheepe, wherein is *Quinborough* a most faire Castle kept by a Constable. Without the mouth of *Thames*, lie the shelves or sands dangerous to Sea men, which of the greatest, are all called *Goodwin sands*, where they say an Iland the patrimony of the same Earle *Goodwin* was deuoured by the Sea in the yeere 1097.

In the *Britan* Sea lies the (16) Ile of *Wight*, hauing in the Sea most plentiful fishing, and the Land being so fruitfull, as they export Corne, besides that in all parts it hath plenty of Conies, Hares, Partridges, and Feasanes, and hath also two Parkes of Fallow Deare. Also the sheepe feeding there vpon the pleasant hills, yeeld wool in goodnesse next to the Fleeces of *Lemster* and *Cotswold* Flockes. It hath fixe and thirty Townes and Castles, and the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction thereof belongs to the Bishop of *Wintchester*. Towards the West lie other Ilands pretended to be French, but subiect to *England*, namely, (17) *Gerzey* (whither condemned men were of old banished) & (18) *Garnsey*, neither so great nor so fruitful, but hauing a more commodious Hauē, vpon which lies the Towne of *Saint Peter*: both Ilands burne a weede of the Sea, or Sea coales brought out of *England*, and both speake the French Language. I omit the seuen Iles called *Siada*, and others adioyning, and will onely adde that the Ilands lie neere *Cornewall*, which the Greekes called *Hesperides*, the English call *Silly*, and the Netherlanders call *Sorlings*, being in number some 145 more or lesse, whereof some yeeld Wheate, all abound with Conies, Cranes, Swannes, Hirnshawes, and other Sea Birdes. The greatest of them is called *Saint Mary*, and hath a Castle wherein Souldiers lie in Garrison, committed in our time to the keeping of *Sir Francis Godolphin*, and after to his sonne *Sir William Godolphin*, being of a noble Family in *Cornewall*. Also many of the said Ilands haue vaines of Tynne, and from hence was Leade first carried into *Greece*, and the Roman Emperours banished condemned men hither, to worke in the Mines of mettall.

The situation.

The ayre of *England* is temperate, but thicke, cloudy and misty, and *Cesar* witnesseth, that the cold is not so piercing in *England* as in *France*. For the Sunne draweth vp the vapours of the Sea which compasseth the Iland, and distills them vpon the earth in frequent showers of raine, so that frosts are somewhat rare; and howsoeuer Snow may often fall in the Wintertime, yet in the Southerne parts (especially) it seldom lies long on the ground. Also the coole blasts of Sea winds, mitigate the heat of Summer.

The fertility and traffick.

By reason of this temper, Lawrell and Rosemary flourish all Winter, especially in the Southerne parts, and in Summer time *England* yeelds *Abricots* plentifully, Muske melons

melons in good quantity, and Figges in some places, all which ripen well, and happily imitate the taste and goodnesse of the same fruites in *Italy*. And by the same reason all beasts bring forth their young in the open fields, even in the time of Winter; and *England* hath such abundance of Apples, Peares, Cherries, and Plummes, such variety of them, and so good in all respects, as no countrie yeelds more or better, for which the Italians would gladly exchange their Citrons and Oranges. But vpon the Sea coast, the winds many times blast the fruites in the very flower.

The English are so naturally inclined to pleasure, as there is no Countrie, wherein the Gentlemen and Lords haue so many and large Parkes onely reserued for the pleasure of hunting, or where all sorts of men allot so much ground about their houses for pleasure of Gardens and Orchards. The very Grapes, especially towards the South and West are of a pleasant taste, and I haue said, that in some Counties, as in *Glostershire*, they made Wine of old, which no doubt many parts would yeeld at this day, but that the inhabitants forbear to plant Vines, as well because they are serued plentifully, and at a good rate with French wines, as for that the hilles most fit to beare Grapes, yeeld more commoditie by feeding of Sheepe and Cattell. *Cesar* writes in his Commentaries, that *Britany* yeelds white Leade within land, and Iron vpon the Sea-coasts. No doubt *England* hath vnexhaustible vaines of both, and also of Tinne, and yeelds great quantitie of Brasse, and of Allom and Iron, and abounds with quarries of Free-stone, and Fountaines of most pure Salt; and I formerly said that it yeelds some quantity of Siluer, and that the Tinne and Leade is mingled with Siluer, but so, as it doth not largely quit the cost of the labour in seperating or trying it. Two Cities yeeld medicinall Baths, namely, *Buxstone* and *Bathe*, and the waters of *Bathe* especially, haue great vertue in many diseases. *England* abounds with Sea-coales vpon the Sea-coast, and with Pit-coales within land. But the Woods at this day are rather frequent and pleasant then vast, being exhausted for fier, and with Iron-milles, so as the quantity of wood and charcoale for fier, is much deminished, in respect of the old abundance, and in some places, as in the Fennes they burne Turffe, and the very dung of Cowes. Yet in the meantime *England* exports great quantity of Seacoale to forraigne parts. In like sort *England* hath infinite quantity, as of Mettalls, so of Wooll, and of Woollen cloathes to be exported. The English Beere is famous in *Netherland* and lower *Germany*, which is made of Barley and Hops; for *England* yeelds plenty of Hops, wou soeuer they also vse Flemish Hops. The Cities of lower *Germany* vpon the sea, forbid the publike selling of English Beere, to satisfie their owne brewers, yet privately swallow it like Nectar. But in *Netherland*, great and incredible quantity thereof is spent. *England* abounds with corne, which they may transport, when a quarter (in some places containing sixe, in others eight bushels) is sold for twenty shillings, or vnder; and this corne not onely serues *England*, but also serued the English Army in the ciuil warres of *Ireland*, at which time they also exported great quantity thereof into forraigne parts, and by Gods mercy *England* scarce once in ten yeeres needes supply of forraigne Corne, which want commonly proceeds of the couetousnesse of private men, exporting or hiding it. Yet I must confesse, that daily this plenty of Corne decreaseth, by reason that private men finding greater commoditie in feeding of Sheepe and Cattell, then in the Plough, requiring the hands of many seruants, can by no Law be restrained from turning corne fields into inclosed Pastures, especially since great men are the first to breake these Lawes. *England* abounds with all kinds of foule, as well of the Sea, as of the land, and hath more tame Swannes swimming in the Rivers, then I did see in any other part. It hath multitudes of hurtfull birds, as Crowes, Rauens, and Kytes, and they labor not to destroy the Crowes, consuming great quantity of Corne, because they feede on wormes and other things hurting the Corne. And in great Cities it is forbidden to kill Kytes or Rauens, because they deuoure the filth of the streetes. *England* hath very great plenty of Sea and Riuer fish, especiallie aboue all other parts abundance of Oysters, Makrell, and Herrings, and the English are very industrious in fishing, though nothing comparable to the Flemmings therein.

The English export into *Italy* great quantity of red Herrings, with gaine of two or three for one, (not to speake in this place of other commodities which they export with great gaine), and in this fishing they are very industrious, as well in the Sea vpon the coasts, as in the Northerne Ilands. To conclude, they export in great quantity all kinds of salted fishes, and those dried in the smoke and pickled, as Pilchards, Poore John, Cauiale, Botargo, and the like, which they sell in *Italy*, and those parts at a deare rate. *England* abounds with pulse of all kinds, and yeelds great quantitie of Saffron and of Flax, whereof they haue also great quantitie frō *Dantzke*, whence also they haue like plentie of Pitch, and of Firre trees for Masts of ships, which two things if *England* wanted not, I durst say that this Iland (or part of an Iland) abounds with all things necessary for honest clothing, large and dainty feeding, and for warre by land and sea. As for warre, it hath not onely the aforesaid mettalls, but also great quantity of Saltpeter. Besides the famous Broad cloth, it yeelds for clothing many Stuffles, whereof great quantitie is also exported. And I will not omit, that howsoeuer it hath silke from forraigne parts, yet the English silke stockings are much to bee preferred before those of *Italy*, *Spaine*, or any part in the World.

England abounds in Cattell of all kinds, and particularly hath very great Oxen, the flesh whereof is so tender, as no meate is more desired. The Cowes are also great with large vdders, yeelding plenty of Whitmeates, no part in the World yeelding greater variety, nor better of that kind. And the hides of Oxen are (contrary to the common good) exported in great quantity by vniustifiable licenses, though strictly forbidden by many Statutes. The flesh of Hogges and Swine is more saoury, then in any other parts, excepting the bacon of *Westphalia*, and of the Southerne Ilands, where they commonly feede on Rootes and Chelnuts. The goodnesse of the Sheepe may be coniectured by the excellency of the wooll, and wollen clothes, which Sheepe are subiect to rotting, when they feede on low wet grounds, excepting the Marshes ouerflowed by the sea, which for the saltnesse are held very wholesome for them, and these rots often destroy whole flocks, for they seldome drinke, but are moistned by the dewes falling in the night. And the feeding of Sheepe, vpon like accident of diseases, often vndoes the owner in his estate, but more commonly preserved from that ill, they enrich many, so as it is prouerbially said, He whose Sheepe stand, and wiues die (the husbands gaining their dowries) must needs be rich.

The Kings Forrests haue innumerable heards of Red Deare, and all parts haue such plenty of Fallow Deare, as euery Gentleman of five hundred or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a Parke for them inclosed with pales of wood for two or three miles compasse. Yet this prodigallage hath so forced Gentlemen to improue their reuenues, as many of these grounds are by them disparked, and conuerted to feede Cattell. Lastly (without offence be it spoken) I will boldly say, that *England* (yea perhaps one County thereof) hath more fallow Deare, then all *Europe* that I haue seene. No Kingdome in the World hath so many Dore-houses.

I formerly said, that the Wolves were altogether destroyed in *England* and *Wales*, so as the Sheepe feede freely in the fields and Mountaines. *England* hath much more Dogges as well for the severall kinds, as the number of each kind, then any other Territorie of like compasse in the World, not onely little Dogges for beauty, but hunting and water-Dogges, whereof the bloud-Hounds and some other haue admirable qualities. It hath infinite number of Conies, whereof the skinnies (especially black and siluer haired) are much prized, and in great quantity transported, especially into *Turkey*. The Nagges and Gueldings are singular for the Gentle ambling pace, and for strength to performe great iournies. So are the hunting Horses of exceeding swiftness, much esteemed in forraigne parts, especially in *France* and *Scotland*, and of both kinds the number is infinite. The great Horses for seruice, and to draw Coaches and carts, are of like number and goodnes, and one kinde for seruice, called the Corser (as bred of the Neapolitan Corsers and English Mares) yeelds not for brauery of race to the Neapolitan Corsers, or Spanish Gennets. I said that they are all strong, and the horses for iornies in defatigable, for the English, especially Northerne men, ride from day
break

breake to the evening without drawing bit, neither sparing their hories nor the helues, whence is the Prouerb, that *England* is the Hell of Horses, the Purgatory of Seruants, and the Paradise of Women; because they ride Horses without measure, and vse their Seruants imperiously, and their Women obsequiously.

The Gentlemen disdain trafficke, thinking it to abase Gentry: but in *Italy* with grauer counsell, the very Princes disdain not to be Merchants by the great, and hardly leaue the retailing commodity to men of inferiour sort. And by this course they preserue the dignity and patrimony of their progenitors, suffering not the sinew of the Commonwealth, vpon any pretence to be wrested out of their hands. On the contrary, the English and French, perhaps thinking it vniust, to leaue the common sort no meanes to be enriched by their industry, and iudging it equall; that Gentlemen should liue of their reuenues, Citizens by trafficke, and the common sort by the Plough and manuell Artes, as diuers members of one body, doe in this course daily sell their patrimonies, and the buyers (excepting Lawyers) are for the most part Citizens and vulgar men. And the daily feeling of this mischiefe, makes the error apparant, whether it be the prodigality of the Gentry (greater then in any other Nation or age), or their too charitable regard to the inferiour sort, or rashnesse or slothfulnesse, which cause them to neglect and despise traffick, which in some Commonwealths, and namely in *England* passeth all other commodities, and is the very sinew of the Kingdome. I haue at large related in this booke treating of *Poland*, the English trafficke in the *Baltick* Sea, and treating of *Germany*, their trafficke with the *Hans* Cities, and so treating of other seuerall States, the English traffick with each of them, so as it were lost labour to repeate it againe. Onely for *Spaine*, whereof I had no cause to speake touching their trafficke with *England*, I will adde, that the English carry into *Spaine* Wollen clothes, Saffron, Wax and Corne, and bring from thence Oyle, Fruits, Sacks and sweet wines, Indian spices with Gold and Siluer.

And in generall I wil obserue, that *England* abounds with rich commodities of their owne, and exports them with their own ships, from very *Iseland* and *Moscouye* to both the *Indies*, and at this day buy not so much of the Turkes as they were wont, but by long Nauigation fetch Spices and like commodities from the farthest East *Indies*. So as the shipping of *England* must needs be very great in number and strength. But of *Englands* Nauall glory, I must speake at large in the discourse of that Commonwealth. In the meane time I freely professe, that in my opinion the English Marriners are more daring then any other Nation, in stormes of winds, raging of Seas, and thundering of Ordinance in Nauall fights. And if any stranger take me of too much boasting in this point, I desire him to consider of *Martin Furbushers* attempts in the frozen Sea, of Sir *Francis Drakes*, and Sir *Thomas Canaishes* dangerous Nauigations round about the world; and if these things shal not moue him, the worst I wish him is, that in person he may experience their courage and art in a fight vpon equall termes.

Cesar in the fourth Chapter and fifth booke of his Commentaries, writes thus of *Their* the Britans dyet. It is vnlawfull for them to taste Hares, Geese, or Hennes, yet they *dyet* keepe them all for their pleasure, and the inward parts sow no Corne, but liue vpon milke and flesh. At this day the English inhabitants eate almost no flesh more commonly then Hennes, and for Geese they eate them in two seasons, when they are fattened vpon the stubble, after Haruest, and when they are greene about Whitsontide, at which time they are held for dainties; and howsoeuer Hares are thought to nourish melancoly; yet they are eaten as Venison, both roasted and boyled. They haue also great plenty of Connies, the flesh whereof is fat, tender, and much more delicate then any I haue eaten in other parts, so as they are in *England* preferred before Hares, at which the Germans wonder, who hauing no Venison (the Princes keeping it proper to themselves, and the hunting of Hares being proper to the Gentlemen in most parts); they esteeme Hares as Venison, and seldom eate Connies, being there somewhat rare, and more like roasted Cats then the English Connies.

The English Husbandmen eate Barley and Rye browne bread, and preferre it to white bread as abiding longer in the stomach, and not so soone digested with their la-

bour, but Citizens and Gentlemen eate most pure white bread, *England* yelding (as I haue said) all kinds of Corne in plenty. I haue formerly said, that the English haue abundance of Whitmeates, of all kindes of Flesh, Fowle and Fish, and of all things good for foode, and in the discourse of the French dyet, I haue shewed, that the English haue some proper dainties, not knowne in other parts, which I will in a word re- peate. The Oysters of *England* were of old carried as farre as *Rome*, being more plenti- full and saurie, then in any other part. *England* hath abundance of Godwits, and many Sea-fowles, which be rare, or altogether vnknowne elsewhere. In the seasons of the yere the English eate Fallow deare plentifully, as Bucks in Summer, and Does in Winter, which they bake in Pasties, and this Venison Pasty is a dainty, rarely found in any other Kingdome. Likewise Brawne is a proper meate to the English, and not knowne to others. They haue strange variety of Whitmeates, and likewise of preler- ued banquetting stuffe, in which Preserues *France* onely may compare with them. It is needelesse to reapeate the rest, and I should bee tedious, if I should searh particularly like dainties, which the English haue only, or in greater abundance thē other Nations. In generall, the Art of Cookery is much esteemed in *England*, neither doe any sooner finde a Master, then men of that profession, and howsoeuer they are most esteemed, which for all kinds are most exquisite in that Art; yet the English Cookes, in com- parison with other Nations, are most commended for roasted meates.

As abundance of all things makes them cheape, so riches (preferring a gluttonous appetite before Gold), and the prodigalitie of Gentlemen (who haue this singular fol- ly, to offer more then things are worth, as if it were a point of dignity to pay more then others), and lastly the great moneys of siluer, and the not hauing small coynes or brasse monies to pay for small matters, these things (I say) in this great plenty make vs poore, and greatly increasē the prices of all things. Also the said abundance, and the riches vulgarly increased, and the old custome of the English, make our tables plentifully furnished, whereupon other Nations esteeme vs gluttons and deuourers of flesh, yet the English tables are not furnished with many dishes, all for one mans di- et, but seuerally for many mens appetite, and not onely prepared for the family, but for strangers and reliefe of the poore. I confesse, that in such plenty and variety of meates, euerie man cannot vse moderation, nor vnderstandeth that these seuerall meates are not for one man, but for seuerall appetites, that each may take what hee likes. And I confesse, that the English custome, first to serue grosse meates, on which hunger spares not to feede, and then to serue dainties, which inuite to eate without hunger, as likewise the longe sitting and discoursing at tables, which makes men vnawares eate more, then the Italians can doe at their solitary tables, these things (I say) giue vs iust cause to cry with *Socrates*, God deliuer mee from meates, that inuite to eate beyond hunger. But the Italian *Sanseuino* is much de- ceiued, writing, that in generall the English eate and couer the table at least foure times in the day; for howsoeuer those that iourney, and some sickly men stay- ing at home, may perhaps take a small breakfast, yet in generall the English eate but two meales (of dinner and supper) each day, and I could neuer see him that vseth to eate foure times in the day. And I will professe for my selfe and other Englishmen, passing through *Italy* so famous for temperance, that wee often ob- serued, that howsoeuer wee might haue a Pullet and some flesh prepared for vs, eating it with a moderate proportion of bread, the Italians at the same time, with a Charger full of hearbs for a sallet, and with rootes, and like meates of small price, would each of them eate two or three penny-worth of bread. And since all fulnesse is ill, and that of bread worst, I thinke wee were more temperate in our dyet, though eating more flesh, then they eating so much more bread then wee did. It is true that the English prepare largely for ordinarie dyet for them- selues and their friendes comming by chance, and at feastes for inuited friendes are so excessiue in the number of dishes, as the table is not thought well fur- nished, except they stand one vpon another. Neither vse they to set drinke on the Table, for which no roome is left, but the Cuppes and Glasses are ser- ued

ued in vpon a fide Table, drinke being offered to none, till they call for it. That the old English Hospitality was (I will boldly say) a meere vice, I haue formerly shewed in the discourse of the Italian diet, which let him reade, who shall thinke this as dissimulant from truth, as it is from the vulgar opinion.

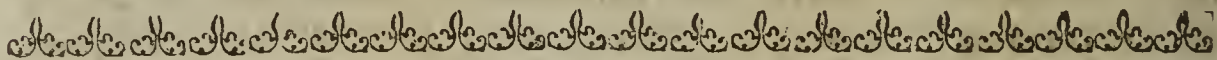
If any stranger desire to abide long in a City or Vniuersity, he may haue his Table with some Citizen of the better sort, at a conuenient rate, according to his quality, from ten pound to twenty pound yeerely.

I haue heard some Germans complaine of the English Innes, by the high way, as well for dearenesse, as for that they had onely roasted meates: But these Germans landing at *Grauesend*, perhaps were iniured by those knaues, that flocke thither onely to deceiue strangers, and vse Englishmen no better, and after went from thence to *London*, and were there entertained by some ordinary Hosts of strangers, returning home little acquainted with English customes. But if these strangers had knowne the English tongue, or had had an honest guide in their iournies, and had knowne to liue at *Rome* after the Roman fashion, (which they seldome doe, vsing rather Dutch Innes and companions), surely they should haue found, that the World affords not such Innes as *England* hath, either for good and cheape entertainment after the Guests owne pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers, yea, even in very poore Villages, where if *Curculio* of *Plautus*, should see the thatched houses, he would fall into a fainting of his spirits, but if he should smell the variety of meates, his starueling looke would be much cheared: For as soone as a passenger comes to an Inne, the seruants run to him, and one takes his Horse and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him, and giues him meate, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the Master or his Seruant, to ouersee them. Another seruant giues the passenger his priuate chamber, and kindles his fier, the third puls of his bootes, and makes them cleane. Then the Host or Hostesse visits him, and if he will eate with the Host, or at a common Table with others, his meale will cost him sixe pence, or in some places but foure pence, (yet this course is lesse honourable, and not vsed by Gentlemen): but if he will eate in his chamber, he commands what meate he will according to his appetite, and as much as he thinkes fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchen is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at Table, the Host or Hostesse will accompany him, or if they haue many Guests, will at least visit him, taking it for curtesie to be bid sit downe: while he eates, if he haue company especially, he shall be offred musicke, which he may freely take or refuse, and if he be solitary, the Musicians will giue him the good day with musicke in the morning. It is the custome and no way disgracefull to set vp part of supper for his breakfast: In the euening or in the morning after breakfast, (for the common sort vse not to dine, but ride from breakfast to supper time, yet comming early to the Inne for better resting of their Horses) he shall haue a reckoning in writing, and if it seeme vnreasonable, the Host will satisfie him, either for the due price; or by abating part, especially if the seruant deceiue him any way, which one of experience will soone find. Hauiug formerly spoken of ordinary expences by the high way, as well in the particular iournall of the first Part, as in a Chapter of this Part purposely treating thereof, I will now onely adde that a Gentleman and his Man shall spend as much, as if he were accompanied with another Gentleman and his Man, and if Gentlemen will in such sort ioyne together, to eate at one Table, the expences will be much deminished. Lastly, a Man cannot more freely command at home in his owne House, then hee may doe in his Inne, and at parting if he giue some few pence to the Chamberlin & Ostler, they wish him a happy iourney.

England hath three publike Feasts of great expence and pompous solemnity, namely the coronation of the Kings, the Feast of *S. George*, as well vpon his day yeerely, as at all times when any Knight of the Order is installed, and the third when Seriants at the Law are called. The Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, vpon the day when he is sworne & enters his Office, keeps a solempne Feast with publike shewes of great magnificence, besides that hee and the Sheriffes of the Citie, daily keepe well fur-

nished Tables, to entertaine any Gentleman or stranger that will come to them, to the great honour of the City, in this particular passing all other Cities of the World knowne to vs.

For the point of drinking, the English at a Feast will drinke two or three healths in remembrance of speciall friends, or respected honourable persons, and in our time some Gentlemen and Commanders from the warres of *Netherland* brought in the custome of the Germans large garaussing, but this custome is in our time also in good measure left. Likewise in some priuate Gentlemens houses, and with some Captaines and Souldiers, and with the vulgar sort of Citizens and Artisans, large and intemperate drinking is vsed; but in generall the greater and better part of the English, hold all excesse blameworthy, and drunkenesse a reprochfull vice. Clownes and vulgar men onely vse large drinking of Beere or Ale, how much soeuer it is esteemed excellent drinke euen among strangers, but Gentlemen garrawse onely in Wine, with which many mixe sugar, which I neuer obserued in any other place or Kingdome, to be vsed for that puroose. And because the taste of the English is thus delighted with sweetnesse, the Wines in Tauernes, (for I speake not of Merchants or Gentlemens Cellars) are commonly mixed at the filling thereof, to make them pleasant. And the same delight in sweetnesse hath made the vse of Corands of *Corinth* so frequent in all places, and with all persons in *England*, as the very Greekes that sell them, wonder what we doe with such great quantities thereof, and know not how we should spend them, except we vse them for dying, or to feede Hogges.



CHAP. IIII.

Of Scotland touching the Subiects contained in the first Chapter.

Scot-
land.



THE Longitude of *Scotland* extends five degrees from the Meridian of sixteene degrees to that of one and twenty degrees, and the Latitude extends foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty six degrees and a halfe, to that of sixty degrees and a halfe. In the Geographical description wherof, I wil briefly follow the very words of *Camden* (as neere as I can), being an Authour without exception.

1 The *Gadeni* of *Scotland* were of old next neighbours to the *Ottadini* of *Northumberland* in *England*, and inhabited the Countrey now called *Teyfdale*, wherein is nothing memorable but the Monastery of *Mailros*. 2 In *Merch*, (so called as a bordering Countrey) the Castle *Hume* is the old possession of the Lords of *Hume*, neere which is *Kelfo* the ancient dwelling of the Earles of *Bothwell*, which were long by inheritance Admirals of *Scotland*, and the *Merch* is mentioned in Histories for nothrng more, then the valour of the said Earles. 3 *Laudania* of old called *Pictland*, shooteth out from *Merch* towards the Scottish narrow Sea, called the *Frith*, and is full of mountaines, but hath few woods. In this Countrey are these little Cities or Townes, *Dunbarre*, *Haddington*, and *Musleborrow*, places wherein hath beene seene the warlike vertue of the English and Scots. Somewhat lower and neere to the foresaid *Frith*, lies *Edenborough*, which *Ptolomy* cals *Castrum Alatum*, a rich City of old compassed with wals, and the seate of the Kings, whose Palace is at the East end in a vally, ouer which hangs a mountaine, called the *Chaire of Arthur* (our Britan Prince), and from this Pallace is an easie ascent to the West end, where the length of the City ends in a steepe rocke, vpon which is built a most strong Castle, called the *Maidens Castle*, the same which *Ptolomy* cals *Alatum*. This City was long vnder the English Saxons, and about the yeere 960, (*England* being inuaded by the *Danes*) it became subiect to the Scots. *Leth* is a mile distant, and is a most commodious Hauen, vpon the narrow Scottish Gulfe, vulgarly called *Edenborough Frith*.

1 Towards

4 Towards the West lay the *Selgoue* vpon another Gulfe, running betwene *England* and *Scotland*, vulgarly called *Solway Frith*, of the said *Selgoue*, inhabiting the Countries called *Eskedale*, *Annandale*, and *Niddisdale* (in which is the little Towne *Dunfrise*.)

5 Next lay the *Nouantes* in the Valleys, where *Galloway* and *Whitterne* (which Citie *Ptolomy* calles *Leucopibia*) are seated.

6 In the little Countrie *Caricta* hauing good pastures, is the little Towne *Gergeny*, which *Ptolomy* calles *Rerigonium*.

7 More inward lay the *Damnij*, where now *Sterling*, *Merteth* and *Claidisdale* are seated. Here the Riuer *Cluyde* runnes by *Hamelton* (the seate of the *Hameltons* Family of English race, of which the third Earle of *Arran* liueth in our dayes) and after by *Glasgow* (the seat of an Archbishop, and a little Vniuersitie.) Here is the Territory called *Lennox*, whereof the *Stewards* haue long time been Earles, of which Family the late Kings of *Scotland* are discended, and namely *James* the sixth, who raised this Earledom to a Dukedome, giuing that title to the Lord d' *Aubigny*, and these *Daubignij* seruing in the French and Neapolitane warres, were honoured by the Kings of *France*, with addition of Buckles Or in a field *Guenles*, to their ancient coate of Armes, with this inscription *Distantia Iango* (that is, Distant things I ioyne.) *Sterling*, or *Striuelyn* lyes not farre off, a little Citie of the Kings, hauing a most strong Castle vpon the brow of a steepe rocke.

8 Next these towards the North lay the *Caledonij*, somewhat more barbarous, then the rest (as commonly they are more rude towards the North), where not onely the aire is cold, but the Country wast and mountanous. And here was the *Caledonian* Wood, so knowne to the Roman Writers, as it was by them taken for all *Britany*, and the Woods thereof. At this day this Region is called by the Scots *Allibawne*, and by the Latines *Albania*, and contains the Bishoprick *Dankeledon*, and the Territory *Argile* (so called as neere the Irish), of which the *Cambellan* Family hath the title of Earles of *Argile*, who are the generall Iustices of *Scotland* by right of inheritance, and Great Masters of the Kings Household.

9 Towards the West lay the *Epidij*, inhabiting a wast and Fenny Country, now called *Cantire* (that is, a corner of land), and next lies *Afsinshire*.

10 Next lay the *Creones*, which Region is now ealled *Strathuacern*.

11 Next lay the *Cornouace*, at the Promontory *Hey*.

12 On the East-side of the *Caledonians* lay the *Vernicones*, in the fruitfull little Region called *Fife*, where is the Towne of Saint *Andrew*, Metropolitan of all *Scotland*.

13 The little Region *Athol* is fertile, of which the *Stuarts* of the Family of *Lorne* haue the title of Earles. Here is *Strathbolgy* the seate of the Earles of *Huntly*, of the Family of the *Seatons*, who tooke the name of *Gordan* by the authority of a Parliament.

14 Next lyes *Goury*, hauing fruitfull fields of Wheate, whereof *John* Lord *Retbucn* was of late made Earle: but *Arrell* in this Region, hath long giuen the title of Earle to the Family of *Hayes*.

15 vnder *Fife* lyes *Angush*, where is *Scone*, famous for the Kings consecration. *Montrose* hath his Earles of the Family of the *Grahames*: but the *Douglasses* Earles of *Angush*, of an honorable Family, were made *Gouernours* by *Robert* the third of this Region; and these Earles are esteemed the chiefe and principall Earles of all *Scotland*, and it is said, that they haue right to carry the Kings Crowne at the solemne assemblies of the Kingdome.

16.17 Next lye the two Regions of *Marnia* and *Marria* vpon the sea, where is *Dunetyre*, the chiefe seate of the Family of the *Keythes*, who by warlike vertue haue deserved to be the Marshalls of the Kingdome, and *Aberdene* (that is the mouth of the *Dene*) is a famous Vniuersity. And Queene *Mary* created *John Ereskin* Earle of *Marre*, who lately was the Regent of *Scotland*, and is by inheritance *Sheriffe* of the County of *Sterling*.

18 Next lay the *Taizali*, where now *Bugshan* is seated.

19 Then towards *Murrey Frith*, the *Vicomagi* of old inhabited *Rosse murray* and *Nesseland*. 20 More innerly is the Gulfe *Vararis*, right ouer against the Towne *nuerneffe*.

21 The *Canta* possessed the corner of land shooting towards the Sea, where is the most safe Hauen *Cromer*. 22.23 Yet more inwardly where *Bean*, *Rosse*, and *Southerland* are seated, the *Lugi* and *Merta* of old inhabited. Thus farre *Edward* the first King of *England* subdued all with his victorious Army, hauing beaten the Scots on all sides. In *Southerland* are Mountaines of white Marble, (a very miracle in this cold clyme), but of no vse, the excesse and magnificence in building hauing not yet reached into these remote parts. 24 Further neare *Catnesse* the *Catni* of old inhabited, the Earles of which Country, are of the ancient and Noble Families of the *Sint-cleres*. 25 *Urdehead* is thought the remotest Promontory of all *Britany*, where the *Cornaby* of old inhabited.

The Islands. 26 I will in one word mention the Islands. In the Gulfe *Glotta*, or *Eunbritten Frith*, lyes the Iland *Glotta*, called *Arran* by the Scots, giuing the title to an Earle. Next that lyes *Rothessa*, now called *Enihe*, whence are the *Stewards* Kings of Scots, as they say. Then *Hellan* the Iland of the *Sayntes*. Without the foresaid Gulfe, many Islands lye thicke together, vulgarly called the *Westerne Islands*, and numbred forty foure, being of old called by some *Hebrides*, by others *Inchades*, and *Leucades*, and by many (as *Ptolomy*) *Ebude*. Ina one of these Islands haue a Monastery, famous for the buriall of the Kings of *Scotland*, and for the habitation of many holy men, among which was *Columbus*, the Apostle of the *Picts*, of whose Cell the Iland was also named *Columkill*. The Scots bought all these Islands of the Norwegians, as a great strength to the Kingdom, though yeelding very little profit; the old inhabitants (whether Scots, or Irish) being of desperate daring, and impatient of being subiect to any lawes. Neare these lye the *Orcades* (vulgarly *Orkney*), about thirty in number, yeelding competent quantity of Barley, but no Wheate or trees. The chiefe whereof is *Pomonia*, well knowne by the Episcopall seate, and yeelding both Tynne and Leade. These *Orcades* Islands were subiect to the Danes, and the inhabitants speake the Gothes language, but *Christiern* King of the Danes sold his right to the King of *Scotland*. Five dayes and nights sayle from the *Orcades*, is the Iland *Thule*, so often mentioned by Poets to expresse the furthest corner of the World, whereupon *Virgill* saith; *Tibi seruiet ultima Thule*: that is, The furthest *Thule* shall thee serue. Many haue thought, that *Iceland* was this *Thule*, condemned to cold ayre and perpetuall Winter: but *Camden* thinkes rather, that *Schotland* is *Thule*, which the Marriners now call *Thilen* (all, being subiect to the King of *Scotland*). In the German Sea, towards the coast of *Britany*, are few Islands, saue onely in *Edenburg Frith*, where these are found, *May*, *Basse*, *Keth*, and *Inche colme* (that is, the Iland of *Columbus*.)

The situation *Scotland* reaching so farre into the North, must needs be subiect to excessiue cold, yet the same is in some sort mitigated by the thicknesse of the cloudy aire and sea vapours. And as in the Northerne parts of *England*, they haue small pleasantnes, goodnesse or abundance of Fruites and Flowers, so in *Scotland* they haue much lesse, or none at all. And I remember, that comming to *Barwick* in the moneth of May, wee had great stormes, and felt great cold, when for two moneths before, the pleasant Spring had smiled on vs at *London*.

The fertility On the West side of *Scotland* are many Woodes, Mountaines and Lakes. On the East side towards the Sea, I passed *Fife*, a pleasant little Territory of open fields, without inclosures, fruitfull in Corne (as bee all the partes neare *Barwick*, saue that they yeeld little wheate, and much Barley and Oates), and all a plaine Country, but it had no Woodes at all, onely the Gentlemens dwellings were shaddowed with some little Groues, pleasant to the view. *Scotland* abounds with Fish, and hath plenty of all Cattell, yet not so bigge as ours, and their Horses are full of spirit, and patient of labour, but very little, so as the Scots then would giue any price for one of our English Gueldings, which notwithstanding in *Queene Elizabeths* time might not vpon great penalty be sold vnto them.

They

The Navy or shipping of *Scotland*, was of small strength in the memory of our Age, neither were their Marriners of greet experience, but to make them more diligent Merchants, their Kings had formerly laid small or no impositions or customes on them: And while the English had warre with the Spaniards, the Scots as neutrals by carrying of English commodities into *Spaine*, and by hauing their ships for more security laden by English Merchants, grew somewhat richer and more experienced in Nauigation, and had better and stronger shippes then in former time. And surely since the Scots are very daring, I cannot see why their Marriners should not bee bold and couragious, howsoeuer they haue not hitherto made any long voyages, rather for want of riches, then for slothfulnesse or want of courage. The Inhabitants of the Westerne parts of *Scotland*, carry into *Ireland* and Neighbouring places, red and pickled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquauitæ, with like commodities, and bring out of *Ireland* Yarne and Cowes hides or Siluer. The Easterne Scots, carry into *France* course cloathes, both linnen and woollen, which be narrow and shrinke in the wetting. They also carry thether Wooll, Skinnes of Goates, Weathers, and of Conies, and diuers kindes of Fishes, taken in the Scottish Sea, and neere other Northerne Ilands, and after smoked, or otherwise dried and salted. And they bring from thence Salt and Wines: but the cheefe trafficke of the Scots is in foure places, namely at *Campfire* in *Zeland*, whether they carry Salt, the skinnes of Weathers, Otters, Badgers, and Martens, and bring from thence Corne. And at *Burdeaux* in *France*, whether they carry cloathes, and the same skinnes, and bring from thence Wines, Prunes, Walnuts, and Chessnuts. Thirdly, within the Balticke Sea, whether they carry the said Clothes and Skinnes, and bring thence Flaxe, Hempe, Iron, Pitch and Tarre. And lastly in *England*, whether they carry Linnen cloathes, Yarne, and Salt, and bring thence Wheate, Oates, Beanes, and like things. The trafficke

The Scots haue no Staple in any forraigne City, but trade in *France* vpon the League of the Nations, and in *Denmarke* haue priuiledges by the affinity of the Kings, and flocke in great numbers into *Poland*, abounding in all things for foode, and yeelding many commodities. And in these Kingdomes they liued at this time in great multitudes, rather for the potterty of their owne Kingdome, then for any great trafficke they exercised there, dealing rather for small fardels, then for great quantities of rich wares.

Touching their diet: They eate much red Colewort and Cabbage, but little fresh meate, vsing to salt their Mutton and Geese, which made me more wonder, that they vsed to eate Beefe without salting. The Gentlemen reckon their reuenewes, not by rents of monie, but by chauldrons of victuals, and keepe many people in their Families, yet liuing most on Corne and Rootes, not spending any great quantity of flesh. The diet

My self was at a Knights house, who had many seruants to attend him, that brought in his meate with their heads couered with blew caps, the Table being more then halfe furnished with great platters of porredge, each hauing a little peece of sodden meate; And when the Table was serued, the seruants did sit downe with vs, but the vpper messe in steede of porredge, had a Pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I obserued no Art of Cookery, or furniture of Household stufte, but rather rude neglect of both, though my selfe and my companion, sent from the Gouvernour of *Barwicke* about bordering affaires, were entertained after their best manner. The Scots liuing then in factions, vsed to keepe many followers, and so consumed their reuenew of victuals, liuing in some want of money. They vulgarly eate harth Cakes of Oates, but in Cities haue also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by Courtiers, Gentlemen, and the best sort of Citizens. When I liued at *Barwicke*, the Scots weekly vpon the market day, obtained leaue in writing of the Gouvernour, to buy Pease and Beanes, whereof, as also of Wheate, their Merchants at this day send great quantity from *London* into *Scotland*.

They drinke pure Wines, not with sugar as the English, yet at Feasts they put Comfits

Comfits in the Wine, after the French manner, but they had not our Vintners fraud to mixe their Wines. I did neuer see nor heare that they haue any publike Innes with signes hanging out, but the better sort of Citizens brew Ale, their vsuall drinke (which will distemper a strangers bodie); and the same Citizens will entertaine passengers vpon acquaintance or entreaty. Their bedsteads were then like Cubbards in the wall, with doores to be opened and shut at pleasure, so as we climbed vp to our beds. They vsed but one sheete, open at the sides and top, but close at the feet; and so doubled. Passengers did seeke a stable for their Horses in some other place, and did there buy horse-meat, and if perhaps the same house yeelded a stable, yet the payment for the Horse did not make them haue beds free as in *England*. I omit to speake of the Innes and expences therein; hauing delated the same in the Itinerary of the first Part, and a Chapter in this Part, expressly treating thereof. When passengers goe to bed, their custome was to present them with a sleeping cuppe of wine at parting. The Country people and Merchants vsed to drinke largely; the Gentlemen some-what more sparingly, yet the very Courtiers, at Feasts, by night meetings, and entertaining any stranger, vsed to drinke healths not without excesse, and (to speake truth without offence), the excesse of drinking was then farre greater in generall among the Scots then the English. My selfe being at the Court inuited by some Gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to feare this excesse, would not promise to sup with them, but vpon condition that my Inuiter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to inuoke, being curteously entertained, and much prouoked to garaussing, and so for that time auoided any great intemperance. Remembring this, and hauing since obserued in my conuersation at the English Court with the Scots of the better sort, that they spend great part of the night in drinking, not onely wine, but euen beere, as my selfe will not accuse them of great intemperance, so I cannot altogether free them from the imputation of excesse, wherewith the popular voice chargeth them.

CHAP. V.

Of Ireland, touching the particular subjects of the first Chapter.

Ireland.



THE Longitude of *Ireland* extends foure degrees from the Meridian of eleuen degrees and a halfe, to that of fiftene and a halfe, and the Latitude extends also foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty foure degrees to that of fifty eight degrees. In the Geographicall description I will follow *Camden* as formerly.

This famous Iland in the Virginian Sea, is by olde Writers called *Ierna*, *Inuerna*, and *Iris*, by the old Inhabitants *Eryn*, by the old Britans *Iuerdhen*, by the English at this day *Ireland*, and by the Irish Bardes at this day *Banno*, in which sence of the Irish word, *Auicen* calls it the holy Iland, besides *Plutarch* of old called it *Ogigia*, and after him *Isidore* named it *Scotia*. This *Ireland* according to the Inhabitants, is deuided into two parts, the wild Irish, and the English Irish, liuing in the English Pale: but of the old Kingdomes five in number, it is deuided into five parts.

The first is by the Irish called *Mowne*, by the English *Mounster*, and is subdeuided into sixe Counties, of *Kerry*, of *Limricke*, of *Corcke*, of *Tipperary*, of the *Holy Crosse*, and of *Waterford*, to which the seuenth County of *Desmond* is now added. The *Gangani* a Scithean people comming into *Spaine*, and from thence into *Ireland*, inhabited the County of *Kerry*, full of woody mountaines, in which the Earles of *Desmond* had the dignity of Palatines, hauing their House in *Trailes*, a little Towne now almost uninhabited: Not farre thence lies Saint *Mary Wic*, vulgarly called *Smerwicke*, where the Lord *Arthur Gray*, being Lord Deputy, happily ouerthrew the aiding troops

troopes sent to the Earle of *Desmond* from the Pope, and the King of *Spaine*. On the South side of *Kerry* lies the County of *Desmond*, of old inhabited by three kinds of people, the *Luceni* (being Spaniards), the *Velabri* (so called of their seate vpon the Sea waters or Marshes), and the *Iberni*, called the vpper Irish, inhabiting about *Beerehaven* & *Baltimore*, two Hauens well known by the plentiful fishing of Herrings, and the late inuasion of the Spaniards in the yeere 1601. Next to these is the County of *Mac Carti More*, of Irish race, whom as enemy to the *Fitz-geralds* Queene *Elizabeth* made Earle of *Glencar* in the yeere 1566. For of the *Fitz-Geralds* of the Family of the Earles of *Kildare*, the Earles of *Desmond* descended, who being by birth English, and created Earles by King *Edward* the third, became hatefull Rebels in our time. The third County hath the name of the City *Corke*, consisting almost all of one long streete, but well knowne and frequented, which is so compassed with rebellious neighbours, as they of old not daring to marry their Daughters to them, the custome grew and continues to this day, that by mutuall marriages one with another, all the Citizens are of kinne in some degree of Affinity. Not farre thence is *Yoghall*, hauing a safe Hauen, neere which the Vicounts of *Barry* of English race are seated. In the fourth County of *Tipperary*, nothing is memorable, but that it is a Palatinate. The little Towne *Hally-Crosse*, in the County of the same name, hath many great priuiledges. The sixth County hath the name of the City *Limerike*, the seate of a Bishop, wherein is a strong Castle built by King *John*. Not farre thence is *Awne* the seate of a Bishop, and the lower *Ossery*, giuing the title of an Earle to the *Butlers*, and the Towne *Thurles*, giuing them also the title of Vicount. And there is *Cassiles*, now a poore City, but the seate of an Archbishoppe. The seventh County hath the name of the City *Waterford*, which the Irish call *Portlargo*, of the commodious Hauen, a rich and well inhabited City, esteemed the second to *Dublyn*. And because the Inhabitants long faithfully helped the English in subduing *Ireland*, our Kings gaue them excessiue priuiledges, but they rashly failing in their obedience, at King *James* his comming to the Crowne, could not in long time obtaine the confirmation of their old Charter.

2 *Lemster* the second part of *Ireland* is fertile, and yeelds plenty of Corne, and hath a most temperate mild Aire, being deuided into ten Counties, of *Catterlogh*, *Kilkenny*, *Wexford*, *Dublyn*, *Kildare*, the *Kings* County, the *Queenes* County, the Counties of *Longford*, of *Fernes* and of *Wickle*. The *Cariondi* of old inhabited *Catterlogh* (or *Carloo*) County, and they also inhabited great part of *Kilkenny*, of vpper *Ossery* and of *Ormond*, which haue nothing memorable, but the Earles of *Ormond*, of the great Family of the *Butlers*, inferiour to no Earle in *Ireland*, (not to speake of *Fitz-patric* Baron of vpper *Ossery*.) It is rediculous, which some Irish (who will be beleued as men of credit) report of Men in these parts yeerely turned into Volues, except the abundance of melancholy humour, transports them to imagine that they are so transformed. *Kilkenny* giuing name to the second County, is a pleasant Towne, the chiefe of the Townes, within Land, memorable for the ciuility of the Inhabitants, for the Husbandmens labour, and the pleasant Orchards. I passe over the walled Towne *Thomastowne*, and the ancient City *Rheban*, now a poore Village with a Castle, yet of old giuing the title of Barroner. I passe over the Village and strong Castle of *Leighlin*, with the Countrey adioyning, vsurped by the Sept of the *Cauanaghs*, now surnamed *Omores*. Also *Lomit Rosse*, of old a large City, at this day of no moment. The third County of *Wexford*, (called by the Irish County *Reogh*) was of old inhabited by the *Menappij*, where at the Towne called *Banni*, the English made their first discent into *Ireland*, and vpon that Coast are very dangerous flats in the Sea, which they vulgarly call *Grounds*. The City *Weshford*, *Weifford*, or *Wexford*, is the cheefe of the County, not great, but deseruing praise for their faithfulness towards the English, and frequently inhabited by Men of English race. The *Cauci* (a Seabor-dering Nation of *Germany*), and the *Menappij* aforesaid, of old inhabited the territories now possessed by the *Omores* and *Obirns*. Also they inhabited the fourth County of *Kildare* a fruitfull soyle, hauing the cheefe Towne of the same name, great-ly honoured in the infancie of the Church by *Saint Briget*. King *Edward*
the

the second, created the *Giralds* Earles of *Kildare*. The *Eblani* of old inhabited the territory of *Dublin* the fifth County, hauing a fertile soyle and rich pastures, but wanting wood, so as they burne Turffe, or Seacoale brought out of *England*. The City *Dublin* called *Diuelin* by the English, and *Balacleigh* (as seated vpon hurdles) by the Irish, is the cheefe City of the Kingdome and seate of Iustice, fairely built, frequently inhabited, and adorned with a strong Castle, fiftene Churches, an Episcopall seate, and a faire Colledge, (an happy foundation of an Vniuersity laid in our Age), and indowed with many priuiledges, but the Hauen is barred and made lesse commodious by those hills of sands. The adioyning Promontory *Hoth-head*, giues the title of a Barron to the Family of *Saint Laurence*: And towards the North lies *Fengall*, a little Territory, as it were the Garner of the Kingdome, which is enuironed by the Sea and great Ri- uers, and this situation hath defended it from the incursion of Rebels in former ciuill warres. I omit the Kings and Queenes Counties, (namely *Ophaly* and *Leax*) inhabited by the *Oconnors* and *Omores*, as likewise the Counties of *Longford*, *Fernes*, and *Wick- lo*, as lesse affoording memorable things.

3 The third part of *Ireland* is *Midia* or *Media*, called by the English *Methe*, in our Fathers memory deuided into *Eastmeath* and *Westmeath*. In *Eastmeath* is *Droghe- da*, vulgarly called *Tredagh*, a faire and well inhabited Towne. *Trym* is a little Towne vpon the confines of *Ulster*, hauing a stately Castle, but now much ruinated, and it is more notable for being the ancient (as it were) Barrony of the *Lacies*. *Westmeath* hath the Towne *Deluin*, giuing the title of Baron to the English Family of the *Nugents*, and *Westmeath* is also inhabited by many great Irish Septs, as the *Omaddeus*, the *Magogh- gan*, *Omalaghens*, and *Mac Coghans*, which seeme barbarous names. *Shamon* is a great Riuer, in a long course making many and great lakes (as the large Lake or *Lough Re- gith*), and yeeldes plentiful fishing, as doe the frequent Riuer and all the Seas of *Ire- land*. Vpyn this Riuer lies the Towne *Athlon*, hauing a very faire Bridge of stone, (the worke of Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy) and a strong faire Castle.

4 *Connaght* is the fourth part of *Ireland*, a fruitfull Prouince, but hauing many Boggs and thicke Woods, and it is diuided into fixe Countyes, of *Clare*, of *Leirim*, of *Galloway*, of *Roscomen*, of *Maio*, and of *Sligo*. The County of *Clare* or *Thowmond* hath his Earles of *Thowmond*, of the Family of the *Obrenes* the old Kings of *Connaght*, and *Team* is the seate of an Archbishop, onely part but the greatest of this County was called *Clare* of *Phomas Clare* Earle of *Glocester*. The adioyning Territory *Clan Ri- chard* (the land of *Richards* sonnes) hath his Earles called *Clanricard* of the land, but be- ing of the English Family *de Burgo*, vulgarly *Burck*, and both these Eatles were first created by *Henry* the eight. In the same Territory is the Barony *Atterith*, belonging to the Barons of the English Family *Bermingham*, of old very warlike: but their posteritie haue degenerated to the Irish barbarisme. The city *Galway* giuing name to the Coun- ty, lying vpon the Sea, is frequently inhabited with ciuill people, and fairely built. The Northern part of *Connaght* is inhabited by these Irish Septs, *O Conor*, *O Rorke*, and *Mac Diarmod*. Vpon the Westerne coast lyes the Iland *Arran*, famous for the fabulous long life of the inhabitants.

5 *Ulster* the fifth part of *Ireland* is a large Prouince, woody, fenny, in some parts fer- tile, in other parts barren, but in al parts Greene and pleasant to behold, and exceeding- ly stoared with Cattell. The next part to the Pale, and to *England*, is diuided into three Countyes, *Lowth*, *Down*, and *Antrimme*, the rest containes seuen Counties, *Monaghan*, *Tyrone*, *Armach*, *Colrane*, *Donergall*, *Fermanagh*, and *Canon*. *Lowth* is inhabited by Eng- lish-Irish, (*Down* and *Antrimme* being contained vnder the same name), and the Bar- rons thereof be of the *Berminghams* family, and remaine louing to the English. *Monag- han* was inhabited by the English family *Fitzurs*, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called *Mac Mahon*, that is, the sonnes of Beares. I forbear to speake of *Tyrone*, and the Earle thereof, infam- ous for his Rebellion, which I haue at large handled in the second part of this work. *Armach* is the seate of an Archbishop, and the Metropolitan City of the whole Iland, but in time of the Rebellion was altogether ruinated. The other Countyes haue not

many

many memorable things, therefore it shall suffice to speake of them briefly. The neck of land called *Lecale*, is a pleasant little territory, fertile, and abounding with fish, and all things for food, and therein is *Downe*, at this time a ruined Towne, but the seate of a Bilhop, and famous for the buriall of *S. Patrick*, *S. Bridget*, and *S. Columb*. The Towne of *Carickfergus* is well knowne by the safe Hauen. The River *Bann* running through the Lake *Euagh* into the Sea, is famous for the fishing of Salmon, the water being most cleare, wherein the Salmon much delight. The great Families (or Septs) of *Ulster*, are thus named, *O Neale*, *O Donnell*, (whereof the chiefe was lately created Earle of *Tirconnell*) *O Buil*, *Mac Guyre*, *O Cane*, *O Dogharty*, *Mac Mahown*, *Mac Gennis*, *Mac Scerleigh*, &c. The Lake *Ern*, compassed with thicke Woods, hath such plenty of fish, as the fishermen feare the breaking of their nets, rather then want of fish. Towards the North in the midst of vast woods (and as I thinke) in the County *Donergall* is a lake, and therein an Island, in which is a Caue, famous for the apparition of spirits, which the inhabitants call *Ellanuisfrugadory*, that is, The Island of Purgatory, and they call it Saint *Patricks* Purgatory, fabling that hee obtained of God by prayer, that the Irish seeing the paines of the damned, might more carefully auoide sinne.

The land of *Ireland* is yneuen, mountanous, soft, watry, woody, and open to windes and flouds of raine, and so fenny, as it hath Bogges vpon the very tops of Mountaines, not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to passe, and such Bogs are frequent ouer all *Ireland*. Our Marriners obserue the sayling into *Ireland* to be more dangerous, not onely because many tides meeting, makes the sea apt to swell vpon any storme, but especially because they euer find the coast of *Ireland* couered with mists, whereas the coast of *England* is commonly cleare, and to be seene farre off. The ayre of *Ireland* is vnapt to ripen feedes, yet (as *Mela* witneseth) the earth is luxurions in yeelding taire and sweete hearbs. *Ireland* is little troubled with thunders, lightnings, or earthquakes, yet (I know not vpon what presage) in the yeere 1601, and in the moneth of Nouember almost ended, at the siege of *Kinsale*, and few daies before the famous Battell, in which the Rebels were happily ouerthrowne, we did nightly heare and see great thundrings & lightnings, not without some astonishment what they should presage. The fields are not onely most apt to feede Cattell, but yeeld also great increase of Corne. I wil freely say, that I obserued the winters cold to be far more mild, then it is in *England*, so as the Irish pastures are more greene, and so likewise the gardens al winter time, but that in Summer, by reason of the cloudy ayre, and watry soyle, the heate of the Sunne hath not such power to ripen corne and fruits, so as their haruest is much later then in *England*. Also I obserued, that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in *Ireland*, then in *England*, which notwithstanding is more to bee attributed to the inhabitants, then to the ayre. For *Ireland* being oft troubled with Rebellions, and the Rebels not only being idle themselves, but in naturall malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting vp the very trees of fruits for the same cause, or else to burne them. For these reasons the inhabitants take lesse pleasure to till their grounds, or plant trees, content to liue for the day in continuall feare of like mischiefes. Yet is not *Ireland* altogether destitute of these flowers and fruites, wherewith the County of *Kilkenny* seemes to abound more then any other part. And the said humidity of aire and land, making the fruits for food more raw and moyst: hereupon the inhabitants and strangers are troubled with loosenes of body, the Country disease. Yet for the rawnes they haue an excellent remedy by their aquauity, vulgarly called *Vsqubagh*, which binds the belly, and drieth vp moysture, more then our Aquauity, yet inflameth not so much. Also inhabitants aswell as strangers are troubled there with an ague, which they call the Irish Ague, and they who are sick thereof, vpon a receiued custome, doe not vse the helpe of the Phisitian, but giue themselves to the keeping of Irish women, who starue the ague, giuing the sick man no meate; who takes nothing but milke, and some vulgarly knowne remedies at their hand.

Ireland after much blood spilt in the Ciuill warres, became lesse populous, and aswell great Lords of countries as other inferiour Gentlemen, laboured more to get new possessions for inheritance, then by husbandry and peopling of their old lands; to increase their reuenues; so as I then obserued much grasse (where-

with the Iland so much abounds) to haue perished without vse, and either to haue rotted, or in the next spring-time to bee burnt, lest it should hinder the comming of new grasse. This plenty of grasse, makes the Irish haue infinite multitudes of cattle, and in the heate of the last Rebellion, the very vagabond Rebels, had great multitudes of Cowes, which they stil (like the Nomades) droue with them, whether soeuer themselves were driuen, and fought for them as for their alters and families. By this abundance of cattle, the Irish haue a frequent, though somewhat poore trafficke for their hides, the cattle being in generall very little, and onely the men and the Grey-hounds of great stature. Neither can the cattell possibly bee great, since they eat onely by day, and then are brought at euening within the Bawnes of Castles, where they stand or lye all night in a dirty yard; without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishnesse, and that little they altogether keep for their Horses. And they are thus brought in by nights for feare of theeuers, the Irish vsing almost no other kind of theft, or else for feare of Wolves, the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischietes, they are so much growne in number, as sometimes in Winter nights they will come to prey in Villages, and the suburbes of Cities. The Earle of *Ormond* in *Mounster*, and the Earle of *Kildare* in *Lemster*, had each of them a small Parke inclosed for Fallow Deare, and I haue not scene any other Parke in *Ireland*, nor haue heard that they had any other at that time, yet in many Woods they haue many red Deare, loosely scattered, which seeme more plentifull, because the inhabitants vsed not then to hunt them, but onely the Gouvernours and Commanders had them sometimes killed with the piece. They haue also about *Ophalia* and *Wexford*, and in some parts of *Mounster*, some Fallow Deare scattered in the Woods. Yet in the time of the warre I did neuer see any Venison serued at the table, but onely in the houses of the said Earles, and of the English Commanders. *Ireland* hath great plenty of Birds and Fowles, but by reason of their naturall sloth, they had little delight or skill in Birding or Fowling. But *Ireland* hath neither singing Nightingall, nor chattering Pye, nor vndermining Moule, nor blacke Crow, but onely Crows of mingled colour, such as wee call Royston Crows. They haue such plenty of Pheasants, as I haue knowne sixtie serued at one feast, and abound much more with Rayles: but Patridges are somewhat rare. There be very many Eagles, and great plenty of Hares, Conies, Hawkes called Goffe-Hawkes, much esteemed with vs, and also of Bees, as well in Hiues at home, as in hollow trees abroad, and in caues of the earth. They abound in flocks of Sheepe, which they sheare twise in the yeere, but their wooll is course, & Merchants may not export it, forbidden by a Law made on behalfe of the poore, that they may be nourished by working it into cloth, namely, Rugs (wherof the best are made at *Waterford*) & mantles generallly worne by men and women, and exported in great quantity. *Ireland* yeelds much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarne, & export the same in great quantity. And of old they had such plenty of linnen cloth, as the wild Irish vsed to weare 30 or 40 elles in a shirt, all gathered and wrinckled, and washed in Saffron, because they neuer put them off til they were worne out. Their horses called hobbies, are much commended for their ambling pace & beuty: but *Ireland* yeelds few horses good for seruice in war, and the said hobbies are much inferior to our geldings in strength to endure long iournies, & being bred in the fenny soft ground of *Ireland*, are soone lamed when they are brought into *England*. The hawkes of *Ireland* called Goff-hawkes, or (as I said) much esteemed in *England*, and they are sought out by mony & all meanes to be transported thither. *Ireland* yeelds excellent Marble neere *Dublin*, *Kilkenny*, and *Corke*; and I am of their opinion, who dare venture all they are worth, that the Mountaines would yeeld abundance of Mettals, if this publike good were not hindred by the inhabitants barbarousnes, making them apt to seditions, and so vnwilling to intrich their Prince & Country, and by their slothfulnesse, which is so singular, as they hold it balenesse to labour, and by their pouerty, not able to beare the charge of such workes, besides, that the wiser sort think their pouerty best for the publike good, making them peaceable, as nothing makes them sooner kick against authoritie then riches. *Ireland* hath in all parts pleasant Riuers, safe and long Hauens, and no lesse frequent Lakes of

of great circuit, yeelding great plenty of fish. And the sea on all sides yeelds like plenty of excellent fish, as Salmonds, Oysters (which are preferred before the English,) and shel-fishes, with all other kinds of Sea-fish. So as the Irish might in all parts haue abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fisher men were not so possessed with the naturall fault of slothfulnesse, as no hope of gaine, scarcely the feare of authoritie can in many places make them come out of their houses, and put to sea. Hence it is, that in many places they vse Scots for Fisher-men, and they together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants sluggishnesse. And no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing, they might export salted and dried fish with great gaine. In time of peace the Irish transport good quantity of Corne; yet they may not transport it without license, lest vpon any sudden rebellion, the Kings forces and his good subjects should want Corne. *Ulster* and the Westerne parts of *Mounster* yeeld vast woods, in which the Rebels cutting vp trees, and casting them on heapes, vsed to stop the passages, and therein, as also vpon fenny & Boggy places, to fight with the English. But I confesse my selfe to haue been deceiued in the common fame, that all *Ireland* is woody, hauing found in my long iourney from *Armah* to *Kinsale*, few or no Woods by the way, excepting the great Woods of *Ophalia*, and some low shrubby places, which they call *Glinnes*. Also I did obserue many boggy and fenny places, whereof great part might be dried by good and painefull husbandry. I may not omit the opinion commonly receiued, that the earth of *Ireland* will not suffer a Snake or venomous beast to liue, and that the Irish wood transported for building, is free of Spiders and their webs. My selfe haue seene some (but very few) Spiders, which the inhabitants deny to haue any poyson: but I haue heard some English of good credit affirme by experience the contrary. The Irish hauing in most parts great Woods or low shrubs and thickets, doe vse the same for fier, but in other parts they burne Turfe, and Sea coales brought out of *England*. They export great quantity of wood to make barrells, called Pipe-stauess, and make great gaine thereby. They are not permitted to build great ships for warre, but they haue small ships in some sort armed to resist Pirates, for transporting of commodities into *Spaine* and *France*, yet no great number of them. Therefore since the Irish haue small skill in Nauigation, as I cannot praise them for this Art, so I am confident, that the Nation being bold and warlike, would no doubt proue braue Sea-men, if they shall practise Nauigation, and could possibly bee industrious therein. I freely professe, that *Ireland* in generall would yeeld abundance of all things to ciuill and industrious inhabitants. And when it lay wasted by the late Rebellion, I did see it after the comming of the Lord *Montjoy* daily more and more to flourish, and in short time after the Rebellion appeased, like the new Spring to put on the wonted beauty.

Touching the Irish dyet, Some Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen of the English-
Irish, and all the English there abiding, hauing competent meanes, vse the English
dyet, but some more, some lesse cleanly, few or none curiously, and no doubt they
haue as great and for their part greater plenty then the English, of flesh, fowle, fish, and
all things for food, if they will vse like Art of Cookery. Alwaies I except the Fruits,
Venison, and some dainties proper to *England*, and rare in *Ireland*. And we must conceiue, that Venison and Fowle seeme to be more plentiful in *Ireland*, because they neither so generally affect dainty foode, nor so diligently search it as the English do. Many of the English-Irish, haue by little and little been infected with the Irish filthinesse, and that in the very cities, excepting *Dublyn*, and some of the better sort in *Waterford*, where the English continually lodging in their houses, they more retaine the English diet. The English-Irish after our manner serue to the table ioynts of flesh cut after our fashion, with Geese, Pullets, Pigges and like roasted meats, but their ordinary food for the common sort is of Whitmeates, and they eate cakes of oates for bread, and drinke not English Beere made of Mault and Hops, but Ale. At *Cerck* I haue seene with these eyes, young maides starke naked grinding of Corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof, and striking of into the tub of meale, such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighes and more vnseemely parts.

And for the cheese or butter commonly made by the English Irish, an English man
would

would not touch it with his lippes, though hee were halfe starued; yet many English inhabitants make very good of both kindes. In Cities they haue such bread as ours, but of a sharpe sauour, and some mingled with Annis seeds, and baked like cakes, and that onely in the houses of the better sort.

At *Dublyn* and in some other Cities, they haue tauerns, wherein Spanish and French Wines are sold, but more commonly the Merchants sell them by pintes and quartes in their owne Cellers. The Irish Aquauitæ, vulgarly called Vsquebagh, is held the best in the World of that kind; which is made also in *England*, but nothing so good as that which is brought out of *Ireland*. And the Vsquebagh is preferred before our Aquauitæ, because the mingling of Raysons, Fennell seede, and other things, mitigating the heate, and making the taste pleasant, makes it lesse inflame, and yet refresh the weake stomake with moderate heate, and a good relish. These Drinkes the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women vse excesse therein. And since I haue in part seene, and often heard from others experience, that some Gentlewomen were so free in this excesse, as they would kneeling vpon the knee, and otherwise garausse health after health with men; not to speake of the wiues of Irish Lords, or to referre it to the due place, who often drinke tell they be drunken, or at least till they voide vrine in full assemblies of men, I cannot (though vnwilling) but note the Irish women more specially with this fault, which I haue obserued in no other part to be a womans vice, but onely in *Bohemia*: Yet so as accusing them, I meane not to excuse the men, and will also confesse that I haue seene Virgins, as well Gentlewomen as Citizens, commanded by their mothers to retyre, after they had in curtesie pledged one or two healths. In Cities passengers may haue featherbeds, soft and good, but most commonly lowlie, especially in the high waies; whether that came by their being forced to lodge common souldiers, or from the nastie filthinesse of the nation in generall. For euen in the best Citie, as at *Corck*, I haue obserued that my owne & other English mens chambers hyred of the Citizens, were scarce swept once in the week, & the dust then laid in a corner, was perhaps cast out once in a month or two. I did neuer see any publike Innes with signes hanged out, among the English or English-Irish; but the Officers of Cities and Villages appoint lodgings to the passengers, and perhaps in each Citie, they shall find one or two houses, where they will dresse meate, and these be commonly houses of Englishmen, seldome of the Irish: so as these houses hauing no signes hung out, a passenger cannot challenge right to be intertained in them, but must haue it of courtesie, and by intreaty.

The wild and (as I may say) meere Irish, inhabiting many and large Prouinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an handfull of straw, and straine their milke taken from the Cow through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleaneft, and so clense, or rather more defile the pot and milke. They deuoure great morsels of beefe vn salted, and they eat commonly Swines flesh, seldom mutton, and all these pieces of flesh, as also the intralles of beasts vn washed, they seeth * in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw Cowes hide, and so set ouer the fier, and therewith swallow whole lumpes of filthy butter. Yea (which is more contrary to nature) they will feede on Horses dying of themselues, not only vpon small want of flesh, but euen for pleasure. For I remember an accident in the Army, when the Lord *Mountioy*, the Lord Deputy, riding to take the ayre out of the Campe, found the buttocks of dead Horses cut off, and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed, them commanded the men to bee searched out, among whom a common souldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the meere Irish, being brought to the Lord Deputy, and asked why hee had eaten the flesh of dead Horses, thus freely answered, Your Lordship may please to eate Pheasant and Partridge, and much good doe it you that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawfull for me without offence, to eate this flesh that likes me better then Beefe. Whereupon the Lord Deputy perceiuing himself to be deceiued, & further vnderstanding that he had receiued his ordinary victuals (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gaue the souldier a piece of gold to drinke in Vsquebagh for better digestion, and so dismissed him. * See *Herodotus*, by *Beloe*, Vol. 2. p. 233. Sect. 61.

Melpomine: The Scythians haue the following contrivance to "The Flesh"
"Dress the Flesh of Victims, having slayed the Animal, they Strip the Flesh"
"from the Bones; They Enclose the Flesh with a certain Quantity of Water"
"in the Paunch of the Victim, under this the Fire is made with the"
"Bones." London 8^{vo} 1791. And, *Montfaucons Antig.* Vol. 2. p. 257. Lond. fol. 1721.
Reynolds Journey to the Northern Ocean. p. 317. Lond. 4^{to} 1795.
Spencers State of Ireland. at the end of *Fairy Legend* p. 221. Lond. fol. 1596.
Bells Travels to China Vol. 1. p. 295. Lond. 4^{to} 1763.

Walsley to Warr. Vol. 2. p. 176. Lond. 10. 1799.
Caunders, Travels in a by George W. Vol. 2. p. 238. Lond. 4^{to} 1806.

The foresaid wilde Irish doe not thieft their Oates, but burne them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eat this bread, much lesse any better kind, especially in the time of warre, whereof a Bohemian Baron complained; who having seene the Courts of *England* and *Scotland*, would needes out of his curiosity returne through *Ireland* in the heate of the Rebellion; and having letters from the King of Scots to the Irish Lords then in Rebellion, first landed among them, in the furthest North, where for eight dayes space hee had found no bread, not so much as a cake of Oates, till he came to eat with the Earle of *Tyrone*, and after obtaining the Lord Deputies Passe to come into our Army, related this their want of bread to vs for a miracle, who nothing wondred thereat. Yea, the wilde Irish in time of greatest peace impute couctousnesse and base birth to him, that hath any Corne after Christmas, as if it were a point of Nobility to consume all within those Festiuall dayes. They willingly eat the hearb *Schamrock*, being of a sharpe taste, which as they runne and are chased to an fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches.

Neither haue they any Beere made of Malt and Hoppes, nor yet any Ale, no, not the chiefe Lords, except it be very rarely: but they drinke Milke like Nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fier, or else Beefe-broath mingled with milke: but when they come to any Market Towne, to sell a Cow or a Horse, they neuer returne home, till they haue drunke the price in Spanish Wine (which they call the King of *Spaines* Daughter), or in Irish *Usqueboagh*, and till they haue out-slept two or three daies drunkenesse. And not onely the common sort, but euen the Lords and their wiues, the more they want this drinke at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunke as beggers.

Many of these wilde Irish eat no flesh, but that which dyes of disease or otherwise of it selfe, neither can it scape them for stinking. They desire no broath, nor haue any vse of a spoone. They can neither seeth Artichokes, nor eat them when they are foddren. It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage Horses falling into their hands, when they found Sope and Starch, carried for the vse of our Laundresses, they thinking them to bee some dainty meates, did eat them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth, cursed bitterly the gluttony of vs English churles, for so they terme vs. They feede most on Whitmeates, and esteeme for a great haitie sower curds, vulgarly called by them *Bonaclabbe*. And for this cause they watchfully keepe their Cowes, and fight for them as for religion and life; and when they are almost starued, yet they will not kill a Cow, except it bee old, and yeeld no Milke. Yet will they vpon hunger in time of warre open a vaine of the Cow, and drinke the blound, but in no case kill or much weaken it. A man would thinke these men to bee Scythians, who let their Horses bloud vnder the eares, and for nourishment drinke their bloud, and indeed (as I haue formerly said), some of the Irish are of the race of Scythians, comming into *Spaine*, and from thence into *Ireland*. The wild Irish (as I said) seldome kill a Cow to eat, and if perhaps they kill one for that purpose, they distribute it all to be deuoured at one time; for they approue not the orderly eating at meales, but so they may eat enough when they are hungry, they care not to fast long. And I haue knowne some of these Irish footemen seruing in *England*, (where they are nothing lesse then sparing in the foode of their Families), to lay meate aside for many meales, to deuoure it all at one time.

These wilde Irish assoone as their Cowes haue calued, take the Calues from them, and thereof feede some with Milke to reare for breede, some of the rest they fley, and seeth them in a filthy poke, and so eat them, being nothing but froth, and send them for a present one to a another: but the greatest part of these Calues they cast out to bee eaten by Crows and Woolues, that themselues may haue more abundance of Milke. And the Calues being taken away, the Cowes are so mad among them, as they will giue no Milke till the skinne of the Calfe bee stuffed and set before them, that they may smell the odor of their owne bellies. Yea when these Cowes thus madly denie their milke, the women wash their hands in Cowes dung, and so gently stroke their dugges, yea, put their hands into the

cowes taile, and with their mouthes blow into their tailes, that with this maner (as it were) of inchantment, they may draw milk from them. Yea, these Cowes seeme as rebellious to their owners, as the people are to their Kings, for many times they will not be milked but of some one old woman only, and of no other. These wild Irish neuer set any candles vpon tables; What do I speak of Tables? since indeede they haue no tables, but set their meate vpon a bundle of grasse, and vse the same Grasse for napkins to wipe their hands. But I meane that they doe not set candles vpon any high place to giue light to the house, but place a great candle made of reedes and butter vpon the floure in the midst of a great roome. And in like sort the chiefe men chiefe men in their houses make fiers in the midst of the roome, the smoake whereof goeth out at a hole in the top thereof. An Italian Frier comming of old into Ireland, and seeing at Armach this their diet and nakednesse of the women (whereof I shall speake in the next booke of this Part, and the second Chapter thereof) is said to haue cried out,

*Ciuitas Armachana, Ciuitas vana,
Carnes crude, mulieres nude.*

Vaine Armach City, I did thee pity,

Thy meates rawnes, and womens nakednesse.

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much lesse fetherbeds and sheetes, who like the Nomades remouing their dwellings, according to the commodity of pastures for their Crowes, sleepe vnder the Canopy of heauen, or in a poore house of clay, or in a cabbin made of the boughes of trees, and couered with turffe, for such are the dwellings of the very Lords among them. And in such places, they make a fier in the midst of the roome, and round about it they sleepe vpon the ground, without straw or other thing vnder them, lying all in a circle about the fier, with their feete towards it. And their bodies being naked, they couer their heads and vpper parts with their mantels, which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they finde that when their bodies haue once warmed the wet mantels, the smoake of them keepes their bodies in temperate heate all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not onely the meere Irish Lords, and their followers vse, but euen some of the English Irish Lords and their followers, when after the old but tyrannicall and prohibited manner vulgarly called *Coshering*, they goe (as it were) on progresse, to liue vpon their tenants, til they haue consumed al the victuals that the poore men haue or can get. To conclude, not onely in lodging passengers, not at all or most rudely, but euen in their inhospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much vnlike to wild beasts, in whose caues a beast passing that way, might perhaps finde meate, but not without danger to be ill intertained, perhaps deuoured of his insatiable Host.

* See Davis's, Discoverie of the State of Ireland p. 177. London 1613.



The fourth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Germans, Bohemians, Sweitzers, Netherlanders, Danes, Polonians and Italians apparrell.



NE thing in generall must bee remembred touching the diuers apparrell of diuers Nations: That it is daily subiect to change, as each Commonwealth by little and little declines from the best constitution to the worst, and old manners are daily more and more corrupted with new vices, or as each Common-wealth is by due remedies purged and reformed.

The most rich among the Germans (as old Writers doe *Germany* witnesse) vsed of old straight apparrell, expressing to life the lineaments of the whole body (which kind of apparel the *Schwaben* or *Sueni* vse at this day), and the women were apparrelled as men (of which wicked custome we find at this day no remainder, except the souldiers wiues following the Campe may perhaps somewhat offend that way.) They adde that the *Sueni* (vnder which name the Romanes comprehended all the Germanes) vsed of old to be clad in skinnies. No doubt the Germanes, as they euer were, so are at this day, in their apparrell, constant, and modest (and I had almost said slouely.) Surely if a man obserue the time they spend in brushing their apparrell, and taking out the least spots, as well at home, as abroad when they come to their Innes, they will seeme cleanly, but if we behold their apparrell, so worne to prooffe, as the nap of the cloth, and that somewhat course) being worne off, the ground plainly appeares, and spotted with grease and wearing; especially the sleeues, which they weare large, and at table not without cause, lift vp with one hand, while they take meate with the other, lest they should fall into the dish, no doubt (without offence be it spoken), they are somewhat slouely. And for this imputation of old laid on the Germans, I appeale to *Tacitus*, writing to this purpose in the Latin tongue. The slouely and naked Germans liue in the same house among the same beasts. And he that at this day lookes vpon their *Schwartz Reytern* (that is, Blacke Horsemen) must confesse, that to make their horses and boates shine, they make themselves as black as Collyers. These Horsemen weare blacke clothes, and poore though they be, yet spend no small time in brushing them. The most of them haue black Horses, which while they painefully dresse, and (as I said) delight to haue their boots and shoos shine with blacking stufte, their hands and faces become black, and thereof they haue their foresaid name. Yea, I haue heard Germans say, that they do thus make themselves al black, to seeme more terrible to their enemies. I haue often heard their Preachers declame against the common inconstancie in apparrell: but they do herein according to the art of iesting, which is euer most pleasing, when it taskes men with vices whereof they are not guilty, but neuer with those that may be truly imputed. For Drunkenesse, the famous, yet almost sole vice of the Germans, is in the meane time silently passed ouer by them in their Pulpits, or else out of a guilty conscience slightly reprobued.

No doubt the Germans are of all other famous and great Nations least expencefull in apparrell, whether a man consider the small prices of the garments, or their long lasting. By an Imperiall Law, Husbandmen are forbidden to weare any stufes, that cost more then halfe a Gulden the ell, and men that live by their Art and Hand, are forbidden to weare any thing that costs more then the third part of a Gulden the ell, and seruants to weare any ornament of Gold, Siluer, or Silke, and gentlemen to weare any Gold, or more then two ounces of siluer, and Doctors of the Ciuill Law, (who haue many priuiledges from the Heraulds, and are much respected in *Germany*), and likewise Knights, not to weare more then two ounces of gold vpon their Apparrell, and lastly Citizens are permitted to face their garments with silke or veluet, but are forbidden to weare any gold or siluer. By the same Imperall Statutes enacted in the yeere 1548, Noble women, (that is Gentlewomen), are permitted to weare a chaine of gold worth two hundred Guldens, and ornaments of the head worth forty Guldens, and the Doctours of the Ciuill Law are permitted to weare like chaines, and their wiues haue the same priuiledge with Noblewomen. In the Statutes of the yeere 1530 Citizens Wiues are permitted to weare gold chaines of fifty Guldens, and siluer girdles of thirty Guldens, and their Daughters to weare Ornaments of ten Guldens vpon their heads. And these Lawes are wisely made to restrain that Nation, though by nature and custome most modest in Apparrell, because the richest things they are to weare, be not made in the Empire, but to be bought with money. They haue not so much as woollen or linnen cloth of their owne, but such as is course, which makes them that weare silke or veluet, as well as others, weare shirts of course cloth. I did see *Rodolpus* the Emperour when he mourned for his sister, apparrelled in English blacke cloth, who otherwise vsed to weare for the most part the same cloth of a watchet or some light colour, seldome wearing any richer Apparrell, and the scabbard of his sword was of leather, not of veluet, as we vse. The men in *Germany* weare shirt bands of course linnen short and thicke, onely in *Prussia* I obserued them to weare long ruffes, with rebatoes of wire to beare them vp, such as our women vse, which seemed to me lesse comely, because they were seldome made of fine cloth, as cambricke or lawne, but of their owne course linnen, such as I haue often seene the Spaniards to weare.

Their handkerchers are very large, and wrought with silke of diuers light colours, with great letters signifying words, as for example *D. H. I. M. T.* signifying *Der her Ist mein Trost*, that is; The Lord is my comfort, so as they seeme more like wrought saddle clothes then handkerchers. Many of the Saxons weare thrummed hats, which are called *Brunwicke* hats, as most vsed in those parts, being so stiffe as a sword will hardly peirce them, especially with the brasse hatbands they weare about them, and being so heauie as they lie vpon the eares, and make them hang downe with small comelineffe. Few weare feathers in their hats, yet the Doctors of the Ciuill Law haue the priuiledge to weare them, and my selfe haue seene many Students in the Vniuersities, and most Coachmen of *Germany*, weare feathers costing each some twelue or sixteene batzen. The mention of the said shirt bands, vsed in *Prussia*, makes me remember that the Citizens of *Dantzke*, seated in that Prouince, doe generally weare more rich Apparrell, then any other Germans. And I remember that their said shirt bands or ruffes were little lesse then a quarter of an ell long, and hung vpon their shoulders, notwithstanding they had staies to beare them vp, which made fashion, but not so long, the English vsed of old, and haue long since laid aside. The men in these parts commonly weare silkes and veluets, without any decent distinction of degrees, and the women seemed much prouder in apparrell then the men. I haue seene married women not of the richest sort, daily weare hats of veluet, though some weare also felt hats, and others to weare frontlets of veluet, and others wearing hats, had their hatbands all set with pearle, and many of their Daughters did weare chaines of pearle, worth three hundred guldens, yea some of these Virgins haue shewed me their chaines of five hundred guldens value, being the Daughters of Citizens and Merchants. As well married as vnmarried women in the chiefe Cities of that Prouince, did weare short

short cloakes, and for the greater part of filke or fatten, (the vse whereof is vulgar among them), and that of changeable or light colours, with Petticoates and Aprons of like colours, but not so frequently of filke; and I haue seene Virgines of ordinary rancke in those Cities, daily weare lilke stockings.

But I returne to the generall discourse of the Germans Apparrell. Citizens and men of inferiour rancke, weare course cloth of *Germany*, and onely the richer sort vse English cloth; and this cloth is commonly of a blacke or darke colour, and they thinke them selues very fine, if their cloakes haue a narrow facing of filke or veluet. The Gentlemen delight in light colours, and when I perswaded a familiar friend that blacke and darke colours were more comely, he answered me, that the variety of colours shewed the variety of Gods workes: And the Gentlemen weare Italian filkes and veluets of these colours, but most commonly English cloth, for the most part of yellow or greene colour. The Saxons in stead of Swords, carry Hatchets in their hands, being very skilfull in the vse of them, so as they will hit any small marke therewith, and they weare hanging daggers with massy sheaths of siluer or iron. The Gentlemen, and others that haue the priuiledge to weare Swords, as the Doctors of Ciuill Law, haue plaine pommels to them, neuer gilded; and the scabbards (not excepting the Emperour) are alwaies of leather. Many of the Germans in steede of hats, weare caps lined with furre, and they vse large stomachers of furre or lambeskinnes, keeping their stomackes very warme, either for the coldnesse of the clime, or rather because their stomackes need more cherrishing, in regard they are often oppressed with excesse in drinking. Most of them weare great large breeches, excepting the *Sueni* (vulgarly *Schwaben*) who weare such straight breeches as our old men vse, with stockings of the same cloth, fastened to them: And generally their doublets are made straight to the body, vpon which in Winter time they weare Ierkins lined with furre.

Few men or women weare gold rings, pearles, or Iewels: but *Bohemia* yeelds false stones like the orientall precious stones, yet of small or no value, and I haue seene some Gentlemen weare these false stones, and brasse rings gilded ouer, the wearing whereof is held disgracefull with vs. At *Magdeburg* I did see a young Gentleman hauing all his fingers loaded with rings, which I thought to be of gold, till my selfe sawe him buy a ring of three hoopes for some fifteene pence in English money, and so found his foolish pride. The Statutes (as I formerly said) permit Noblewomen (that is Gentewomen) to weare chaines of gold, which notwithstanding they weare very seldome: And in like sort their Earles, (vulgarly called Graues) and their Knights, sometimes weare gold chaines, made of extraordinary great linkes, and not going more then once about the necke, nor hanging downe further then the middle button of the doublet. The Germans in great part measure a strangers dignity by the richnesse of his Apparrell, and by his graue or (to speake plainly) proud looke. Citizens Wiues in some places weare vpon their heads little caps, in the forme of an Oyster-shell, and they weare short cloakes, reaching no further then their elbowes. Citizens daughters and Virgines of inferiour sort, weare nothing vpon their heads, but their haire wouen with laces, and so gathered on the fore-part of the head, with the forehead stroked vp plaine, and vpon the fore-part of the head the Gentewomen weare a border of pearle, and all other from the highest to the lowest, commonly weare garlands of roses, (which they call Crantzies.)

For they keepe Roses all Winter in little pots of earth, whereof they open one each saturday at night, and distribute the Roses among the women of the house, to the verry kitchen maide; others keepethem all in one pot, and weekly take as many Roses as they neede, and couer the rest, keeping them fresh till the next Summer. And the common sort mingle gilded nutmegs with these Roses, and make garlands thereof: Only women weare these Garlands in Winter, but in Summer time men of the better sort weare them within doores, and men of the common sort weare them going abroad. They keepe Roses all Winter in this sort, they choose the closest and thickest buds of all kinds of Roses, but the *Damaske* Roses best keepe the smell, and other kindes the colour. Then they take a pot of earth, and sprinkle some bay salt in the
bottom,

bottom, and lay these buds severally, not very close one to the other, in two rowes one above the other, which done they sprinkle the same, and wet all the buds with two little glasses of Rhenish Wine, and againe sprinkle them with bay salt in greater quantity, yet such as it may not eat the leaves. In like sort they put up each two rowes of buds, till the pot be full, which they cover with wood or leade, so as no aire can enter, and then lay it up in a cold cellar, where no sunne comes. When they take out the buds, they dip them in luke warme water, or put them into the Oven when the bread is taken out, which makes the leaves open with the turning of the buds between two fingers, then they dip a feather in rhenish wine, and wipe the leaves therewith, to refresh the colour, and some doe the like with rose water, to renew the smell. Give me leave by the way to relate, (though out of due course), that I observed women at *Leipzig*, in like sort to keepe Cherries all Winter, after this manner. They inclose some Cherries in a glasse, so as no aire can enter, and then fasten the glasse to some low shrub or bough of a tree, so as the glasse may hang in a brooke, running gently.

Now I returne to my former discourse. Many of the said Virgines have their neckbands set with spangles, such as some children with vs weare. The married women weare their gownes close about the breast and neck, with a very short ruffe about their neckes, (such as men also weare) set with poking stickes as small as reedes, and they weare little hats upon their heads. The Virgines in generall, weare linnen sleeves about their armes, as close as they can be made, for they esteeme it the greatest grace to have the smallest armes, and their petticoates are guarded with some ten or more fringes or laces of silke or veluet, each fringe being of a different colour one from the other, making the skirts thereof as variable in colour as the Raine-bow. Citizens wiues put off their ruffes when they goe out of the house, covering their neckes and mouths with a linnen cloth for feare of cold. And they weare great heavy purses by their sides, with great bunches of keyes hanging by chaines of bras or silver: and all generally, as well married women as Virgins, goe with bare legges: and I have scene a Virgine in *Saxony*, refuse a paire of silke stockings offered her of guift: and the maide seruants and married women of the inferiour sort weare no shooes except they goe out of the house, and great part goe also abroad bare footed. The married women hide their naked feet with long gownes, but the maide seruants wearing short gownes, and girding them up into a roule some handfull vnder the waist about their hippes, (especially in the lower parts of *Germany*), many times offend chaste eyes with shewing their nakednesse, especially when they stoop for any thing to the ground. And in those parts of *Germany* the Citizens wiues, like our little children, weare red and yellow shooes, and gilded at the toes. In generall, it is disgracefull to married women or Virgins (excepting at *Augsburg*, and some few other Cities), to goe out of doores without a cloake, which commonly is of some light stuffe, as Grogram, or the like, faced with some furs, and at *Hidelsberg* they neuer goe abroad without a little basket in their hands, as if they went to buy something, except they will be reputed dishonest. The married Women alwaies have their heads couered, in some Cities with a peece of veluet, other where with little caps of veluet, silke, or felt, or with some like fashion, according to the vse of the Countrey. And very many weare such crosse-clothes or forehead clothes as our Women vse when they are sicke. In many places the ordinary Citizens Wiues have their gownes made with long traines, which are pinned up in the house, and borne up by maide seruants when they goe abroad, which fashion of old onely great Noblemen vsed with vs: And in many Cities, as well the married as unmarried Women, weare long fardingales, hanging about their feet like hoopes, which our Women vsed of olde, but haue now changed to short fardingals about their hippes.

Bohmerland

The Bohemians are apparrelled much like the Germans, and delight in greene, yellow, and light colours, but more frequently weare silkes and veluets then the Germans, and also false Jewels of their owne. And many times they weare blacke cloth with many laces or fringes of light colours, each fringe differing in colour one from the

the other. And in respect of forraigne Ambassadors comming from all parts to *Prage*, and of Italian Merchants frequenting there, the Bohemians are more infected with forraigne fashions, then the Germans. The married Gentlewomen attire their heads like our Virgins, and in like sort beare vp their haire on the forehead with a wier. They vse with the Germans to make their gownes with traines, or to beare them out with long fardingals, and to weare short cloakes. Citizens wiues weare vpon their heads large gray caps, rugged like gray Connie skinnies, and formed like the hiues of Bees, or little caps of veluet close to the head, of a dunne colour, with the hinder skirt (or hinder part) cut off and open: And vpon their legges they weare white buskins, wrought with veluet at the toes; but vpon their armes they weare large sleeues, and contrary to the Germans, thinke them to be most comely.

The Sweitzers, being Citizens (for their nobility is long sincerooted out by popular seditions) weare large round caps, (such as are vsed by our Prentices and Students in the Innes of Court), and together with them they weare cloakes (whereas with vs they are onely vsed with gownes), yea, and Swords also (which seemed strange to be worne with caps). They weare great large puffed breeches, gathered close about the knees, and each puffed made of a diuers light colour; but their doublets are made close to the body. The married Women couer their heads with a linnen coyfe, and vpon it weare such caps as the men vse, (which are broader then we vsed in *England*), and commonly weare a linnen crossecloth vpon the forehead. To be brieft, the Virgins goe bare headed with their haire wouen vp, and vse short cloakes, and aswell married as vnmarried Women, as also the Men, are apparrelled like the Germans, and affect nothing lesse then pride in their attire.

In the vnited Provinces, the Inhabitants being for the most part Merchants and Citizens, the Men vse modest attire of graue colours, and little beautified with lace or other ornament. They weare short cloakes of English cloth, with one small lace to couer the seames, and a narrow facing of silke or veluet. Their doublets are made close to the body, their breeches large and fastened vnder the knees commonly of woollen cloth, or else of some light stuffe, or of silke or veluet. They vse very little lace, no imbroidery; yet the Hollanders of old accounted the most rude of the other Provinces, at this day increased in wealth, and reputation of the State, doe by little and little admit luxury; and their sonnes apply themselves both to the apparrell and manners of the English and French. Women aswell married as vnmarried, couer their heads with a coyfe of fine holland linnen cloth, and they weare gowns commonly of some slight stuffe, & for the most part of black colour, with little or no lace or guards, and their necke ruffles are little (or short) but of very fine linnen. For aswell men as women for their bodies and for all vses of the Family, vse very fine linnen; and I thinke that no clownies in the World weare such fine shirts, as they in *Holland* doe. Some of the chiefe Women not able to abide the extreme cold, and loth to put fier vnder them for heate (as the common vse is) because it causeth wrinckles and spots on their bodies, doe vse to weare breeches of linnen or silke. All Women in generall, when they goe out of the house, put on a hoyke or vaile which couers their heads, and hangs downe vpon their backs to their legges; and this vaile in *Holland* is of a light stuffe or Kerseie, and hath a kinde of horne rising ouer the forehead, not much vnlike the old pummels of our Womens saddles, and they gather the Vaile with their hands to couer all their faces, but onely the eyes: but the Women of *Flanders* and *Brabant* weare Vailes altogether of some light fine stuffe, and fasten them about the hinder part and sides of their cap, so as they hang loosely, not close to the body, and leaue their faces open to view, and these Caps are round, large, and flat to the head, and of Veluet, or at least guarded therewith, and are in forme like our potlids vsed to couer pots in the Kitchen: And these Women, aswel for these Vailes, as their modest garments with gowns close at the brest and necke, and for their pure and fine linnen, seemed to me more faire then any other *Netherlanders*, as indeed they are generally more beautifull.

I did see the King of *Denmarke* entred a daies iourney in his progresse towards *Hol- satia* (vulgarly *Helst*), and he wore a loose gippoe of blacke veluet, sparingly adorned with

with gold lace, and in the Towne he wore a large broad brimmed felt hat, with the brimmes in part buttoned vp, but in his Coach he wore a rough *Brunswicke* hat, vsed in the lower parts of *Germany*, and had a large chaine of gold hanging vnder one arme so low, as it was folded about his girdle: And when he walked abroad, he carried his Sword vpon his shoulder with the point in his hand, and the hilts hanging downe behind him. His chiefe Courtiers and his younger brother were all attired in an English cloth, which they called Kentish cloth, we call Motley, but much finer then that whercof we make cloakebags, and of purpose made for them, costing some two dollers the ell. They wore gold chaines, so short as they reached not further then the sixth or seuenth button of their doublets, but the linkes were great, and they had a Tablet of gold annexed to them. They carried their swords as the King did, with the hilts hanging ouer the shoulder, and they wore daggers with heauy sheaths of silver, like those vsed in *Saxony*. The Kings Guard wore huge breeches puffed, and of diuers colours, like the *Sweitzers* hose. In generall, the *Danes* are apparrelled like the *Germans*, and especially like the *Saxons*, constantly and modestly, and they so abhorre from strange fashions, as the Kings Father lately deceased, was reported to haue given the strange apparrell of certaine Gentlemen newly returned from forraigne parts, to the infamous Hangman, that they might be despised of the Gentry. Gentlewomen Virgins goe with their heads bare, and their haire wouen and adorned with rowes of pearle. And the married Gentlewomen goe with their heads couered with a fine linnen coyfe, and weare vpon their foreheads a French shadow of veluet to defend them from the Sunne, which our Gentlewomen of old borrowed of the French, and called them Bonegraces, now altogether out of vse with vs; and they adorne their heads with borders of Gold. Women as well married as vnmarried, Noble and of inferiour condition, weare thinne bands about their neckes, yet not falling, but erected, with the vpper bodies of their outward garment of veluet, but with short skirts, and going out of the house; they haue the German custome to weare cloakes. They also weare a chaine of Gold like a breast-plate, and girdles of silver, and gilded.

The Polonians.

At *Derminde* the Hauen of *Dantzke* in *Prussen*, I did see the King of *Poland* ready to sayle into *Suenia* or *Suecia*, his Fathers Kingdome of Inheritance, for whom lately dead, he then wore mourning Apparrell, namely a long blacke cloake of woollen cloth, and a cap or low hat of blacke filke with narrow brimmes, with a falling band about his necke. a blacke doublet close to his body, and large breeches fastened vnder the knee. The Queene being of the House of *Austria*, was attired like the Noblewomen of *Germany*, and being then ready to take ship, her head was couerd with a coyfe of fine linnen, and vpon her forehead shee wore a crosse cloth almost downe to the nose. The Kings Courtiers wore two long coates, the vpper coate (or cloake with sleeues) was longer then the other, the skirts whereof on the right side, were so fastened on the shoulder with silver buttons, and so cast vpon the left shoulder, as they had their right armes altogether free; and this vpper coate was of English cloth, faced before with filke. The lower or inner coate was of filke or some light stufte, hanging downe on one side to the knees, on the other side doubled and fastened to the girdle, and both coates were of light colours, but without any lace of Gold or Silver, or other ornament whatsoever. They wore breeches and stockings of the same cloth, like those of our old men, or the trusses of *Ireland*, and their shirts were of much finer linnen then the *Germans* vse. And they wore a fine and very large linnen handkercher, fastened to their Girdles behind: but they had no ruffes nor any bands of linnen about their neckes, which are onely vsed by some few Gentlemen, who haue liued in forraigne parts, but the colours of their coates were raised with a peake behind to keepe the necke warme. They wore extraordinary little caps, hardly couering the crowne of the head, and in them wore some sixe feathers, not of mixed or light colours, nor broad, as we weare them, but white and narrow, such (or the same) as are pulled from Capons tiales. The *Polonians* shaued all their heads close, excepting the haire of the forehead, which they nourish very long and cast backe to the hinder part of the head. They carry for Armes a Turkish Cemetery, and weare shooes of

of leather and also of wood, both painted and both shodde vnder the heele and toes with pieces of Iron, making great noise as they goe. The Gentlemen weare chaines of gold folded about their girdles, and carry in their hands a little hammer of siluer, and perhaps gilded, and these of inferiour sort one of Iron. The Hungarians in their attire differ little from the Polonians, but no Hungarian may weare a feather, except he haue done some noble act, and according to the number of his braue actions, so many feathers he may weare, to witnesse his valour. At *Crakaw* I did see the *Castellani* (that is, Keepers of Castles) and many Gentlemen riding to the Court, and other places in the City, and the Gentlemen attending them, went on foot before their Horses, with Feathers in their little caps, and the vulgar attendants followed their Horses. The buttocks of their horses were couered with cloth of gold, or the skinne of some wilde beast, or some like ornament, and about many of their Horses eares, hung chaines of gold or siluer, their bridles were gilded, and set with buttens of gold, and the horsemen not onely weare swords by their sides, but also euery Horseman (especially riding in the highway, or being in forraigne parts vpon any Ambassage, or in like pompes, hath another, and some a third sword (or Cimeter) fastned to their saddles and girthes, besides that both on foote and on horsebacke they carry a hammer in their hands.

The Gentlewomen, after the Netherlanders fashion, couer the head with a coyfe of fine linnen, and weare a crosscloth vpon the forehead, and as the men, so they weare no ruffe or linnen band about the necke, but many haue about their neckes chaines of Pearle worth two hundred, yea, five hundred Dollers, and some line the collar of the vpper body of their Gownes with furre, and so couer the nakednesse of the necke behind. The vnmarried women weare aprons of fine linnen, and goe with bare heads, hauing their haire wouen, as our women vse, with a narrow piece of Veluet crossing the middest of their heads, and going out of the house, they cast a white Vayle vpon their heads and backes, but shew their faces open. The meaner sort of married women either wrap their heads and mouthes with a narrow long piece of linnen, or onely couer their mouthes with linnen, and wearing a low hat cast a Vayle from it, to couer the hinder part of the head, and all the backe, and they weare loose Kirtles ouer their other apparrell, which are tied behind with strings. The common sort of Country women couer themselves all ouer with linnen cloth or skinnes of beaste.

The Prussians are tributary to the King of *Poland*, and vpon free conditions acknowledge themselves subiect to the Crowne of *Poland*, and their attire as also language little differs from the Germans, saue that their apparrell is more sumptuous, but of them I haue formerly spoken in the discourse of the Germans attire.

Of the Italians it is prouerbially said, that the Venetians are gowned, yet by night *Italic* going to visit their Mistresses, weare short Spanish cloakes. That those of *Ferrara* and *Mantua* are proud in their attire, with their caps set with gold buttons. That the Florentines are ridiculous, (yet I obserued none more modestly attired.) That those of *Genoa* are neate and comely in attire, but weare no gownes, nor lace, nor gardes. That those of *Milan* are decent, and the Neopolitans are glittering and sumptuous. Surely the Italians in generall, respect the conueniency more then ornament of their apparrell. When they take iourneyes, they weare large bootes, that they may sling off being vntied, but such as keepe them dry in all weathers; and to the same end they weare thicke felt hats, and short felt cokes, which no raine can pierce, respecting the health, not the ornaments of their bodies. And howsoeuer their apparrell is soft and delicate, yet they onely weare cloth and stufes made at home, not any brought from forraigne parts. Their garments are commonly of silke, but seldome embrodred, and neuer laid with gold or siluer lace, and commonly of black colour. And howsoeuer all those mixed colours which we so highly esteeme, come from thence, yet are they not inuented by the Italians, but by the Factors of our Merchants, who lie there of purpose, to feede the fantastick pride of our Youth, in new Stufes, or at least new colours and names.

The Citizens of *Genoa*, weare gold Chaines, and might seeme proudly attired in garments

garments of Veluet, saue that we must remember, that they are not onely Merchants but Gentlemen, and some of them Princes.

The Venetians, by reason of their strict Lawes from all antiquity restraining exccesse in apparrell, howsoeuer many times they weare sumptuous garments, yet are they hidden vnder their gownes, not to be seene but by their Mistrisses at night. They make woollen cloth of such lasting, as they bequeath their gownes by their last testaments. All the Gentlemen, not one excepted, weare blacke cloth gownes, buttoned close at the necke, with the sleeues put on ouer their doublets, as well young as old men, but some vnder this ciuill gowne weare rich furies, and imbrodred garments. And the Senators, Doctors, and Knights, weare Scarlet gownes, with large sleeues, lined in winter with rich furies. And their Senate is no lesse or more glorious in publike pompes, then the Roman Senate was of old. And the Gentlemen constantly weare these gownes, either in singular pride to be knowne from others, (for no Citizen, nor any Gentlemen of other Cities weare gownes), or for obedience to the Law, or out of an old custome, which the most wise Magistrates permit not to be broken. And for the same cause, all the Gentlemen, none excepted, weare little caps of Freese or Cloth, hardly couering the crowne, or the forepart of the head.

All other Italians in generall weare stufte cloakes, and commonly of Silke in summer, and cloth in winter, and light felt hats with narrow brimmes, and large breeches, sometimes wide, and open at the knee, after the Spanish fashion, but more commonly tied vnder the knee, and a loose coate or gippo, but not wide, and a doublet close to the body, both of silke, and lined with silke, and silke stockings. Also many weare Jewels, but as it were hidden, to bee seene onely by chance. Lastly, in great wisdome they care not to haue rich apparrell, but hold it honourable to liue of their owne. They make no fine linnen, & therefore vse course linnen, both for shirts, and other vses of the Family, and commonly weare little falling bands, and many times ruffles of *Flanders* linnen, sometimes wrought with Italian Cut-worke, much vsed with vs, but their ruffles are not so great as ours, and they haue little skill in washing, starching, or smoothing linnen. They weare very short haire, as all Nations doe that liue in hot climes, the contrary vice of wearing long haire being proper to the French, English, and Scots, but especially to the Irish. The Italians clothe very little children with doublets and breeches, but their breeches are open behind, with the shirt hanging out, that they may ease themselves without helpe. Among other Princes of *Italy*, I did see *Ferdinand* the third, Duke of *Florence*, who did weare a cloke of English cloth, with one little lace, and breeches of Veluet without any ornament, and stockings of leather, and a leather scabbard to his sword, and his Coach was lined with old greene Veluet, and the Horses seemed taken out of the Plough.

The women in generall are delighted with mixed and light colours. The women of *Venice* weare choppines or shoos three or foure hand-bredths high, so as the lowest of them seeme higher then the tallest men, and for this cause they cannot goe in the streetes without leaning vpon the shoulder of an old woman. They haue another old woman to beare vp the traine of their gowne, & they are not attended with any man, but onely with old women. In other parts of *Italy*, they weare lower shoos, yet somewhat raised, and are attended by old women, but goe without any helpe of leading. The women of *Venice* weare gownes, leauing all the necke and brest bare, and they are closed before with a lace, so open, as a man may see the linnen which they lap about their bodies, to make them seeme fat, the Italians most louing fat women. They shew their naked necks and breasts, and likewise their dugges, bound vp and swelling with linnen, and all made white by art. They weare large falling bands, and their haire is commonly yellow, made so by the Sunne and art, and they raise vp their haire on the forehead in two knotted hornes, and deck their heads & vncouered haire with flowers of silke, and with pearle, in great part counterfeit. And they cast a black vaile from the head to the shoulders, through which the nakednesse of their shoulders, and neckes, and breasts, may easily be seene. For this attire the women of *Venice* are proverbially said to be, *Grande di legni, Grosse di straci, rosse di bettito, bianche di calcina*: that is,

is tall with wood, fat with ragges, red with painting, and white with chalke. The women of *Genoa* are attired much after the French fashion, and by reason of neighbourhood, borrow diuers manners from *France*, (which is also to be vnderstood of other Cities lying vnder the French Alpes), and they goe abroad either alone, or attended by men, not by women as in other parts; yea, by night, and early in the morning to the Church, (which suspected fashions other Italians cannot endure.) They weare nets and blacke vailles, couering therewith their faces, contrary to the French manner, without which the poorest woman goes not abroad.

In generall the Women of *Italy*, (for diuers Cities haue some fashions differing from other) most commonly (but especially the wiues of shopkeepers) weare gowns of silke and light stufes; yea, wouen with gold, and those close at the brest and necke, with a standing collar, and little ruffles close vp to the very chinne, and shewing no part naked. And Gentlewomen in generall, weare gowns loose behind, with a close collar, hiding all nakednesse, and with traines borne vp by waitingmaides, and sometimes with open hanging sleeues. The married women weare their heads bare, or conered with a fine linnen coyse, and a hat, and a vaile hanging downe from the hinder part of the head to the backe. The vnmarried haue their heads bare, with their haire knotted like snakes, and tied with gold and siluer laces, or else they are couered with a gold netted cawle, and they weare also gold chaines. The married women weare chaines of pearle about the head and necke, which in some places are forbidden to Virgins; and these pearles are many times (especially at *Venice*) counterfet, and made of glasse, but very beaurifull to the eye. Widdowes and Women that mourne, couer all their head and shoulders with a blacke vaile, and vpon the forehead they weare a shadow or bongraze, and about their neckes a white vaile; hanging downe before to their feete.) The Countrey wenches weare vpon their heads gold and siluer cawles, or at least seeming such, and straw hats, and guilded girdles, and for the rest as other women are delighted with light colours.

The City Virgins, and especially Gentlewomen, couer their heads, face, and backes with a Vaile, that they may not be seene passing the streetes, and in many places weare silke or linnen breeches vnder their gowns. Also I haue seene honourable Women, as well married as Virgines, ride by the high way in Princes traines, apparrelled like Men, in a doublet close to the body, and large breeches open at the knees; after the Spanish fashion, both of carnation silke or satten, and likewise riding astride like men vpon Horses or Mules, but their heads were attired like Women, with bare haire knotted, or else couered with gold netted cawles, and a hat with a feather. And many times in the Cities (as at *Padua*) I haue seene Curtizans (in plaine English; whores) in the time of shrouing, apparrelled like men, in carnation or light coloured doublets and breeches, and so playing with the racket at Tennis with yong men, at which time of shrouing, the Women no lesse then Men, (and that honourable women in honourable company,) goe masked and apparrelled like men all the afternoone about the streetes, euen from Christmasse holydaies to the first day in Lent. The Women wearing Mens breeches, haue them open all before, and most part behind, onely buttoned with gold or siluer buttons: And the Curtizans make all the forepart of their gowns in like manner open, to auoide wrackling.

Lastly, the Italians vse to tie themselues vpon a vow for recouery of health, or like cause, to weare certaine apparrell for a time or for life; and if the vow be in repentance of sinne, the colour is ash colour, vulgarly *Beretino*, which I haue seene some weare for long time constantly, with purpose to weare them during life.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkes, French, English, Scottish, and Irish Apparrell.

Turkey.



He Turkes shauē their heads, but only in the very crowne, where they leaue a tuft of haire; and they doe not now as of old, onely nourish the haire of the vpper lip, but al the beard growing round. They couer their head thus shaued with a close cap of Scarlet, and about it weare some twelue or twenty elles of fine white cotton cloth, wouen into a round globe, which in their tongue is called a Tulbent, and by some Tsalma: neither do they euer vncouer their heads in honour to any man, but salute by bending the body, and laying their left hand on their right side.

This cap (or this head, as they call it) is hollow, and so admits aire, being borne vp by little hoopēs, and so cooles the head, yet being thicke, keepes out the Sunne from piercing it, and being of most fine linnen, is much lighter then our hats. All the Orders or degrees among the Turkes, are knowne by the ornament of the head (or by their heades, as they speake.) The Azimoglanes weare Pyramidall caps like sugarloues, of a mingled colour and light stuffe. The Ianizares weare the said Tulbent, but haue also a cap peculiar to their Order, vulgarly called *Zarcola*, which they weare going abroad into the City, being a standing cap, plaine at the top, with an hood hanging down behind (like that part of our French hoods), with a guilded horne of brasce vpright about the forehead. The Ianizares that are Courtiers, weare a Feather hanging downe from the hinder part of the head to the very heeles. The Chausses, and all degrees vpward to the very Emperour, weare the said Tulbent or Cap, with a little piece of red veluet appearing at the very crowne, vpon which they set Iewels and Feathers, whereby these higher orders and degrees in the warre are distinguished. Like white Tulbents, but altogether plaine, are worne by inferiour Turkes, that are not Souldiers, and they cannot bee more prouoked, then by casting any spot vpon their white heads, which they weare as an holy badge of their Religion, placing the purity of the soule for a great part in the outward purity of the body, Tulbent, and garments. All these Tulbents be of pure white; but the Greekes and other Christians, aswell subiects as strangers, weare Shasses, that is, striped linnen (commonly white and blew), wound about the skirts of a little cap. Such a Shasse my selfe did weare, costing fiftene Meidines.

The Persians weare such Tulbents for the forme, but the cloth is of Greene colour. And the Turkes (as I thinke) called Seriffi, and by others called Hemir, namely, the Kindred or race of *Mahomet*, (who make great shew of hereditary holinesse, and are of singular reputation), doe not onely weare Greene Tulbents, but all garments of the same colour, yet some of them weare garments of other colours, with a Greene marke to be knowne from others. They say, that *Mahomet* vsed to weare Greene garments, whereupon in superstition they onely permit this colour to his race; and if any chance, to weare a shoo-string or garters of that colour, by ignorance of this rite, they will flie vpon him, and beate him with cudgels, and if hee still weare them, will punish him more seuerely. My self ignorant of this rite, passed most part of Turkey, with my dublet lined with Greene taffety, but sleeping by nights in my dublet, and hiding the filke, lest they should thinke me rich; by great chance this error of mine was neuer detected, till I came to *Constantinople*, where our Ambassadour obseruing it, and telling mee the great cruelty they vse towards such as weare any Greene thing, did much astonish me, yet did I still weare the same, being safe in the priuiledge of the Ambassadors house, till I went into a Venetian ship, to sayle into *Italy*. Besides these hypocrites of *Mahomet's*

mers race, (for that cause so much respected, as the witnesse of one of them auails more then of ten common Turkes), they haue other orders of religious men, where of the chiefe, and (as it were) Metropolitane Bishop is called Mophy, whom the Emperour highly respects, and takes counsell of him when he goes to warre. Also the Cady is a chiefe Iudge of Ecclesiasticall causes: And all these weare silke gownes of skie coloured blew, which colour is esteemed next greene, and proper to some such orders. And these religious men weare their gownes long to the ground, with close sleeves, and their tulbents are larger, but flatter, then other Turkes weare.

Neither men nor women of the Turkes, weare any necke bands or collars, but their gownes are cut close to the lowest part of the necke, and there made fast, so as all the necke is naked. And the gownes of men and women little differ, saue that the men haue them large, the women close at the brest. They hate the blacke colour, as infernall, and much vsed by Christians. In general, the men weare a long coate to the knee, and vpon it a long gowne with gathered sleeves, hanging to the calfe of the legge, and buttoned at the brest, and a third longer gowne hanging behind to the ground, with sleeves close to the arme. They weare a girdle of silke or linnen twice or thrice about the waste, or of fine leather with plates of gold and siluer. Their breeches and stockings are of one peece of Kersey, like Irish Trousers, but larger, the stockings hanging loose without any garters. They weare their shirts hanging over their breeches, vnder which they haue linnen breeches, which they weare also by night, in stead of sheetes: And they pull out their shirts by day, lest they should be spotted by their priuy parts, making it a point of religion, to keepe their garments cleane. Lastly, they weare red and yellow shooes, of most thinne leather, pointed sharpe at the toes, and two fingers high at the heele, with peeces of iron vnder the soles, or else leather buskins; and both these they put off within dores; sitting vpon the ground, spread with Carpets, crossing their naked feete like our Taylors. Their vpper gowne and breeches are commonly of English or Venetian cloth, and many times of satten or damaske, or some light stufte: And their coates are loose, and commonly lined with blacke Conie skinned, brought out of *England*, and much esteemed by them; as being soft, and coole, and keeping out the Sunne in a loose garment, and also warme in a close garment. Thus they weare the finest cloth, silkes, and stufes, but not one is found so prodigall or ridiculous, as to weare any lace, and much lesse to cut any stufte, all wearing them plaine, and laughing at our contrary fashions. They haue no glooues, and I remember that my selfe in *Syria* being poorely attired, yet was taken for a great man, onely for wearing glooues. They weare very large hand-kerchers, and wrought all ouer with silke of light colours, which they hang by their sides about the girdle. They vse linnen cloth or cotton cloth very thinne and fine, but of browne colour, for thinnesse not vnlike our boulting cloths, but most pure and cleane, in which they are curious for all things worne about the body. The chief pride of the Turks, is in hauing the pummels of their Cemeters (or short and broad Swords) set with Iewels, which are many times counterfet, and commonly of small value, and likewise in hauing good Horses, with bridles and saddles rich and set with like Iewels. I neuer obserued any Turkes to weare gold Rings or Iewels on their fingers, excepting onely some Souldiers in *Syria*, whom I haue seene weare great rings of white bone vpon their thumbs. But the great men highly esteeme Christian Iewellers, not to weare the Iewels, but rather to haue their treasure portable, and easie to be hidden. The Turkes weare no Swords in the Cities, but onely in the Campe, or in Iournies. For Ianizaries and other Souldiers haue such authority without armes, as no man dares resist them, so as carrying onely a long and heavy cudgell in their hands, one of them will therewith beat multitudes of Turkes, like so many dogs: yet the Ianizaries in *Syria* weare at their girdles short and heavy Knives, like daggers.

The Turkish women weare smocks (of which fashion also the mens shirts are) of fine linnen, wrought with silke at the wrests, vpon the sleeves, and at the skirts; and a long cote of silke, wrought with needle worke, and edged, with sleeves close to the arme, and at the brest, with their necks naked. The womens gownes are much like

those of the men, for cloth and fashion, and in like sort without lace, and plaine without cutting, and open before, so as the smocke is seene; and they weare linnen breeches as men, by day and night, or else such breeches of cloth, as men weare, and both these open at the knee; and as the men, so likewise the women, haue no collar of any garment, but their neckes bee naked, and the women haue Pearles hanging in their eares. But they seldome weare shooes or stockings like men, but commonly Buskins of light colours, adorned with gold and siluer, or with Jewells if they be of the richer sort, or wifes of great men; and these they weare onely abroad, for at home their feet be naked, & as men, so they sit crosselegd vpon carpets. They weaue vpon their haire in curious knots, & so let them hang at length, & deck the haire with Pearle and buttrons of gold, and with Jewels & flowers of silk wrought with the needle. The women in *Syria* couer their heads with little peeces of coined moneys ioyned together with thread, in stead of a linnen coife. No Turkish woman, that euer I obserued in that vast Empire, at any time goeth forth to buy any thing, or for any businesse of the family, but when vpon other occasions they go forth, then they couer their heads and foreheads with a white vaile, their eyes with a blacke Cipers, and muffle their mouthes and neckes with white linnen, and hide their very hands vnder their vailles, though their hands be all painted ouer with a red colour, made of an hearb, which in the Easterne parts is held a great ornament, so as the very men in some places paint their hands. Also the women, ouer their garments (be they costly or poore) weare a gowne of a darke coloured cloth, which both rich and meaner women all generally vse of the same kind of cloth and the same colour, whensoever they goe out of the doores, so as thus muffled and couered, they cannot be distinguished in condition or beauty. Neither goe they abroad in any pompe to be seene, nor without the leaue of their husbands, to whom, and to no other at any time, they shew their face open, and their hands vn timer, except they will by immodesty procure their owne danger. Vnder the necke of this gowne couering all their apparrell, they thrust the end of their white vaile hanging downe from the hinder part of the head; yet the Greekish women weare this vaile loose ouer that gowne. And this singular modesty is attributed to these women, that they blush to come into Market places, or publike meetings, or great companies, and are not displeased to be strictly kept at home. Lastly, in respect of their frequent bathing, and their faces couered when they goe abroad, and so neuer open to the Sunne, wind, or any ill weather, the Turkish and Greekish women haue most delicate bodyes, and long preserve their beauties.

France.

The French, if we respect the time of these late Ciuill wars, weare light stufes and woollen cloth, with a doublet close to the body, and large easie breeches, and all things rather commodious for vse, then braue for ornament; and scoffed at those who came richly attired to the Campe, or wore long haire. But if wee consider their apparrell before the misery of the said ciuill warres, we shall find them authors to vs English, of wearing long haire, doublets with long bellies to the nauell, rufes hanging downe to the shoulders, and breeches puffed as big as a tunne, with all like wanton leuities. In time of peace, Gentlemen weare mixed and light colours, and silk garments, laid with silke lace, and fattens, commonly raced, and stockings of silke, or of some light stufte, but neuer woollen or worsted (which only Merchants weare,) and imbrodered garments, with great inconstancy in the fashion, and negligently or carelessly, which the Germans call slovenly, because they many times goe without hatbands and garters, with their points vntrust, and their doubtles vn timer. The sumptuary lawes forbid Gentlemen to weare cloth or lace of gold and siluer, but when the King proclaimes an honourable warre against any forraine Prince, he permits any braucry to his soldiers, yet so, as the warre ended, after a fit time to weare out that apparel, they must returne to their former attire, except the king be so weake, as he cannot giue life to these lawes. As well men as women commonly weare course linnen, and Gentlemens Lacqueis or seruants ruffle in plaine ragges. In generall, men and women (excepting Courtiers and some of the Gentry) weare light stufes, and rather delicate then sumptuous garments. And howsoever the Law forbidsto weare silke lace vpon silke stufes,

yet the execution of the Law being neglected, they euer offend more or lesse, according to the libertie of the time, against this old Law, neuer yet abolished, but rather in time worne out of respect. Merchants weare blacke garments of cloth, or light stufes of silke, commonly after a modest fashion. The Senators weare cloakes and hats (not gownes and caps as ours vse), and onely the Presidents and Counsellors of Parlements weare scarlet gownes, and that onely at solemne times, as the first day that the Court sits, and all the Procurators daily weare gownes. The Country people commonly vsed to weare blew cloth, in loose coates and close breeches, with stockings hanging ouer their shooes. But they haue left this fashion, and now for the most part, weare close doublets, and large breeches, with a large coate hanging downe to the knees, all of light stufes made at home, and stockings of course wooll. And their wiues in like sort attyred, haue their heads all ouer-wrapped in linnen.

In generall the women, married, couer their heads with a coysse or netted cawle. The Gentlewomen beare vp their haire on the fore-heads with a wier, and vpon the back part of the head weare a cap of other haire then their owne, ouer their cawle, and about that they weare a coysse of silke, lined with Veluet, and hauing a peake downe the forehead. Or else the Gentlewomen and wiues of rich Merchants, with small difference of degree, weare vpon their heads a black vaile of Cipers, peaked at the forehead, with a veluet hood hanging downe behind; onely the Gentlewomen weare this hood gathered, and the Merchants wiues plaine. Women of inferiour sort weare like hoods of cloth, and sometimes of silke, or a light stufte. And some Merchants wiues and women of ordinary condition, weare a white coiffe of linnen (fine or course according to their condition) with certaine high and not very comely hornes, wreathed vp on the forehead. Both men and women lately vsed falling bands, which the better sort starched, and raised vp with wier, shewing their necks and breasts naked. But now both more commonly and especially in winter, weare thicke ruffles. Gentlewomen and Citizens wiues when they goe out of dores, weare vpon their faces little Maskes of silk, lined with fine leather, which they alwaies vnpin, and shew their face, to any that salutes them. And they vse a strange badge of pride, to weare little looking glasses at their girdles. Commonly they go in the streets leaning vpon a mans arme. They weare very light gownes, commonly blacke, and hanging loose at the backe, and vnder it an vpper-body close at the breast, with a kirtle of a mixed or light colour, and of some light stufte, laid with many gardes, in which sort the women generally are attired. They weare sleeues to their gownes borne out with whalebones, and of a differing colour from the gowne, which besides hath other loose hanging sleeues cast backward, and aswel the vpperbodies as the kirtles, differ from the gowne in colour and stufte. And they say, that the sleeues borne vp with whale-bones, were first inuented, to auoid mens familiar touching of their armes. For it was related vnto me (I know not how credibly), that by Phisitians aduice the French make issues in their armes for better health, as the Italians vse to make them vnder the knees, couered with a close garter of brasse. In *France* as well men as women, vse richly to bee adorned with Iewels. The men weare rings of Diamonds, and abroad Iewels in their hats, placed vpon the roote of their feathers. The Ladies weare their Iewels commonly at the brest, or vpon the left arme, and many other waies; for who can containe the mutable French in one and the same fashion? and they commonly weare chaines of Pearle, yea, the very wiues of Merchants weare rings of Diamonds, but most commonly chaines of bugell and like toyes of black colour.

The Gentlemen haue no plate of siluer, but some spoones and a salt, much lesse haue they any plate of gold. But the great Lords or Princes eate in siluer dishes, and vse basons and ewers of siluer, and no other kind of plate, vsing alwaies to drinke in glasses, and each seuerall man to haue a glasse by himselfe.

Cæsar reports that the old Britans were apparrelled in skinnies, and wore long haire, *England*, with the beard all shauen, but the vpper lippe. Now the English in their apparrell are become more light then the lightest French, and more sumptuous then the proudest Persians. More light I say then the French, because with singular inconstancy they

haue in this one age worne out all the fashions of *France* and all the Nations of *Europe*, and tired their owne inuentions, which are no lesse buisie in finding out new and ridiculous fashions, then in scraping vp money for such idle expences: yea, the Taylors and Shopkeepers daily inuent fantasticall fashions for hats, and like new fashions and names for stufes. Some may thinke that I play the Poet, in relating wonderfull but incredible things, but men of experience know that I write with historicall truth. That the English by Gods goodnesse abounding at home with great variety of things to be worne, are not onely not content therewith, and not onely seeke new garments from the furthest East, but are besides so light and vaine, as they suffer themselves to be abused by the English Merchants, who nourishing this generall folly of their Countrymen, to their own gaine, daily in forraigne parts cause such new colours and stufes to be made, as their Masters send painted out of *England* to them, teaching strangers to serue our lightnesse with such inuentions as themselves neuer knew before. For this cause the English of greater modesty in apparrell, are forced to cast off garments before they be worne, since it is the law of nature, that euery man may eate after his owne appetite, but must weare his apparrell after the vulgar fashion, except he will looke like an old picture in cloth of Arras. I haue heard a pleasant fable, that *Iupiter* sent a shower, wherein whosoever was wet, became a foole; and that all the people were wet in this shower, excepting one Philosopher, who kept his study: but in the euening comming forth into the market place, and finding that all the people mocked him as a foole, who was onely wise, was forced to pray for another like shower, that he might become a foole, and so liue quietly among fooles, rather then beare the enuy of his wisdom. This happens to many wise men in our age, who wearing apparrell of old and good fashion, are by others so mocked for proud and obstinate fooles, till at last they are forced to be foolish with the fooles of their time. The English I say are more sumptuous then the Persians, because despising the golden meane, they affect all extremities. For either they will be attired in plaine cloth and light stufes, (alwayes prouided that euery day without difference their hats be of Beuer, their shirts and bands of the finest linnen, their daggers and swords guilded, their garters and shooe roles of silke, with gold or siluer lace, their stockings of silke wrought in the seames with silke or gold, and their cloakes in Summer of silke, in Winter at least all lined with veluet), or else they daily weare sumptuous doublets and breeches of silke or veluet, or cloth of gold or siluer, so laid ouer with lace of gold or silke, as the stufes (though of themselves rich) can hardly be seene. The English and French haue one peculiar fashion, which I neuer obserued in any other part, namely to weare scabbards and sheaths of veluet vpon their rapiers and daggers: For in *France* very Notaries vse them in the Cities, and ride vpon their footecloaths, or in Coaches (both hired), and in *England* men of meane sort vse them. In the time of Queene *Elizabeth* the Courtiers delighted much in darke colours, both simple and mixt, and did often weare plaine blacke stufes; yet that being a braue time of warre, they, together with our Commanders, many times wore light colours, richly laced and embrodered, but the better sort of Gentlemen then esteemed simple light colours to be lesse comely, as red and yellow, onely white excepted, which was then much worne in Court. Now in this time of King *James* his Reigne, those simple light colours haue bene much vsed.

If I should begin to set downe the variety of fashions and forraigne stufes brought into *England* in these times, I might seeme to number the starres of Heauen and sands of the Sea. I will onely adde, that the English in great excesse affect the wearing of Jewels and Diamond Rings, scorning to weare plaine gold rings, or chaines of gold, the men seldome or neuer wearing any chaines, and the better sort of women commonly wearing rich chaines of pearle, or else the light chaines of *France*, and all these Jewels must be oriental and precious, it being disgracefull to weare any that are counterfet. In like manner among the better sort of Gentlemen and Merchants, few are found, who haue not cupbords of siluer and gold plate, to the value of two hundred pounds at the least. And if a feast last longer then one day, they seldome vse the same plate

plate of siluer or gilded: yea, not only the great Lords, but the better sort of Knights and Gentlemen, vse to eate in siluer dishes. And whereas the French and Italians vse to drinke in glasses, and haue few vessels, no pots or boles of siluer, and the Germans drink in peuter or stone pots, hauing little or no plate; most of the householders in *England* of any reasonable condition, drinke in siluer: yet howsoeuer the Gentlemen are serued with pots and boles of siluer, they rather delight to drinke in glasses of *Venice*, onely the common sort vsing other kinds of glasses.

In the generall pride of *England* there is no fit difference made of degrees; for very Bankrouts, Players, and Cutpurfes, goe apparrelled like Gentlemen. Many good Lawes haue been made against this Babylonian confusion, but either the Merchants buying out the penaltie, or the Magistrates not inflicting punishments, haue made the multitude of Lawes hitherto vnprofitable. Likewise is the excesse of all ages and sexes, but (God be thanked) not of all particular orders; for onely the Merchants and Students of the Vniuersities, with great comlineffe, and no lesse neatnesse, are apparrelled in light stufes, or silke, or cloth of graue colours, and much keepe their old fashions, or at least are not curiously addicted to new. The wiues of Merchants, though little yeelding to others in pride or expence, yet haue long vsed, and still retaine a decent attire, with little or no inconstancy in the fashion. They weare a gowne of some light stufte or silke, gathered in the backe, and girded to the body with a girdle, and decked with many gardes at the skirt, with which they weare an apron before them, of some silke or stufte, or fine linnen. They weare vpon their heads a coyfe of finelinnen, with their haire raised a little at the forehead, and a cap of silke, or a little hat of beauer, yet without fit difference of estate or condition, and some weare light French chaines and necklaces of pearle. The grauer sort of Citizens weare gownes and caps, others weare hats and cloakes, and their prentises cloakes and caps. No Citizens weare any swords in the Citie. At publike meetings the Aldermen of *London* weare Scarlet gownes, and their wiues a close gowne of skarlet laid with gardes of blacke veluet.

Husbandmen weare garments of course cloth, made at home, and their wiues weare gownes of the same cloth, kirtles of some light stufte, with linnen aprons, and couer their heads with a linnen coyfe, and a high felt hat, and in generall their linnen is course, and made at home.

Gentlewomen virgins weare gownes close to the body, and aprons of fine linnen, and goe bareheaded, with their haire curiously knotted, and raised at the forehead, but many against the cold (as they say) weare caps of haire that is not their owne, decking their heads with buttons of gold, pearles, and flowers of silke, or knots of ribben. They weare fine linnen, and commonly falling bands, and often ruffes, both starched, and chaines of pearle about the necke, with their breasts naked. The grauer sort of married women vsed to couer their head with a French-hood of Veluet, set with a border of gold buttons and pearles: but this fashion is now left, and they most commonly weare a coyfe of linnen, and a little hat of beauer or felt, with their haire somewhat raised at the forehead. Young married Gentlewomen sometimes goe bareheaded, as virgins, decking their haire with Iewels, and silke ribbens, but more commonly they vse the foresaid linnen coyfe and hats. All in generall, weare gownes hanging loose at the backe, with a Kirtle and close vpper-body, of silke or light stufte, but haue lately left the French sleeues borne out with hoopes of whalebone, and the young married Gentlewomen no lesse then the Virgins, shew their breasts naked.

The seruants of Gentlemen were wont to weare blew coates, with their Masters badge of siluer on the left sleeue: but now they most commonly weare clokes garded with lace, all the seruants of one family wearing the same liuerie for colour and ornament; and for the rest, are apparrelled with no lesse pride and inconstancie of fashion then other degrees.

The Husbandmen in *Scotland*, the seruants, and almost al in the Country did weare course cloth made at home, of gray or skie colour, and flat blew caps very broad. The Merchants in Cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour or mingled

led black and blew. The Gentlemen did weare English cloth, or silke, or light stufes, little or nothing adorned with silke lace, much lesse with lace of siluer or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in Court. Gentlewomen married did weare close vpper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeues after the French manner, short cloakes like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands about their neckes. The vnmarried of all sorts did goe bareheaded, and weare short cloakes, with most close linnen sleeues on their armes, like the Virgins of *Germany*. The inferiour sort of Citizens wiues, and the women of the Countrey, did weare cloakes made of a course stufte, of two or three colours in Checker worke, vulgarly called *Plodan*. To conclude, in generall they would not at this time be attired after the English fashion in any sort, but the men, especially at Court, follow the French fashion, and the women, both in Court and City, as well in cloakes, as naked heads, and close sleeues on the armes, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in *Germany*.

Ireland.

In *Ireland* the English and the English Irish are attired after the English manner, for the most part, yet not with such pride and inconstancy, perhaps for want of meanes: yet the English Irish forgetting their owne Countrey, are somewhat infected with the Irish rudenesse, and with them are delighted in simple light colours, as red and yellow. And in like sort the degenerated Citizens are somewhat infected with the Irish filthinesse, as well in low sie beds, foule sheetes, and all linnen, as in many other particulars; but as well in diet as apparrell, the Citizens of *Dublyn* most of all other, and the Citizens of *Waterford* and *Galloway* in some good measure, retaine the English cleanlinesse. Touching the meere or wild Irish, it may truely be said of them, which of old was spoken of the Germans, namely, that they wander slouely and naked, and lodge in the same house (if it may be called a house,) with their beasts. Among them the Gentlemen or Lords of Countries, weare close breeches and stockings of the same peece of cloth, of red or such light colour, and a loose coate, and a cloake or three cornered mantle, commonly of course light stufte made at home, and their linnen is course and slouely. I say slouely, because they seldome put off a shirt till it be worne: And these shirts in our memory before the last Rebellion, were made of some twenty or thirty elles, folded in wrinkles, and coloured with saffron to auoid low finesse, incident to the wearing of foule linnen. And let no man wonder, that they are low sie, for neuer any barbarous people were found in all kinds more slouely then they are, and nothing is more common among them, then for the men to lie vpon the womens laps on greene hills, till they kill their lice, with a strange nimblenesse, proper to that Nation. Their said breeches are so close, as they expose to full view, not onely the noble, but also the shamefull parts, yea they stufte their shirts about their priuy parts, to expose them more to the view.

Their wiues liuing among the English, are attired in a sluttish gowne, to be fastned at the breast with a lace, and in a more sluttish mantell, and more sluttish linnen, and their heads be couered after the Turkish manner, with many elles of linnen, onely the Turkish heads or Tulbents are round in the top: but the attire of the Irish womens heads, is more flat in the top and broader on the sides, not much vnlike a cheese mot, if it had a hole to put in the head. For the rest, in the remote parts where the English Lawes and manners are vnkowne, the very cheefe of the Irish, as well men as women, goe naked in very Winter time, onely hauing their priuy parts couered with a ragge of linnen, and their bodies with a loose mantell, so as it would turne a mans stomacke to see an old woman in the morning before breakefast. This I speake of my owne experience, yet remember that the foresaid Bohemian Barron, comming out of *Scotland* to vs, by the North parts of the wild Irish, told me in great earnestnes, (when I attended him at the Lord Deputies command,) that he comming to the house of *Ocane* a great Lord among them, was met at the doore with sixteene women, all naked, excepting their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very faire, and two seemed very Nymphs: with which strange sight his eyes being dazelled, they led him into the house, and there sitting downe by the fier, with crossed legges like Taylors, and

* *Ledwich's Antiq. of Ireland: p. 333. Dublin 4^{to}. 1790.*

so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to set downe with them. Soone after *Ocane* the Lord of the Countrie came in all naked excepting a loose mantle, and shooes, which he put off as soone as he came in, and entertaining the Barron after his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparel, which he thought to be a burthen to him, and to sit naked by the fier with this naked company. But the Barron when he came to himselfe after some astonishment at this strange sight, professed that he was so inflamed therewith, as for shame he durst not put off his apparel.

These Rogues in Summer thus naked beare their armes, girding their swords to them by a with in stead of a girdle. To conclude, men and women, at night going to sleepe, lie thus naked in a round circle about the fier, with their feete towards it, and as I formerly said, treating of their diet, they fold their heads and vpper partes in their woollen mantles, first steeped in water, to keepe them warme. For they say that woollen cloth wetted, preserues heate, (as linnen wetted preserues cold) when the smoke of their bodies hath warmed the woollen cloth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Germans, and Bohemians Commonwealth, Under which title I containe an Historicall introduction; the Princes pedigreees, and Courts, the present state of things, the tributes and reuenues, the military state for Horse, Foote, and Navy, the Courts of Iustice, rare Lawes, more specially the Lawes of inheritance, and of womens Dowries, the capitall Iudgements, and the diuersitie of degrees in Family and Common-wealth.



Constantine the great made Emperour about the yeere 306, remoued his seate from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and at his death deuided the Empire among his children. And how-
The histor- call intro- duction.
 soeuer the Empire was after sometimes vnited in the person of one Prince for his reigne; yet it could neuer be againe established in one body, but was most commonly deuided into the Easterne and Westerne Empires. In the time of *Augustulus* Emperour of the West, the remote Countries of the Empire recouered their liberty by the sword, and barbarous Nations in great armies, inuaded

the Empire, till they possessed *Italy*, so as this Emperour was forced to depose his Imperiall dignity about the yeere 476. And thus the Westerne Empire ceased, till *Charles* the great, King of *France*, about the yeere 774 subdued the Lombards, and was at *Rome* saluted Emperour of the West by Pope *Leo* the third, and the Princes of *Italy*. From which time the Empires of the East and West, of old deuided by inheritance among brothers and Kinsmen had no more any mutuall right of succession, but began to bee seuerally gouerned. Histories write, that *Charles* the great, King of *France*, was descended of the Germans, and that all *Gallia Transalpina* (that is beyond the *Alpes*) and vpper *Germany*, as farre as *Hungary*, were by a common name called *France*, onely deuided into Easterne and Westerne *France*. And the diuers Nations of *Germany*, formerly gouerned by their Kings and Dukes, were at this time first vnited vnder this *Charles* the great About the yeere 911. *Conrade* the first, son to the Duke of *Franconia* (a large Prouince of *Germany*), was first out of the race of *Charles* the great saluted Emperour of the West, by the Princes of *Germany*, though *Charles* the Simple, and others of the race of *Charles* the great, still reigned *France* to the yeere 988, yet with lesse reputation then their progenitors had, and troubled with many confusions. Thus *Germany* deuiding it selfe from *France*, drew to it selfe the Empire of the West, whereof in our
age

age it retaineth rather the shadow then the old glory. Foure Dukes of *Saxony* succeeded *Conrade* in this Empire, and in the time of *Otho* the third Duke of *Saxony* and Emperour, contrary to the former custome, whereby the Emperours succeeded by right of blood, or the last testament of the deceased Emperour, or by the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, the election of the Emperour was in the yeere 984 established hereditary to seuen Princes of *Germany*, called Electors, by a law made by the Emperour and the Pope. From that time the Empire hath remained in *Germany*, with free election, yet so as they most commonly therein respected the right of blood, in which respect the house of *Austria* hath long continued in the possession of the Empire. And the Emperours of *Germany* for many ages, by this right governed *Italy*, and received their Crowne at *Rome*, till wearied and worne out by the treacheries of the Popes, and forced to beare the publike burthen vpon their priuate reuenues, they were made vnable to support their former dignity. For these causes *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg* of the house of *Austria* chosen Emperour in the yeere 1273, first laid aside all care of forraigne matters. Then the riches of the Emperours daily decreasing, and the riches of inferiour Princes no lesse increasing, the Emperours in processe of time, for great summes of money, sold libertie and absolute power to the Princes and Dukes of *Italy* and *Germany*, yea, their very right of inuesting, to the Princes of *Italy*.

Most of the Cities in *Netherland*, and all the Cantons of the Sweitzers, were of old subiect to the German Emperours, till by the dissentions betweene them and the Popes, they found meanes to gaine their liberties. Of old nintie fixe greater Cities thus made free, still acknowledged the Emperour in some sort: but after many of them, leagued with the Sweitzers and Netherlanders, quite forsooke the Emperour; many of the rest, and many lesse Cities, either pawned to Princes for moneys borrowed, or giuen to Princes for their good seruice to the Emperours in their wartes, became subiect to diuers Princes by the Emperours consent; so as at this day there bee onely sixty Cities, all seated in *Germany*, which are called Free and Imperiall Cities, hauing absolute power within themselues; and howsoeuer these in a sort acknowledge the Emperour their chiefe Lord, yet they little or not at al feare or respect his weake power.

Hitherto the Roman Bishops, not enduring a superiour Lord, first cast the Emperours of the East out of *Italy*, and after by al meanes weakened their power, till *Mahomet* the second Emperour of the Turkes, about the yeere 1453, swallowed that Empire within his foule iawes. Hitherto the said Bishops, that they might reigne alone, sometimes bewitched the barbarous Kings, which had destroyed the Empire of the West, and then reigned in *Italy*, for Religions sake to promote the Church of *Rome*, and at other times oppressed them with open treacheries, till they had conferred the Kingdome of *Lombardy* and the Empire of the West vpon *Charles* the Great, King of *France*. Hitherto the same Bishops, for the same causes, had troubled the Empire of the West with Ciuill dissentions, till at last *Italy* (as I said) hauing bought liberty of the Emperours, and the said German Emperours containing themselues at home, (for no Emperour after the said *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*, but onely *Lodwick* the Bawarian, did euer leade any Army into *Italy*), they now thought good to rage no more against this deiected Empire, but rather to cherrish it, conuerting themselues wholly to bring all Christian Kings vnder their yoke. And now the Turkish Emperours began to threaten ruine to the German Empire, and in very *Germany*, the Popes stage, where they had plaid their bloody parts, by continuall raising of ciuill warres, the reformation of Religion began freshly to spring, and to pull the borrowed plumes of the Popes. Therefore the Emperours from that time to this our age, haue been wholly busied in resisting the Turkes, and composing the domesticall differences of Religion.

And from the same time forward, the Court of *Rome* was continually distracted with the factions of *France* and *Spaine*, till the Popes, skilfull to vse the ambitious discussions of Princes to their owne profit and greatnesse, made them all subiect to the Romane yoke. And the Kings on the contrary laboured nothing more, then to haue the Pope on their party, at whose beck all Christendome was governed, to which end they

they gaue large bribes to the Cardinals, who had now assumed to themselves the election of the Popes. To conclude, the Popes to make their owne power transcendent, kept the power of the Princes in equal ballance, by sowing dissensions among them, and fauouring now one now the other party, till for feare of the reformed Religion now also springing in *France*, they could no longer keepe this equality, but were forced to forsake the Kings of *France* distracted with ciuill warres, and to aduance the Kings of *Spaine*, as protectors of the Church, whose Clients at last got the power to gouerne all things in *Rome* at their pleasure: And the Spaniard at this time distracted abroad with the French and English warres, and besieged at home with the power of the Iesuites and religious men, seemed lesse to bee feared by the Romans in that respect, as likewise the Kings of *Spaine* doubted not to maintaine the awfull authority of the Popes, which they knew must alwayes be fauourable to their designs, as well for the protection which they gaue to the Roman Church, against the reformed Religion, as for that the massy gold of *Spaine*, bore so great sway in the Colledge of the Cardinals, that by strange successe, the Popes lesse inclined to the Spanish faction, were soone taken away by vntimely death. To omit many other, I will onely mention Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who liued happily in that Chaire, so long as he fauoured *Spaine*, but as soone as he was thought to decline from that faction, and when he saw a white Mule presented him for the tribute of the Neapolitane Kingdome, was said to weepe, that so little a Mule should be giuen for so great a Kingdome: he liued not long after, but suddenly vanished away. At *Rome* are two Images called *Pasquin* and *Marphorius*, vpon which libels vse to be fixed: And of late when the Pope by the mediation of the King of *France*, had made peace with the Venetians, contrary to the liking of the King of *Spaine*, a white sheete of paper was fixed on *Pasquin*, and another demanding what that paper ment was fixed on *Marphorius*, and a third paper was fixed on *Pasquin*, answering, that the cleane paper was for the Pope to make his last Will and Testament, as if he could not liue long, hauing offended the Spanish faction. Yet in our age the Kings of *France*, after the ciuill warres appeased, beganne to recouer their former power in the Roman Court: but I leaue these things as somewhat straying from my purpose, and returne to the affaires of *Germany*.

In the said Family of *Austria*, the Westerne Empire hath growne old and weake, by little and little from that time to this our age: For howsoeuer the Emperor *Charles* the fifth of the said Family, heire to eight and twenty Kingdomes, in respect hee was borne at *Gant* in *Netherland*, and so reputed a German, was chosen Emperour in the yeere 1519, by the Electors, reiecting the King of *France Francis* the first, as a stranger, and at that time the power of this Emperour seemed fearefull to the Italians, at the first blush: yet the Pope of *Rome* in the Triumirall warre of *England, France, & Spaine*, did with such art support the weaker part, and by contrary motions in one and the same cause, so fauoured now one, now the other side, and so dispenced with the breaking of oathes on the part they tooke, as while the power of these Kings was weakened by mutuall warres, *Italy* in the meane time receiued small or no damage. True it is, that *Charles* the fifth by subtile art and open force, had almost subdued *Germany* distracted by dissensions of religion, & had almost brought the free Empire into the forme of a subdued Prouince, till *Mauritius* Elector of *Saxony*, obtained helpe of the King of *France Henry* the second, who came with a great Army to the confines of the Empire, professing himselfe the Champion of the Germane liberty. At which time *Mauritius* besieging *Magdeburg* with the Emperours army, receiued that City into the protection of the Empire and of himselfe, and lest he might seeme to deale perfidiously with the Emperour, if he should assaile him with forces vnder his owne pay, dismissed the whole Army, yet so, as himselfe presently entertained in his owne pay the greatest part thereof, willing to serue him: And with these forces he so speedily came to *Insprucke*, where the Emperour then lay, as his sudden repaire made the Emperour hastily flie out of the Empire into *Italy*. Thus *Mauritius* caused the captiue Princes of the reformed religion to be set at liberty, gaue peace to the reformed religion, and restored liberty to the oppressed Empire: And howsoeuer he cunningly

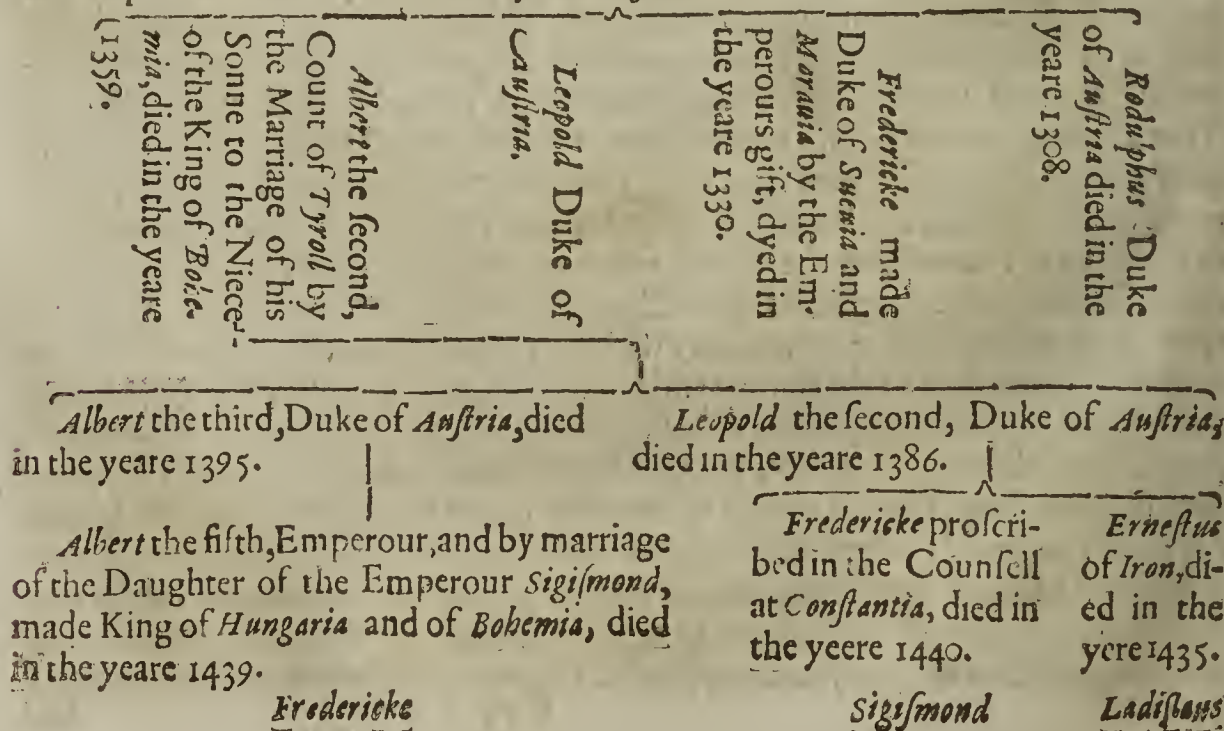
*The House
of Austria.*

had aduanced himfelfe and his pofterity, by the deiection of his owne kinfemen fuf-
fering for the reformed religion and for the liberty of the Empire, yet he repaired the
publike loffes of his Religion, and of his Countrey. But they who more iudicially
obferued the affaires of this age, confefle that nothing hath more kept the houfe of
Auftria from fubduing the Weft, then thofe of the fame Houfe. For the foresaid con-
fident proceeding of *Mauritius*, was caufed by the diftrufts and iealoufies betweene
Charles the fifth and his brother *Ferdinand*, (pringing from the following caule, name-
ly that *Charles* the elder brother, to the end that he might keepe the Empire in his own
Family, had caufed his brother *Ferdinand*, at *Colen* in the yeere 1531, to be choſen King
of the Romans, (fo they call him that is choſen in the Emperours life to ſucceed him)
hoping that when his ſonne *Philip* ſhould come to age, his brother for ſome increaſe
of his patrimony, would be induced to ſurrender his right in the Empire: But *Ferdi-*
nand at this time hauing had large offers made him to religne the ſame, could not be
induced to doe that wrong to his children: And becauſe he ſuſpected that *Charles* the
Emperor might force him thereunto, he is ſaid to haue gladly borne the aduerſe for-
tune of his ſaid brother, and all troubles riſing againſt him, yea, (if men of experience
may be beleued) to haue himſelfe encouraged *Mauritius* to the foresaid attempt.
Therefore *Charles* failing of his hope, and for age and wearineſſe of the World, reti-
ring himſelfe to a private life in a Monastery of *Spaine*, in the yeere 1558, his brother
Ferdinand tooke poſſeſſion of the Empire, which remaineth to this day in his poſteri-
ty, the Electors alwayes vſing to reſpect the right of blood, in chooſing the new Em-
perour. And vnder their poore eſtate and vnwarlike mindes, the Empire at this day
linguiſheth like a ſparke lapped in aſhes: And the Popes held for Gods vpon earth,
haue no more feared the Emperors authority, but rather ſupported it againſt the re-
formed religion, and the inuaſions of the Turks, the Emperors alwayes acknowledg-
ing this vnprofitable ſeruant of their Progenitors for their Benefactor and ſpiritual
Father. The Emperour *Rodolphus* at this time living, is of the Houſe of *Auftria*, whoſe
pedegree I will ſet downe. The firſt Family of the Houſe of *Auftria* gaue many Em-
perours to *Germany*, but that was extinguished in *Conradine* the ſonne of *Fredericke*,
few yeeres before *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*, came to the Empire, who is the roote of this
ſecond Family of *Auftria*.

The Empe-
rours pede-
gree.

Rodolphus of *Habsburg*, of the Houſe of *Auftria*, was choſen Emperour in the yeere
1273.

Albert the firſt, Heire of the Dukedomes of *Auftria*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola*, (after his
Father had ſubdued the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, & ioyned it to the Empire), was cho-
ſen Emperour, and dved in the yeere 1308.



Ladislaus Posthumus, King of *Bohemia* (vnder *George Pochibraccius* his Tutor), and King of *Hungary*, (vnder *Iohn Huniades* Tutorage) died in the yeere 1457.

Fredericke the third, Emperour died in the yeere 1493.
Sigismund dyed in the yeere 1497.

Maximilian the first, Emperour, after the death of *Mathias* King of *Hungary*, recovered that Kingdome, which he had vsurped, then retaining to himselfe the right of succession, yeelded it to *Ladislaus*, and marrying the daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, made that Dukedome, and all the Prouinces of *Netherland* hereditary to the House of *Austria*. He died in the yeere 1519.

Philip marrying the Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, became Heire to those Kingdomes, and died young before his Father, in the yeere 1506.
Margeret gouerned *Netherland* and died in the yeere 1530.

Charles the fifth, Emperour, died in the yeere 1558.

By his Wife *Isabella*, daughter to the King of *Portugall*.

By *Ione* his concubine.

Four Daughters, *Elinora* married to *Francis* the first, King of *France*, died ann. 1558. *Isabel*, wife to the King of *Denmarke*, died ann. 1525. *Mary*, wife to the King of *Hungary*, & after gouerning *Netherland*, died ann. 1558. *Catherine*, wife to the King of *Portingall*.

Ferdinand Emperour after the vnhappy death of *Lodouicus* King of *Hungary*, in a battell against the Turks, in the yeere 1526, by the right of his wife, sister and heire to *Lodouicus*, & the said contract made by *Maximilian* I, Emperour, was crowned King of *Hungary*, and also by his said wiues right K. of *Bohemia*, & died anno 1564.

Philip, King of *Spaine*.
Ferdinand died an Infant.

Two Sisters, *Mary*, wife to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second; and *Ione*, wife to the King of *Portugall*.

Don Iuan, Victor of the Turks in a ual fight, dying an. 1578.

Ione, wife to the Duke of *Florence*; *Marie*, wife to the Duke of *Parma*.

Philip King of *Spaine*, borne of *Anne* of *Austria* in the yeere 1578.

Two sisters, *Catherine* borne of *Isabella* of *Valois*, wife to the Duke of *Sauoy*; and *Isabella* *Claudia* *Eugenia* wife to arch-Duke *Albert*, and borne of *Anne* of *Austria*.

By *Anne* of *Austria*.

Ferdinand died a child.
James died of nine yeares of age.

Charles *Dentatus*, by *Marie* of *Portugall*, by his Fathers permission, put to death by the Inquisition anno 1568.

This is the first Family of the Archdukes of *Austria*, to this day reigning in *Spaine*.

Maximilian the second, Emperor, married to *Mary*, sister to *Philip* King of *Spaine*, died anno 1576.

Five sisters, *Elizabeth* married to the King of *Poland*, died an. 1545. *Anne* wife to the Duke of *Bavaria*; *Maria* wife to the Duke of *Clue*. *Magdalen* vnmarried; and *Catherine* wife to the Duke of *Mantua*, and after to the King of *Poland*.

Ferdinand of *Ispruck*, so called of that Citie, wherein he holds his Court. Hee married the daughter of the Duke of *Mantua*, by whom he had some daughters, but no heire male. But by a Citizens daughter of *Augsburg* his wife, hee had two sonnes.

Iohn died a child.

Six sisters, *Leonora*, wife to the Duke of *Mantua*. *Barbara*, wife the Duke of *Ferraria*. *Margareta*, *Ysola*, *Helena*, and *Ioanna*.

Charles of *Gratz*, so called of that City where he held his Court. Hee is the fourth sonne of the Emperour *Ferdinand* by *Maria*, the daughter of the Duke of *Bavaria*. Hee begat twelue children, and dying in the yeere 1519, left two sonnes, besides diuers daughters.

Ferdinand
zu *Gratz*.

Carolus Post-
humus.

Charles Mar-
ques of *Burgh*.

Andrew a
Cardinall.

This is the fourth Family of the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, called zu *Gratz*, of that City wherein they hold their Court.

This is the third Family of the Arch-Dukes, called of *Ispruck*, the Citie wherein they liue.

Ferdinand died a child in the yeere 1552.

Rodolph, 2 of that name, and the eighth Emperour of this Family, chosen King of the Romans, 1575, Emperour 1576, succeeding King of *Hungarie*, 1572, King of *Bohemia* 1575. Hee was at this time Emperour, and liued vnmarried.

3. *Sonne Ernestus* gouerned *Netherland*, and died vnmarried.

4. *Matthien*, vnmarried.

5. *Maximilian*, vnmarried.

6. *Albert* surrendered his Cardinals Hat, married *Jabel* daughter to the K. of *Spaine*, and gouernes *Netherland*, but hath no children.

7. *Wenceslaus*. 8. *Fredericke*.

9. *Carolus*, al three died yong.

Four sisters, *Anna*, married to the King of *Spaine*, anno 1563, died anno 1580. *Elizabeth* married to *Charles* the 9, King of *France*, anno 1570. *Mary* & *Margaret* died yong.

This is the second Family of the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, to this day succeeding in the Empire of *Germany*.

The house
of *Austria*.

Thus I haue shewed, that besides the branch of the House of *Austria* now raigning in *Spaine*, there remaine three branches thereof in *Germany*, the first of the Emperour *Rodolphus* and his brethren *Ernestus* (dying in his life time) *Matthias* and *Maximilianus* and *Albertus*, Whereof soure liued vnmarried, the fifth named *Albertus* hath long been married, but hath no child. The second branch is that of *Ferdinand* of *Ispruck*, who married *Philippina* the daughter of a Citizen in *Augsburg*, whereupon his kinsmen disdaining that her ignoble Issue should enherit with them, forced him to agree, that the County of *Tyroll* should not descend vpon his sonne, whereupon his eldest sonne by her named *Charles*, possesseth onely the City and territory of *Burgh*, (which was in his Fathers power to giue) with title of the Marquesse of *Burgh*, and the said County at the Fathers death fell backe to the Emperour. His second sonne *Andrew* Cardinal of *Brixia*, besides the spirituall possessions of that County, hath also the Bishopricke of

of *Cosnetz* in *Suecia*: But *Ferdinand*, of his second wife daughter to the Duke of *Mantua*, had some daughters, but no heire male. The third branch is of *Charles* of *Gratz*, who besides his heires males, left eight daughters, whereof one is now married to *Sigismund* King of *Poland* by election, and of *Suecia* by inheritance, the second to the Prince of *Transilvania*, the third to *Philip* King of *Spain*.

The Emperour by right of his owne inheritance, (not of the Empire) is Lord of many and large Prouinces, namely, King of *Hungary*, King of *Bohemia*, with the annexed most fertile Prouinces, of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*. Also towards the Alpes he hath by Inheritance many large Prouinces, gotten by his Progenitors, (as appears by his Pedegree), namely, the Arch-Dukedome of *Austria*, the Prouinces of *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Tyrol*, and other large territories in *Suecia* and *Alsacia*, besides great iurisdiccions among the Sweitzers called the Grysons.

The Emperours Dominions.

Ferdinand the Emperour, brother to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, married the sister and heire of *Lodouicus* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and after the vnhappy death of *Lodouicus*, killed in the field by the Turkes, in the yeere 1526, was chosen King of *Bohemia*, which Kingdome with the Empire, descended to his heires. And this Kingdome is exempted from the Parliaments and Contributions of *Germany*, by a priuiledge granted by *Charles* the fourth Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, of whom the Germans complaine, as more respecting *Bohemia* then the Empire. In which point he is lesse to be taxed, because howsoeuer that Kingdome freely elects their Kings, yet the heire is therein alwaies respected before any other, and being an Infant, yet is commonly chosen King, with a Tutor for his Nonage. The three States of Barons, Knights, and Citizens, chuse the King; but *Ferdinand* the Emperour in his life time, caused his sonne *Maximilian* to be chosen King. In like manner this Emperour *Rodolphus* was chosen King of *Bohemia*, and also King of *Hungaria*, while his Father liued: And howsoeuer he being vnmarried, hath lesse care of his Successour, yet custome and the publike good haue such force, as *Bohemia* seemes hereditary to the House of *Austria*, either for feare of so great a Family bordering vpon the Kingdome, or because they iustly triumph to haue the Emperours seate at *Prage*, the cheefe City of *Bohemia*, especially since no Prince out of that Family is able to beare the burthen of the Empire, if they obserue the Law, binding the Electors to chuse an Emperour among the Princes borne in *Germany*. As the said three States chuse the King, so they chuse a Viceroy for life, to gouerne the Kingdome at the Kings death, and to be one of the Electors as King of *Bohemia*, at the choyce of the Emperour, dead in the same person. Yet commonly before this time, wherein the vnmarried Emperour neglects the succession, the Germans were wont while the Emperour liued, to chuse his successor, intituled King of the Romans: At this time the Baron of *Rosenburg* was Viceroy of *Bohemia* for life, who held his Court neere *Lintz* vpon the confines of *Austria*, and was said to haue the keeping of the Kings Crowne, in a Castle called *Carlsstein*.

Bohemia

Touching *Hungary*, it had the name of the people called the *Hunns*, who vnder their King *Geyza*, receiued the Christian Religion: his sonne *Stephen* was chosen King in the yeere 1002, from whom in order many Kings haue bene chosen, so as due respect was alwayes had of the eldest sonnes to the deceased, who sometimes refused, did stirre vp ciuill warres. King *Andrew* about the yeere 1230, first gaue great priuiledges to the Nobility, which their Kings to this day haue vsed to confirme, as soone as they were elected. King *Vladislaus* in the yeere 1490, first ioyned the Kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* together, whose sonne *Lodouicus* perished in the vnhappy battell against the Turkes in the yeere 1526: At which time *Ferdinand* of the House of *Austria*, brother to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and successor to him in the Empire, was chosen King of *Hungary*, as well by the couenant which the Emperour *Maximilian* the first made with *Matthias Huniades*, as by the right of his wife, being sister and heire to the said *Lodouicus*, and he caused his sonne *Maximilian* the second, to bee chosen King in his life time, as his sonne *Rodolphus* at this time Emperour, was chosen King while his Father liued: and vnder them, through ciuill dissentions, and the

Hungary.

fearefull neighbourhood of the great Turke, great part of this Kingdome hath beene subdued by that Tyrant, and for the rest, the Emperour *Rodolphus*, to the great reproch of the Empire, was forced to send yeerely tribute to *Constantinople*, till the free Cities of *Germany* slackning to pay this tribute, the Great Turke tooke that wished occasion to make warre against the Christians, and finding none weaker to resist him then the Emperour, hath in our age horribly wasted *Hungary*, and subdued the greatest part of that Kingdome. The said tribute was said to be seuen tunnes of gold each three yeeres, as I haue heard by graue and learned men, but I know not how conuersant in matters of State.

The Empe-
rour and his
Court.

Rodolphus the Emperour was of a middle stature, somewhat corpulent, with a ruddy but sower countenance, a short thicke beard, and browne coloured haire: At that time mourning for his dead sister, he wore blacke garments of small price: Hee was said to loue solitarinesse, and to exercise the Arts of Alchumy and Painting. Hee was most easie of accessse, and very affable, so as euery man spake to him with small reuerence, and in the Chamber of Presence the Courtiers and strangers gaue no reuerence to the Chaire of Estate, the Sword, and the Scepter, but stood by with their heads couered, yea, laid their hands or leaned vpon the cushion, without any ceremony of reuerence. He was esteemed sparing of speech, and liberall in his nature, so as he rewarded his Courtiers honourably, though slowly, for want of money, which made him not able to shew any magnificence. Nothing was more common in euery mans mouth, as well German as Bohemian, then that hee was much addicted to the warfare of *Venus*, bearing in his body strange scarres and priuy maimes thereof, but abhorred from the warre of *Mars*.

At *Vienna* I did see *Ernestus* and *Mathias*, brothers to the Emperour, eating at one Table together, for they admit all subiects and strangers to come into the roome where they eate, at the times of dinner and supper. Before the Arch-Dukes came in, all stood with their heads couered: Then the Caruer making himselfe ready to serue at the Table, laid his hat vpon the Chaire of Estate, contrary to our English manner, who giue reuerence to that Chaire, though our Princes be absenr. When the Arch-Dukes sate downe at Table, all the standers by bended their knees: They both sat on one side, with their backs to the wall, and each had a Foole to stand by him, one at the Tables end, another on the opposite side, to whom with their owne hands they gaue largely to eate, which they greedily deuoured. The two Arch-Dukes did both together feede on spoonemeates: For other dishes liking either of them, each called for them by a becke or dumbe signe, and so refused other: but if any one dish liked them both, it was first set before *Ernestus*, and after before *Mathias*. Both had one taster, but each had his Cupbearer. They spake not a word one to the other, or to any attending, and *Ernestus* did swallow his drinke, *Mathias* did sip it. *Ernestus* was somewhat like the Emperour his brother, saue that his haire was blacker, and his countenance more warlike. *Mathias* was very slender with a more effeminate face, and a thinne or no beard, and whitish haire: Their apparrell was nothing lesse then sumptuous. These brothers of the Emperour, had no possessions of inheritance allotted vnto them, but were content to haue their expences borne by the Emperour.

Many Pensioners liued in the Emperours Court, but few had diet and lodging therein. The Emperour had one hundred Hascheres, to whom hee gaue for diet to each twelue Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and for apparrel to each foure & twenty Guldens by the yeere. Hee had one hundred for his Guard, (called Trabantoës), of which each one had eight Guldens by the moneth for his diet, and if any one of them had serued ten yeeres, to him the Emperour vsed to giue a pension aboue his wages, granted for life, and to dispose them in Monasteries when they grew olde and vnfit for seruice. Ten Hascheres and twelue Trabantoës attended each day, and watched the night in the Court, who for that time had at the Emperours charge plenty of bread and wine. Many Gentlemen had pensions to keepe Horses, to the number of some 1500, and for each Horse they were allowed ten guldens by the moneth: but these stipends being paid but once in two yeeres, and then not fully, they kept

kept not these Horses at all times in full number, but only when they heard that the payment was like to be made, & because they were so paid, the officers neuer mustred them but at that time. Some few had diet and lodging in the Court, as 6 Gentlemen of the Chamber, whereof each had a pension of forty Guldens by the moneth, and sixe vnder them, who had twenty Guldens by the moneth. Likewise sixty Truxes, who had each a Pension of thirty Guldens, and sixty Horsemen called Hofdiener (that is, Seruants at Court), who were allowed for each horse (as I formerly said) ten Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and no man had allowance for more then three horses. Likewise a Master of the Wardrobe had twenty Guldens, and a Controller had the like pension. Sixteene Boies, the sonnes of Gentlemen were Pages to the Emperour, to whom he gaue apparrell and diet in the Court. The very chiefe Counsellors had yeerely pensions from the Emperour. He had three Fauorites, a Bohemian Barron of the *Popells*, the Lord of *Firtemberg* a German, and *Rumpf* a Gentleman of *Austria*, who was in chiefe grace with him, and was said to haue a pension of five hundred Dollors by the moneth, and to haue receiued by gift in the space of one yeere eighty thousand gold Guldens. The wages and pensions were very vncertainly paid, so as the Courtiers vsed diligently to obserue, when the reuenue of any Prouince was brought in, that by such opportunitie they might get part of the money due to them. But when the Emperours cofers were full, these paiments were easily obtained, so as I haue knowne forty thousand Dollors distributed for wages, and Pensions at one time. The Emperour had five stables, and in one sixtie heauie horses of *Germany*, in the second twenty Spanish Genets, and in the other three 60 forraigne horses of the best races.

From *Charles* the Great the Western Emperours were either appointed by the dying Emperours Testament, or chosen by the generall consent of the Princes, in both which courses the next heyres were commonly preferred, till the reigne of *Otho* 3. In his time his Kinsman *Brenno* a *Saxon* was chosen Pope, taking the name of *Gregorie*, and he first instituted the seuen Electors of the Emperour, which institution some attribute to Pope *Siluester*. But whether *Gregorie* made this Law or confirmed it, no doubt about the yeere 1002 the Electors were established, about which time many tumults were at *Rome* betweene the Emperours and the Roman Prince *Crescentius*, for the choise of the Pope, and the common opinion is, that Pope *Gregorie* in the yeere 997 made this Law of seuen Electors to chuse the Emperour, and that Pope *Siluester* restrained it to certaine Families. And this Institution seemed to giue great strength to the Empire, since the former seditions were thereby taken away, and it was likely these Princes would chuse a man of the greatest vertues and power. But *Charles* the fourth chosen Emperour, with condition not to meddle with *Italy*, first obtained of the Electors to chuse his son to be *Cesar* in his life time, and so made this Institution of no effect, all Emp. after him chiefly laboring as much as they could, to make the Empire hereditary by like meanes. And the successor thus chosen in the life of the Emp. was called King of the Romans, and after his death receiuing the Crowne, was stiled Emp.

The Emperors Election.

Of the Electors, 3 are Churchmen and Arch-bishops, 3 are Lay-Princes of *Germany*, and least by faction of sixe Churchmen and Laymen the voices should be equall, the King of *Bohemia* was added for the seuenth Elector. The Archbishop of *Trier*, Chauncellor for *France*, sits before the Emperour. The Archbishop of *Mentz* Chauncellor for *Germany*, sits at the Emperours right hand, in all places but in the Diocesse of *Colen*, where he giues place to the Archbishop therof. The Archbishop of *Colen* Chauncellor for *Italy*, sits on the Emperours right hand in his own dioces, but on his left hand in al other places. The K. of *Bohemia* Arch-butler of the Empire, sits next the Archbishop of *Mentz*, on the right hand of the Emperour. The D. of *Saxony*, the Marshal of the Empire, carrying the sword before the Emperour, sits on his left hand next the Archbishop of *Colen*. The Count *Palatine* of the *Rheine* carries the first dish at the feast of the Emp. coronation, and sits on his right hand next the K. of *Bohemia*. And the Marquisse of *Brandeburg* Great Chamberlaine, sits on the left hand of the Emp. next to the D. of *Saxony*. It is to be remembred, that for long time, the Emperour hauing been also King of *Bohemia*, to the end that vpon the death of the old Emperour, there should not

The institution of the Electors, and diuers constitutions of the Empire, concerning the Electors and other Officers, and the Emperour himselfe.

be wanting one to supply the place of the King of *Bohemia* at the Election of the new Emperour, the Bohemians haue alwaies a Viceroy chosen for life, who not onely supplies that place, but also gouernes *Bohemia*, till the new Emperour be chosen, and after receiued for King at *Prage*.

The Emperour *Charles* the fourth, made many Lawes concerning the Emperour, and the Electors, which Lawes are all collected together, and by the Germans called the Golden Bulla, and it will not be impertinent to remember some of them. It is decreed, that no Elector shall lie in ambushment for another Elector, comming to chuse the Emperour, neither shall denie him safe conduct through his Country, vnder the paine of periurie, and losse of his Voyce for that Election. Vnder the same penalty, that no man whosoever, lye in waite to intercept the person or goods of any Elector: That the Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* shall appoint the day of the Election by letters Patents, so as the Electors, or their Deputies hauing full power, may meete for that purpose at *Franckfort* vpon the *Meyne*, within three moneths, and if the Archbishop faile to appoint the day, yet that the Electors vncalled, shall meete there within that time. That no Elector nor Depute shall enter the City attended with more then two hundred horsemen, nor aboue fiftie of them armed. That the Elector or Deputy called, and not comming, or departing before the Emperour be chosen, shall loose his Voyce for that time. That the Citizens of *Franckfort*, if they protect not those that come to the Election, shall be proscribed, and depriued of their priuiledges and goods. That no man be admitted into the Citie, besides the Electors and their Deputies, and the horsemen attending them. That the next morning early after their entry, Masse bee sung in the Church of Saint *Bartholmew*, and that done, the Archbishop of *Mentz* at the Altar giue an oath to the Electors in these words: I *N.N.* sweare by the faith that I owe to God and the sacred Empire, that I will chuse a temporall Head of Christian Princes, and giue my Voyce without any couenant, stipend, reward, or any such thing howsoever it may be called, as God helpe me, &c. That if they shall not agree of the Election within thirty daies, they shall eate bread and water, and shall not goe out of the City, till the Election be finished. That the greater part bee held for a generall consent. That the Elector slacking his comming, shall notwithstanding be admitted, if he come before the Election be finished. That the person elected shall presently sweare in the royall name of King of the Romans, to the Electors, Princes Secular and Spiritual, and to all the Members of the Empire, that hee will confirme all priuiledges, customs, &c.; and that after his Coronation hee shall sweare the same in the name of Emperour. That an Elector shall haue his Voyce in the choice of himselfe to be Emperour. That the Arch-bishop of *Mentz* shall aske the Voyces, first, of the Arch-bishop of *Trier*, then of the Arch-bishop of *Colon*, then of the King of *Bohemia*, then of the Palatine, then of the Duke of *Saxony*, then of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, and lastly that these Princes shall aske the Voyce of the Arch-bishop of *Mentz*. That the Empire being vacant, the Count Palatine shall bee Prouisor of the Empire in *Suenia* and *Franconia*, as well in Iudgements, as in conferring Church-liuings, gathering of Rents, inuesting of Vassals (which inuesting notwithstanding is to bee renewed by the Emperour when he is chosen), and Alienations, &c. That the Duke of *Saxony* shall haue the same right in his Prouinces. That when the Emperour must answer any cause, he shall answer before the Palatine, so that be in the Imperial Court. That no man in the Court shall sit aboue the Electors. That to a Secular Prince Elector his eldest Lay son shall succeed, or for want of sons, the first of the fathers Line; and if he be vnder age, that the eldest brother to the deceased father shall be his tutor, till hee be eightene yeares old, and that this Tutor for that time shall haue all his right, which he shall then restore to him, and for want of heires males, that the Emperour shall giue the Electorship to whom hee will, excepting the King of *Bohemia*, who is to bee chosen by the Bohemians. That mines of mettals found in the Territories of any Elector, shall bee proper to himselfe. That the subiects of the Electors shall not bee bound to answer the Law out of their owne Prouince, nor may appeale to any Court but their Lords, except Iustice bee denied, in which case they shall onely

onely appeale to the Chamber of the Empire. That the Electors shall meete in some Citie once in the yeare, where they shall haue no feasting, to the end that the causes may be heard with more expedition. That the priuiledges of Cities and Vniuersities in any thing derogating from the right of the Electors, shall be reuoked, and made voide, notwithstanding the Letters Pattents may except all eminency of persons. That the resignation of fees, except they be personally made, shall make the vassals infamous in denouncing enmity to their Lords. That conuenticles of Cities, made to the preiudice of their Lords, shall be punished with losse of fame, goods, and priuiledges. That no Citizens subiects to Princes, and incorporating themselves in free Cities, shall enioy the priuiledges thereof, except they dwell there, vnder a great penalty to bee imposed on the City receiuing them with any other condition. That the Fees of the Electors or Officers of the Empire, shall not be deuided by their heires. That they who conspire the death of any Elector, shall be guilty of treason, and their sonnes depriued of their Inheritance euen from the mothers side, shall liue infamous, and they shall be noted who make intercession to restore them to grace; but that the Daughters lesse daring for the weakenesse of the sexe, shall haue part of the inheritance, and that no enfranchisement of sonnes, or alienation of goods, shall frustrate this Law. That all accessaries shall be so punished, onely he that bewrayes the conspiracy may bee held worthy of pardon. Also this penalty shall be of force against those that are dead, if the crime be not knowne till after their death.

In solemne Court, that the Emperour shall sit in his throne, and the Duke of Saxony laying an heape of Oates as high as his Horses saddle, before the Court gate, shall with a siluer measure of twelue markes price, deliuer Oates to the cheefe Quirry of the stable, and then sticking his staffe in the Oates, shall depart, and the Vice-Marshal distribute the rest of the Oates. That the three Archbishops shall say grace at the Emperours Table, and he of them who is Chancelor of the place, shall lay reuerently the Seales before the Emperor, which the Emperor shal restore to him, & that the staffe of the Chancelorship shal be worth 12 marks of siluer. That the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, sitting vpon his Horse with a siluer basen of 12 marks weight, & a towel, shall light from his Horse, & giue water to the Emperor. That the Count *Palatine* sitting vpon his Horse, with foure dishes of Siluer with meate, each dish worth 3 markes, shall light, and set the dishes on the table. That the King of *Bohemia* sitting vpon his Horse, with a siluer Cup worth twelue markes, filled with water and wine, shall light, and giue it the Emperour to drinke. The Gentleman of *Falkenstein*, vnder Chamberlaine, the Gentleman of *Nortemberg*, Master of the Kitchen, and the Gentleman of *Limburch* Vice-Buttler, or in their absence, the ordinary Officers of the Court, shall haue the said Horses, Basen, dishes, Cup, Staffe, and measure, and shall after wait at the Emperours table. That the Emperours table bee sixe foote higher then any other table, where he shall sit alone, and the table of the Empreffe shall be by his side, three foote lower. The Electors tables shall be three foote lower then that of the Empreffe, and all of equall heighth, and three of them shall bee on the Emperours right hand, three on his left hand, and one before his face, and each shal sit alone at his table. When one Elector hath done his Office, he shall goe and stand at his owne table, and so in order the rest, till all haue performed their Offices, and then all seuen shall sit downe at one time. The Emperour shall be chosen at *Franckfort*, crowned at *Aquisgranum* (vulgarly called *Ach*), and shall hold his first Court at *Nurnberg*, except there be some lawfull impediment. The Deputy of an Elector absent, howsoeuer he hath his voyce in chusing the Emperour, yet at the said feast shall not sit at the Electors table. Princes receiuing their fees, shall pay sixtie markes to the Officers of the Court, excepting the Electors, who are not bound to giue any thing, but of free will, since the Officers are their Substitutes, and the Horse vpon which the Prince sits when hee is inuested in his fees, shall bee giuen to the Marshall, or to the Vice-Marshal. The Electors are presumed to bee Germans, and their sonnes at the age of seuen yeares shall bee taught the Grammer, and the Italian and Sclauonian tongues, so as at 14 yeares age they may be skilfull therein, and be worthy Assessors to the Emperor.

These

At Coronation and like Feasts.

The gene-
rall estate
of the Em-
pire.

These things for this purpose, taken out of the *Golden Bulla*, shall suffice.

Touching the present generall estate of the Empire. The Emperor & his brethren were not much esteemed among their owne subiects, and had little or no authority in the rest of the Empire. The Germans confesse, that the House of *Austria* is most fit to beare the burthen of the Empire, especially since no stranger may be Emperour, the Law binding to choose a Prince borne in *Germany*; and because the Empire hath no principality belonging to it, nor any certaine reuenues, but onely some accustomed Subsidies, which vpon some occasions were of old granted by Parliament, & these occasions being taken away, the subsidies for them haue also in latter times beene discontinued, so that the common affaires are to be administred with the charge of the Emperours priuate inheritance. And lastly, because they iustly feare, if any other Prince of *Germany* should be chosen Emperour, that the House of *Austria*, hauing in a long line succeeded in the Empire, and possessing large Dominions by inheritance, would either altogether separate it selfe from the Empire, or at least their inheritance in *Hungary*, *Germany*, and *Bohemia*, through mutuall dissentions betweene them and the Emperour, would be a prey to the Turkish Tyrant, onely kept backe by the House of *Austria*, according to the weake meanes it hath, from inuading *Germany* at this day: But when the Germans doe particularly obserue the persons of the Princes of the House of *Austria*, they iudge againe none more vnfit to beare vp the Empire, and to defend it from the Turkes inuasions; and this common diffidence is infinitely encreased, by the mutuall ieaiousies of *Germany*. There want not ieaiousies in the House of *Austria* betweene themselues, were they not forced to compound them by feare of the Turkes. In generall, the Gentlemen feare the conspiracy of the common people, lest after the example of the Sweitzers, they should roote out the Gentry, or at least yeeld either none or voluntary obedience, at their owne pleasure. The Princes feare the free Cities, so as they dare not exact absolute obedience of the Cities subiect to them, lest they should thereby be prouoked, to make leagues with the free Cities, and so make themselues free: And this cause alone makes the Princes lesse able to giue strong helpes to the Emperour, if they were willing to doe it. Againe, the free Cities feare the ambition of the neighbouring Princes: For as most of the Cities of old subiect to the Emperour, or to particular Princes, got their freedome in ciuill warres, by assisting one of the parties, or else by priuiledges, granted by fauour, or bought for money, or else by open force of armes, so they thinke it likely, that the Princes, vpon the change of the state of things, will omit no fit occasion to bring them againe into subiection: And the said Princes doe not onely feare the said free Cities, for combyning with their Subiects, but haue also mutuall ieaiousies among themselues, as well for inheritance, as for the difference of Religion. Lastly all, and each of these states, feare the power of the Emperour, lest hee should breake the absolute power they haue in their owne territories, or lest hee should by force of armes make them more obedient to himselfe, or lest hee should oppresse them in the cause of Religion, either of his owne motion, or by the instigation of the Pope. Hence it is, that hee who dares not make warre vpon the Emperour, yet dares denie to helpe him, and he that dares not deny helpe, yet dares either fayle in performance, or by delays make it vnprofitable. Besides that by nature, the decrees and counsels of many heads, are carried with lesse secrecy, and are seldome executed with conuenient speed, and that for which many care, each one neglects, as *Plato* saith, disputing against community. Also the Emperours power is many other wayes weakened: First that the Germans in the very warre against the Turkes, slowly grant, or plainly refuse any contributions or subsidies, and would little reioyce that the Emperour should haue a great victory against the Turkes, partly lest hee should turne his Forces vpon the absolute Princes or Cities of *Germany*, partly lest the Emperour then being (as they openly professed) should spend the money contributed in his priuate lusts, not in the publike affayres, and lastly, because the charge of the Warre should be common, but the profit of the Conquest should onely be to
the

the aduancement of the House of *Austria*: For which causes the Princes and Cities vsed to denie contributions of money towards the Turkish warres, and rather chose to send and maintaine bands of Souldiers in *Hungary*, vnder their owne pay for a set time: And these bands were so commonly sent without order or mutuall consent, and so slowly, as when some of the bands came to the Army, other bands hauing serued out the appointed time, desired leaue to returne home: Thus they seldome met together to attempt any braue enterprise, & while part of the forces was expected, the occasions of good aduentures were lost: Secondly, the Emperour is more weake; because the meetings of Parliaments (which they call *Dytetaes*) require the expectance of some moneths, besides the delayes of Counsels after the meeting, and the contrariety of opinions, which must needs be great in mindes so ill vnitid. Thirdly; because the Germans vnwisely thinke, that the tyranny of the Turkes hanging ouer them, yet is a lesse and more remoued euill, then the iealousie of their priuate estates, and feare to be oppressed in the cause of Religion. Lastly, because the Germans thinke it not equall, to be at publike charge, to recouer the priuate Cities of the House of *Austria* from the Turkes. These things make the great power of *Germany* so weake, that as the whole body pined away; while the hand denied meate to the belly; so not onely the Empire, to the generall shame of Christians, drawes the last breath vnder the Turkish tyranny, while the disagreeing and sluggish Christian Princes denie helpe in this case to the House of *Austria*, and oppose the weaker branch of that House to the most powerfull force of the Turkes; but also it may iustly be feared lest other Kingdomes and the very name of Christians, should be vtterly consumed in this fier daily creeping and increasing vpon vs, which God in his mercy forbid.

Next to the said vassals to the Emperour, a King, a Palatine, a Duke, a Marquesse, and three Archbishops, the seuen Electors, of old were instituted foure Dukes of the Empire, namely, the Dukes of *Banania*, of *Brunswicke*, of *Suenia* and of *Lorayne*, and foure Langraues, and of each degree foure, whereof some are at this day extinguished, and many other haue since beene created by diuers Emperours. In like sort of old were instituted foure Metrapolitan Cities of the Empire, namely, *Augsburg*, (called of the Vandals for difference), *Aquisgranum* (vulgarly *Ach*), *Mentz*, and *Lubecke*. Bishops spirituall Princes were of old twenty seuen in number, whereof some haue secular Dominions, onely by habite distinguished from secular Princes: but the Churchmen knowing no meane, not content with tithes, but scarce leauing that portion to the Laymen, haue caused Princes first to make Lawes against inordinate gitts to the Church, and then by other vanities prouoked them to reforme this abundance of their riches, the impurity of their liues, and the falshoods of their Doctrines; so as at this day many Bishopricks are in the hands of secular Princes; within their owne Dominions, vnder the title of Administrators. In this sort (to passe ouer the rest) the eldest sonne of the Marquesse of *Brandeburg*, was in his Fathers life time called the Administrator of *Halla*. Not onely the Emperour, but also many Princes of *Germany*, as well secular as spirituall, haue Kingly power in their owne Dominions; and these absolute Princes are so many in number, as a passenger in each dayes journey, shall obserue one or two changes of Prince, Money, and Religion: Furthermore in free Cities, here the Patritian Order, there the commoti people, and otherwhere both with mixed power, gouerne the City, in such absolute freedome, as most of the Cities haue regall rights, of making peace or warre, of coyning Monies, and of like priuiledges: But the Plebeians among them, proue they neuer so rich, cannot haue any higher degree, and their gouernements are with such equity, equality, and moderation, as no degree is subiect one to the other, but all equally to the Law. Of these Princes secular and spirituall, and of the Deputies for free Cities, meeting in Parliaments (which they call *Dytetaes*) is the true Image of the Empire, where they deliberate of great affaires, and impose contributions, from which onely the King of *Bohemia* is free, by priuiledge granted from *Charles* the fourth Emperour and King of *Bohemia*, as I haue formerly said.

The state of certaine Princes.

Of Cities.

Of Bishops.

Of secular Princes.

Of free Cities.

Of the Dytetaes.

The

*Of the Em-
pires Com-
mon-wealth
in generall.*

The forme of the Commonwealth in the Empire is Aristocraticall, ouer which the Emperour should bee as head, appointing the meetings with the consent of the Princes, and causing the Decrees to be put in execution. But at this day the name of the Emperour is become a meere title, and his authoritie hath no sinews, so as he can neither call them if they thinke not good to come, nor decree any thing if they be vnwilling, nor compell those that are refractory. And the very Princes are not constant to their owne iudgement, if you respect the imminent dangers from the Turks, nor active in their owne motions concerning the publike cause, but are diuersly distracted betweene feare to increase the suspected power of the Emperour by helping him, or to stirre vp Ciuill warres, to the ruine of the dis-vnited State, by making open opposition to his authority. In the meane time nothing is more frequent with them, then boldly to refuse either appearance in the Emperours Court, or obedience to any other of his commandements, that are vnpleasing to them. And giue me leaue to say, that my selfe there obserued, that a great Prince of *Germany* (for good respect namelesse), to whom the Emperour had ingaged certaine Cities for money borrowed of him, when the Emperour sending the money by Ambassadors, desired restitution of the townes, not onely refused to restore the same, but could not bee induced to appeare at *Prage* by his Substitute, to compound this difference; and it seemed more strange to mee, that diuers other Ambassadors comming to the City the same time, had all audience before those from the Emperour, who staid long before they were admitted to speak with the said Prince.

The declining generositie of the Princes of *Austria*, and the fearefull danger hanging ouer them from the *Turkes*, nourish this confidence in the Princes of *Germany*; and indeede the Turkish warre doth so imploy, or rather bind the hands of the Princes of *Austria*, as were they neuer so valiant, yet they should be forced, rather to suffer any thing from these Christian Princes, then by opposing them, to be deuoured by Infidels. Neither can the priuate calamity of *Germany*, and the publike misery of all Christians in this point, be sufficiently bewailed. I say the priuate calamitie of *Germany*, because the members being most strong, if they were vnited, yet are without sinews thus disioyned, and haue no common force, though in each part they be strong. I say the publike calamity of Christians, because howsoeuer the priuate Princes of *Germany* be of great power, yet the whole body of the Empire being weake, the daily victories of the *Turkes*, threaten destruction not onely to *Germany*, but to the name of Christians. The Dukes of *Florence*, of *Sauoy*, and of *Mantua*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, whom the Pope hath not drawne to be his vassals, the Dukes of *Lorayne*, of *Burgundy*, with diuers Dukes and Earles of *Netherland*, after a sort acknowledge the safe and farre remoued patronage of the Emperour; but they neither come to the Parlements about the affaires of the Empire (as not pertaining to them) nor contribute any money to vphold the dignitie thereof, except perhaps sometimes in the common cause of the Turkish warre, they lend the Emperour some mony, which no doubt all other Christian Princes would no lesse doe, who haue no bond of subiection. The King of *Denmark*, by a double bond of his Kingdome and of the Dukedome of *Holst*, the King of *Swetia*, the Cantons of the *Sweitzers*, and the *Grisons* inhabiting the *Snowy Alpes*, were of old members of the Empire: but in time these Feathers pluckt from the Eagle, haue growne into new bodies, and at this day do not at all acknowledge the Emperour.

*The Taxes,
Impositions
and Renewes.*

In *Germany* the Tolles and Taxes are frequent, as the number of absolute Princes is great, who impose them in their seuerall Territories vpon all passengers, and kinds of Merchandize or very small packs, Schollers of Vniuersities onely excepted, who passe free for their persons and goods. But aboue all other Princes, the Elector of *Saxony* (as shall bee shewed in his due place) seemes best to haue learned the art of shearing his subiects, so as he not onely imitates, but is equall in this point to the Princes of *Italy*. *Boterus* relates, that the Emperour of his owne hereditary dominions, hath the yeerely rent of two thousand five hundred thousand Crownes, and besides exacts five hundred thousand Crownes ordinarily, and as much more by extraordinary

nary means. Men of good credit haue affirmed to me, that the Prouince of *Silesia* alone subiect to the Emperour as King of *Bohemia*, yeelds him each quarter of the yeare 60000 gold Guldens or Crownes; by which may bee coniectured what hee receiues of his other large Dominions. Yet *Silesia* yeelds more then any one of the rest, in respect that of the twelue Dukedoms therein contained, eight are fallen to the Emperour, for want of heires-males. The Bishop of *Silesia* is called the Golden Bishop, and the same Prouince hath thirty Abbies, being most rich in that and all other respects. At *Prage*, subiect to the Emperour, as King of *Bohemia*, I obserued, that euery house paid him yeerely three Dollers; but this burthen equally imposed on thatched houses and stately Pallaces, seeming vnequally shared, the Citizens agreed among themselves of a more equall diuision thereof; so as I remember, that my Hosts house, purchased for three hundred Dollers, paid yeerely to the Emperour nine Dollers, besides other charges of maintaining poore Scholers, of Watches, and the like, imposed vpon each Master of a Family, in each seuerall parish, for which he also paid two Dollers yeerely. In the Dominions of the Emperour, the Brewers of Beere for each brewing, paid six dollers to the Emperour, which tribute in one City of *Prage*, was said to passe five hundred Dollers weekly. Also the Emperour exacted of his subiects, for each Tun of Wine drawne, a Doller, and tenne Grosh; for each bushell of Corne, bought in the Market (not the priuate Corne of their owne, spent in their houses) one siluer Grosh. These and like tributes were at first granted for certaine yeares, by consent of the three Estates: but Princes know well to impose exactions, and know not how to depose them. The Emperour giues a City to the Iewes for their dwelling at *Prage*, (who are admitted in no City of *Germany*, excepting onely at *Franckfort*, where they haue assigned to them a Streete for their dwelling), of which Iewes vpon all occasions hee borrowes money, and many waies sheares those bloud-suckers of Christians: The Germans impose great taxes vpon all forraigne commodities brought into their Hauens, and not onely vpon mens persons, and vpon commodities laded on beasts to bee distracted from City to City, but euen vpon small burthens to be carried on a mans shoulder, as they passe through their Forts or Cities, which they vse to build vpon their confines to that purpose, and onely Scholers of Vniuersities are free from these frequent exactions, for their bodies and goods.

Toucing the reuenews of the Empire it selfe, *Boterus* relates, that it receiues yeerely seuen thousand thousand Crownes, or gold Guldens; and this reuenew is of small moment for such great affaires, if hee containe all the Princes of *Germany* vnder this taxation, since otherwise, a communication of treasure cannot bee expected from so disunited mindes as they haue. He addes, that the free Cities of the Empire yeeld a small yeerely tribute to the Emperour of fiftene thousand Guldens. It is well knowne that those Cities of old custome maintained twenty thousand foote, and foure thousand Horses for the Emperours Army, when he went to be crowned at *Rome*: but this custome by long discontinuance is vanished, since the Emperours for many ages haue forborne this expedition. The matter of greatest moment is the contribution, which for the doubtfull affaires of the Empire hath been accustomed to be granted by the three Estates in Parliament. And these, such as they are, yet are more easily or hardly obtained of that free Nation, as the Emperour hath more or lesse reputation with them. But that it may appeare, that the Empire wants not treasure, the sinew of war, let vs gather by one particular example, what may generally be iudged of this subsidie. In the time of the Emperour *Maximilian* the first, the following subsidie was granted in a Dyet or Parlaiment at *Worms* by consent of the Estates, for the vse of the Common-wealth, and especially for the warre against the Turkes, which at that time much lesse pressed *Germany*, then it doth in these our daies. First, it was decreed, that for foure yeeres next following, each person of any sex or quality howsoeuer possessing (through long and broad *Germany*), or being worth by all meanes 500 gold Guldens, should yeerely pay half a gold Gulden to this purpose, and each one of lesse value should pay a quarter of a gold Gulden, and all Iewes, as well men as women and children, should pay yeerely by the Pole one gold gulden. That Princes & Barons for decency,

decency, yet of their free will should contribute much more. And that this collection should be made not onely in the priuate Dominions of the Emperour, but in the priuat Territories of al Princes, and the mony first deliuered to the Superintendents or chiefe Ministers of Gods word, and by them be conueied to seuen Treasurers residing at *Franckfort* (the first appointed by the Emperour, the second by the Electors, the third by other Princes, the fourth by the Prelates, the fifth by the Earles and Barons, the sixth by the Knights, the seventh by the free Cities), all which were to take their oathes for the faithfull execution of this office. After it was againe decreed in the Diet held at *Nurnberg*, that for the Turkish warre, each 40 inhabitants (reckoning the husband, wite and children for one person) should maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid seruants should giue the sixth part of their yeerely wages, and each one hauing no wages, should pay a shilling of *Germany*. That spirituall persons, men and women (that is, Nunnes as well as others) should for each forty Guldens value, pay one gold Gulden, and in like sort the spirituall Orders of Knights, and namely those of *Saint Iohn*, and all Monasteries and Almes-houses, and whatsoeuer spirituall communities, should giue the like contribution, excepting the foure Orders of Mendicant Friars, of which each fise Monasteries were to maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid seruants of Spirituall persons, should pay as much as those of the Layety. That no Elector or Prince should maintaine lesse then fise hundred Horses, and each Earle should maintaine one Horseman. That Knights should contribute according to their estates. That the Iewes should pay by the Pole one gold Gulden yearely, the rich paying for the poore. That all Preachers should in the Pulpit exhort men willingly to giue these contributions, giuing hope that they shall bee deminished according to the booties gotten by victories. And that Bishops should make collection of this money, and deliuer it ouer to the Counsellors of the States. Twenty Noble men were at that time chosen to haue care of the Commonwealth for matters of peace and warre, who in difficult accidents were to call vnto them the sixe Electors (the King of *Bohemia* in the Emperours person not reckoned), and certaine other Princes. And this must alwaies be vnderstood, that these collections are made in *Germany* with great seuerity or strictnesse, where he that dissembles his full wealth, shall be forced to repaire all the damage the Commonwealth hath sustained thereby, and shall bee also deeply fined, when the fraude is made knowne, which at least will appeare at the death of each priuate man, by his last will and testament. So as these subsidies must needs be of great moment. But the Germans in our daies, though ready to be deuoured by the lawes of the Turkish Tyrant, yet for the aboue-named caules, very vnwillingly grant these contributions, yea, for the very Turkish warre.

Their war-like prouision in time of peace.

The Germans for the said mutuall ielosies, at this day in the greatest Peace at home, yet liue as in the time of a Ciuill warre, at least in common feare of surprising, so as almost in all Cities, they haue victuals laid vp in Storehouses to beare a yeeres siege; and besides this publike prouision, all householders are commanded to make their priuate prouisions before hand, of dried fishes, corne, and like things to eate, of fewell to burne, and of all necessities to exercise their manuall trades. The Cities haue Watchmen continually dwelling with their families on the top of high Steeples and Towers, who by sound of Trumpet, and by hanging out flags of diuers colours, one for horsemen, another for footemen, continually giue warning what people approach to the Towne, and in what number, and besides these Watchmen are inioyned to sound their Trumpets at certaine howers of the day and night. The very recreations of the Citizens are no other, then shooting in Pieces and Crosebowes at markes in publike houses, and thus they exercise themselves on Holidiaies and at all idle times, shooting for wagers, both priuate and publike, and for like rewards and prises. So as they must needs bee thereby much better trained vp for warre. Yet their footemen in warre doe not so much vse the Piece as the Pike, and their Horsemen contrarie to the custome of other Nations, are generally armed with two short Pistols, not at all with Lances. To conclude, if any man in this time of peace, shoote off a piece within the wals of a Citie, he shall no lesse then in a Towne of Garrison, bee drawne

drawne by the Serieants before the Magistrate, & be sure to pay a mulct for his error.

Caesar reports, that the *Scawaben* (or people of *Suenia*, a great Prouince in *Germany*, Their War-
most part of vpper *Germany* hauing been so called of old) were most warlike, yet at the fare of old,
first hearing, so feared the Romans, as some thought to leaue their dwellings, some
made their last wils; and all mourned and were sad. He reports also, that the halfe
part of this people was imployed and nourished in Armes, and the other halfe gaue
themselves to Husbandry, and that so by yeereley course they were one yeere Hus-
bandmen, another yeere Souldiers. That none of them had any priuate fields, nor
dwelt in one place more then a yeere. Lastly, that freedome in youth, and hunting
after they came to ripe yeeres, made them of huge stature. Many witnesse, that the
Germans of old, in feasting tooke counsell of Peace and Warre, thinking the vigor of
the mind then to be most enlarged, when they were warmed with Wine. They were
wont to promise their neighbours that they would ouercome in fighting, or else die
valiantly, and so were led forth to the war with the peoples acclamations, exhorting
them to valour, and at their returne were not praised, except they shewed scarres got-
ten in fighting. It was infamous for any of them to lose his shield, so as many for that
cause hanged themselves; for it was not lawfull for them to be present at their Sacri-
fices or Counsels. Being ready to fight, they called vpon *Hercules*, and their Horse-
men vsed Target and Lance, their Footemen Darts. Their Army lay compassed with
Chariots and Carts, in stead of trenches. Lastly in Counsels, they signified consent
by shaking of their Speares, and dissent by murmuring.

At this day the Horsemen of *Germany* are vulgarly called *schwartz Reyttern*, that is, Their horse-
blacke Horsemen; not onely because they weare blacke apparrell, but also for that men at this
most of them haue blacke Horses, and make their hands and faces blacke by dressing day.
them, and by blacking their bootes, wherein they are curious; or else because custome
hath made blacknesse an ornament to them; or else because they thinke this colour to
make them most terrible to their enemies. For the Germans vsing more to brawle
then fight, and rather to chide, then fight themselves friends, desire rather with fierce
lookes to strike feare into their enemies, then by concealing their strength, to draw
them to fight. The best Horses and Horsemen are of the Territories of *Brunswick*,
Cleane, and *Franconia*: but howsoeuer their Horses are strong, yet they haue lesse cou-
rage, because they are taken from the Plough, and are of an heauy race. Neither the
Horses nor the Horsemen are armed, so as both may easily bee hurt by Footemen.
Thus being Light-horsemen, yet are they lesse fit for that seruice, by reason of their
heauy Horses, vnapt to follow the enemy flying, or to saue themselves by speedy re-
trait. And this hath often beene obserued in their warre against the Turkes, hauing
swift Horses, whom they could neither ouertake in flight, nor escape from them, when
they pursued. Such and so heauy Horses are throughout all *Germany*, excepting *West-*
phalia and those parts, where their Waggones are drawne with very little Horses,
though perhaps they haue greater for seruice in warre. These Horsemen carry each
of them two short pistols at their saddles, with a sword, and like short weapons, but
without any Launces, and their saddles are little, such as are commonly vsed by pas-
sengers, not such as our Horsemen vse in warre, so as they may easily bee cast from
their Horses, and haue the disadvantage, being assayled with Horsemen bearing Lan-
ces.

Their Footemen are vulgarly called *Lantzknachten*, that is, Seruants with Lances, Their foot-
and the best of them are those of *Tyröll*, *Suenia*, and *Westphalia*. Commonly they are men at this
corpulent, and of a dull or lesse fiery spirit, yet are of great strength in fighting a battell, day.
by reason of their strong members, and the constant order they vse in fighting. And
they are armed with Lances most fit for their strength, rather then with Caliuers,
requiring nimblenesse in charging and discharging.

In generall, the Germans willingly heare themselves compared to Bulles: for as Their war-
Bulles bearing their hornes on the ground, with firme foote attend the assault of the fare in ge-
Dogges; so the Germans, neither rush fiercely on their enemies, nor can easily be bro- nerall as
ken by any charge. The Prouinces of *Germany* being populous, and the souldiers this day.
being

being Mercenary, forraigne Princes commonly supply their Armies with them. And for the faithfulness of the Nation, and the strength of their bodies, the Princes of *France* and *Italy* willingly entertaine them for the guard of their persons. The Princes of *Germany* leuie souldiers by absolute command, in their owne warres, but onely voluntary men are sent to forraigne warres, which they willingly vndertake, out of all mens generall affection to the dissolute liberty of the warres, and because the Germans haue euer been mercenary, besides that the pleasant wines of *France* and *Italy* draw them to those warres. In our age, the French hauing had ciuill warres betweene the Papists and Protestants, both parts haue often hired the Germans. And they being for the most part Lutherans, and so hating both parts, as well the Papists, as the Calvinists, (so I call them for distinction, being so termed by their common enemies, though they follow neither *Caluin* nor *Luther* further, then they agree with the Word of God); I say that they hating the Papists, and most of all the Calvinists, nearest to them in Religion (as the Potter hates the Potter, and the begger hates the begger, and each one his next neighbour, more then any other), and being blamed for seruing them, they would freely professe, that it was all one to them, to serue the one deuill as the other, (so they called them both.) Thus seruing more for booty then for loue, they demeaned themselves so frowardly in those warres, as they much impaired the old reputation of their Nation in warfare. The French, I say, hauing iustly no confidence in their owne footemen, for the most part vsed the Germans (as also the Sweitzers) in that seruice, and found by experience, that the firme and constant bodie of their foote, was most fit to receiue the loose wings of the French, chearefully assaulting, but soone driuen backe; and that after the first fury of the French, the body of the Dutch Foote, like the *Triarij* among the Romans, stood firme. And the great Victory of the French at *Rauenna*, against the Spaniards and Italians, was in great part attributed to the German Footemen, who receiued the French Foote, and namely the Gualcons (the best Foote of *France*) into their body, when they were put to flight. But they are most vnfit to besiege strong Forts, and haue been found no lesse vnfit to defend them being besieged; whether it be, for that they are lesse seruiceable in things requiring witty resolution, and fury in sudden assaults, then in a firme and constant strength; or for that, contrary to their old reputation, they are not found able in this our age to beare hunger, thirst, cold and watching, the necessary euils of a siege. And it is certaine, that the Netherlanders, vsing them in this kind, as the course of their war consists, especially in defending and assailing Forts, haue taxed them with bitter icasts on this behalfe, which I willingly passe in silence, desiring more to expresse vertues then to impute vices. Yet the Germans haue many very strong and well fortified Cities, of which some are iudged impregnable, in which they place greatest hope of safetie from the incursions of the Polonians, or of the Turks. For the Polonians trusting to their famous strength of Horse, brag that they despise the force of the Germans in open field, and the Turkish Horse, praised for swiftnesse, seemes not to feare the heavy horses of *Germany*.

Surely, though I doe not thinke the Germans to degenerate from the valour of their old Progenitors, yet I haue read the Histories, and haue heard the Gentlemen of *France* in our time, much inueighing against them: First, that being in neutrall or friends Countries, farre distant from the enemy, they consumed wine and victuals, as if they had been borne to no other end, and spoyled all mens goods: but when the enemy drew neare, that not content with their former spoyles; they would then mutine for pay, and refuse otherwise to fight, when the Princes had no present meanes to satisfie them; yea, and for want of it, would threaten to leaue their party, and goe to the enemy, bearing no more affection to the one then the other. Secondly, that in all Armies, wherein their strength was predominant, and especially vpon the approach of the enemy, they were prone to threatnings and seditious demeanour. Thirdly, that the horse hauing giuen one assault without success, could by no intreaty, no reward, no hope of victory, be induced to giue a second charge. Fourthly, that once put out of order and routed, they could neuer be gathered

red againe together. Fifthly, that in the battell of *Mountcontour*, by confused feare, they had almost exposed themselves and the whole Armie to the sword; and that in the next battell, hauing the victory, they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but like Beares raged against their yeelding suppliants, stil crying *Mountcontour, Mountcontour*, for the word of reuenge. Lastly, that the leuies of the are an excessive charge, that they consume abundance of victuals, and especially wine, and cannot beare with any want of the least of them, and are a great burthen to an Army with their baggage. Touching victuals, I haue heard the Citizens of *Vienna*, being themselves Germans, yet freely professing, that when the Turkes made a shew to besiege them, and incamped on one side of the towne, they suffered farre greater losse by the souldiers receiued into the Towne to helpe them, then by the enemies spoiling all abroad. Touching their baggage, euery footeman hath his wench, that carries on her backe a great packe, and a brasse pan, while the souldier himselfe goes empty, carrying nothing but his Armes. And at *Strasburg* I did see certaine troopes of horse enter the Towne, sent from the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, to aide the Citizens against the Duke of *Lorraine*, which horsemen had an vnspeakeable number of carts, to carry their Armes and other necessaries, and vpon each cart sat a Cocke, which creature, as most watchfull, the Germans haue of most old custome vsed to carry with them to the warres.

I cannot passe in silence the iudgement of an Italian well knowne, though by mee vnnamed, who because the Germans in our age haue had some ill successles in the warre, doth attribute the same to the impurity of the reformed Religion professed by them, wherein he sophistically obtrudes the false cause for the true; not much vnlike the old man recorded in our Histories, who being asked (for his age and experience) what he thought to be the cause of *Goodwyn* sands, neare the mouth of the *Tames*, answered, that hee thought the building of *Tenterton* Steeple was the cause thereof, because no such sands were seene, till the time when it was built. Nothing is more manifest, then that the Germans of the reformed Religion, nothing yeeld, or rather much excell, the Germans continuing Papists, in all manuell Arts, Liberall Sciences, and all indowments of Nature; which may clearly be proued by one instance of the *Norenbergers* and *Sweitzers*; professing the reformed Religion, who in all Arts, and the military profession, passe all other Germans whatsoeuer. Neither am I of the same Italians opinion, who to make the Germans actiue in warre, thinkes they must haue an Italian, or some forraigne Prince for their Generall, which none in the World can lesse indure, since they not onely most willingly heare, reade, and obey the Preachers, Authors, and Superiours of their owne Country, but aboue all other Nations singular in selfe-loue, doe also despise all strangers compared with themselves, (though otherwise they be not vnhospitall towards them.)

They haue one commendable custome, proper to them with the *Sweitzers* onely, namely, that after a yeeres or longer warfare, they returne home vncorrupted with the dissolute liberty of the warres, and settle themselves to their manuell trades, and tillage of the ground. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth did leade against the Turkes an Army of ninety thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. And the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, did leade against the Turkes an Army of one hundred thousand foote, and thirty five thousand horse. And in the Ciuill warre betweene the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and the Protestants, besides the Emperours Army, consisting partly of Germans, partly of Italians and Spaniards, the Protestant Princes had of their owne Country men an Army of eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. And in all these Armies there was no complaint of any the least want of victuals. So as by these examples it appeares, that the Empire can leaue and nourish a most powerfull Army.

And for better vnderstanding of their warfar, I wil ad the decree of the Emperour & the Electors in the Expedition against the Turks in the yeere 1500. *Albert* Palatine of the *Rheine* was confirmed Generall of the Empire, and sixe Counsellors were chosen to assist him. And it was further decreed, that the Generall should not make warre vpon any without direction from the Councell of the Empire, then chosen and consting of

sixe spirituall, and sixe temporall Princes, three Abbots, sixe chosen by the people, and eight chosen by the free Cities. That the souldiers should sweare obedience to the General, and he giue like oath to the Emperour and the Empire. That the Generall should haue the command of three hundredth Horse, with eight Guldens by the moneth allowed for each Horle. That the Generall should further haue one thousand three hundredth Guldens by the moneth, or more by consent of the Councell. That each Horseman should haue eight Guldens by the moneth, and each Footman foure Guldens. That the Generall should haue twenty foure for his guard, with five Guldens by the moneth for each of them. That the Generall should haue pay for thirty two carts, each cart drawne with foure horses, and allowed two Horsemens pay. That the Generall happening to bee taken by the fortune of the warre, the Empire should readily pay his ransome and redeeme him. That no peace should be made without the consent of the Generall. Lastly, that the Generall should depose this dignitie when hee should be directed so to doe by the Councell, within three moneths if he were within the Empire, or within sixe moneths, if he should then be out of the confines of the Empire. To conclude, he that shall particularly vifit and behold the Armories and storehouses for military prouisions, as wel of the Princes as free Cities, shall bee forced to wonder at the quantity, varietie and goodnesse thereof, which if they were all vnder the command of one Prince, no two of the mightiest Kings of Christendome might therein compare with him.

Their Nauall power at this day.

It remaines briefly to adde something of the Nauall power of the Germans. Almost all *Germany* being within land, onely the Cities vpon the Northerne Ocean, and vpon the *Baltike* sea, haue any exercise of Nauigation. And I did neuer reade or heare that any of them did euer vndertake any long and dangerous voyage by sea, nor can their Marriners be praised for their experience or boldnesse, compared with the English and Netherlanders. The City of *Dantzke* (which for agreement of tongue and manners, I reckon among the Cities of *Germany*, though it be in some sort annexed to *Poland*), howsoeuer it is famous for concourse of Merchants, and rich commodities, yet not vsing to export them in their owne ships, but rather to sell them to strangers, or to lade their ships, & especially those of the *Hollanders*, I could not vnderstand, that forty ships belonged to that Citie. Among the other Cities, *Lubeck* and *Hamburg* are farre more powerfull in this kind, then all the rest ioyned together. The Hauen of *Hamburg* hath commonly great number of shipping, and they said, that more then six hundred ships did then belong to the City. But they being vast, and built onely for burthen, are held vnfit for warre. The City of *Hamburg* and the other Cities vpon the Northerne Ocean, hauing long ioyed peace, as neutrals, while all their neighbours haue made warre one with the other, and none of the Cities, excepting *Hamburg*, sending out ships further then vpon the coast, it cannot be that the ships should be strongly armed. At *Hamburg* I did see a ship then building for a man of warre, of one thousand two hundred tunnes, and among the other ships belonging to that Citie, the greatest was called the golden Lion, strongly built, and bearing eightene brasse pieces on each side, which they named their Admirall. But our best Sea-men thought them both more fit to defend the Hauen, as Forts, then to make any fights at Sea. In our age thirty seuen ships of *Hamburg* were laded by the Flemmings with *Dantzke* Rie for *Spaine* (where they had free trafficke in the heate of the warre betweene *England*, *France*, *Netherland* and *Spaine*), and of these ships sixe perished in the very going out of the *Elue*, by tempest, while English and other ships safely put to sea; and the rest despairing of the Voyage into *Spaine* were unladed. Not long before my being there, they had sent some eight or ten ships into *Spaine*, whereof onely one returned in safetie to *Hamburg*. The City *Lubeck* hath a greater number of ships then *Hamburg*: but they commonly trading within the *Baltick* sea, (seldome troubled with warre or Pyrates), and their ships being onely built for burthen, are slow of saile, and vnfit to fight at sea. Besides that for the foresaid reason, they carry few or no pieces, or other armes. To conclude, while I was at *Lubeck*, a great ship of that Citie of one thousand foure hundred tuns, called the Eagle, & laded with salt, perished in the returne from *Spaine*.
Where.

Whereupon I then heard our best Sea-men impute great ignorance to the German Marriners of those Cities. This shall suffice for their skill in Nauigation, whereof I haue formerly spoken in the third Booke of this Volume or Part, treating of the trafficke of Merchants in *Germany*.

Touching their Lawes and iudiciall courses in generall: Of old the Magistrates of *Germany* were as Captaines of Cities, who determined of Ciuill causes at home, and had publike meetings yeerely for that purpose, most commonly in the moneth of *May*, or at the times of the full and new Moones. They came armed to these meetings not all together, but euery man at his pleasure, and as it pleased the multitude, so they sate in iudgement. Silence was commanded by the Priests, who had power to punish them. Then the Prince or King, or any eminent person in eloquence or in fauour, was heard to speake, yet as perswading, not commanding; and if the speech pleased, the people shewed consent by murmuring, or otherwise dissent by striking their speares together. Here they determined all controuersies, and chose new Captaines or Gouvernours: They had a custome, that if any man complained of another, hee should make a supper for a hundred men, who duely examined the cause; and if the plaintife had the right, the defendant paid the charge, otherwise he scaped free. They gaue of free will to their Prince of their Cattell and Corne, as much as they thought fit for his honour and necessity. *Tacitus* writes that the old Magistrates of *Germany* did nothing vnarmed, publicly or priuately: And the Germans themselues confesse, that their old Progenitors seldome tried iniuries by Law, but commonly reuenged them with fire and sword, and that they shamed not to take preyes by stealth or force. *Quintilianus Varus* appointed Gouvernour of *Germany* by the Emperour *Augustus*; did first appoint the iudgement of Scabines, (which in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Iudge: for he had formerly beene Gouvernour of *Iury*). These Scabines determined all controuersies, and to this day the Germans in most places so call their Iudges. The lower and vpper *Saxony* hath a prouinciall Law, yet determines also many causes by the ciuill Law. The Statutes of the Diots or Parliaments bind all, but the Statutes of priuate Princes onely bind their owne subiects.

The greatest part of *Germany* is gouerned by the Ciuill Law: And therefore the Doctors of the Ciuill Law are much esteemed among them, and are Counsellors of Estate aswell to the Emperour as to other Princes, which place they thinke vnfit to be conferred on any Doctors of Diuinity. Yea, the Princes of *Germany* haue this peculiar fashion, that no sonne vseth his Fathers old counsellors, but rather new chosen by himselfe. The said Doctors of the Ciuil Law haue priuiledge by their degree, to weare chaines of gold about their neckes, and feathers in their hats.

There be in *Germany* foure kinds of Law giuing, or rather foure cheefe Courts of Iustice. The first is that of the Diots or Parliaments, vulgarly called *Reichstagen*, that is; Daies of the Kingdome, which meetings by the Law should be made once in the yeere, and last no lesse then a moneth at least, no man hauing liberty to depart from them without leaue of the Councell: Neither may the Emperour or his sonne, or the elect King of the Romans, make any warre or league, without consent of the same. The second Court is called *Landgericht*, that is, the Iustice of the Land, wherein the cheefe men of each Prouince are to be called together thrice in the yeere, and are to sit three weekes, to determine the cheefe affaires of the Prouince, as the Parliaments handle the cheefe affaires of the Empire. The third Court is vulgarly called *Camergericht*, that is, the Iustice of the Imperiall Chamber, which is held at *spire* foure times each yeere, each time lasting forty dayes, to determine the generall causes of the Empire. The fourth Court is the Burgraues right, by which debts by specialty are recovered.

The Kingdome of *Bohemia* hath a prouinciall Law, deriued from the Law of *Saxony*, and for that cause, there be few Students of the Ciuill Law: but because the Emperour hath instituted three Chaunceries, one for the Law of *Saxony*, (which Prouince lies vpon the North side of the Kingdome:) the second for the Law of *Bohemia*: the third for the Ciuill Law, (in respect of the Emperours subiects of *Austria*, ly-

ing on the South side of *Bohemia*,) for this cause there be many Doctors of Ciuill Law, and they also much esteemed in the Emperours Court. If a *Bohemian* haue a cause in any Court of the *Germans*, he is tried by the Ciuill Law, or by the Law of *Saxony*; and if a *German* answer in the Court of the *Bohemians*, he is tried by the prouinciall Law of *Bohemia*, and the Defendant drawes the cause to his owne Court. *Moravia*, a Prouince incorporated to *Bohemia*, vseth the Language and Law of that Kingdome. In the old City of *Prage*, howsoeuer almost all speake Dutch, yet the Law is giuen in the *Bohemian* tongue, by a statute lately made. *Silesia*, a Prouince incorporated to *Bohemia*, hath the manners and language of *Germany*, and Iustice is there administred by the Law of *Bohemia*, deriued from the Law of *Saxony*; but for the greater part by the Ciuill Law. Generally in *Germany*, if a cause be receiued into any Court, and the defendant escape to another City, the Magistrate of the place must send him backe, to answer the Plaintife his accuser.

The Imperiall Chamber.

The causes of the Empire (as I formerly said) are handled in the Imperiall Chamber at *spire*. And therefore it will not be amisse to relate some Statutes made in the Imperial meetings, which are collected into a Booke, vulgarly called *Reichs abscheydt*; that is, the Epitome or abstract of the Kingdome; but I will onely set downe breely some of the cheefe statutes. It was decreed in the yeere 1556, that no subiects of the Electors, nor any Inhabitants, or Earles of their Prouinces, should appeale from them to this Court of the Imperiall Chamber. The Emperour *Fredericke* the third, in the yeere 1442, made these statutes: That no Prince should by armes right himselfe against another, before Iustice haue beene denied to him in this Imperiall Court. That the Iudge of the Chamber should be a Prince or Barron, and of these sixteene Assessors, halfe should be Ciuill Lawyers, and halfe of the Knightly Order. That the greater part should carry the cause, and the voices being equall, the Iudges voyce should cast it. That the Iudge should not be absent without leaue of the Assessors, nor they without his leaue, and that without some great cause, more then foure of them should not be absent at one time: That in absence they should haue no voyce: That the cheef Iudge being sicke, shall substitute a Prince in his place, who shall first take his oath. The Proctors and Aduocates shall take no more of their Clients, then the Iudges shal appoint, and shall sweare to auoide slander and malice. The Notaries shall execute the iudgements in the name of the Emperour. Appeales shall be of no force, except they be made in order to the next superiour Court, and so ascending. All that belong to this Chamber, shall be free from all payments, but not one of them shall either keepe an Inne, or trade as a Merchant. The Iudge shall deliuer ouer to the Senate of the City, those that are guilty of death. By the same decree, all fees for writing and processe are set downe, so as the Clyent swearing pouerty, shall goe free, so as hee sweare to pay the fees when he shall be able. Further it was decreed, that the seate of this Chamber or Court, should not be changed but by the consent of the Imperial diot or Parliament. That the Defendants hiding themselves, the Princes or Citizens to whom they are subiect, shall sweare vpon a set day, that they are not priuy to any of their actions, or else shall satisfie all damages. That the Proctors shall speake nothing but to the purpose, and for ieasts or impertinent things in word or writing, shal be punished by a mulct in money, and by being put to silence in that cause. By the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, in the Diot at *Augsburg*, the yeere 1518, two new Assessors were added, and it was decreed, that *Charles* as Emperour, should appoint the cheefe Iudge, two Assessors of the Law, and two Gentlemen Assessors, and as heire to his patrimony, should appoint two learned Assessors. That three Gentlemen Assessors should be named by the three secular electors, three learned by the three spiritual Electors, and three Gentlemen with three learned, by the common consent of the six Communities. (For the Empire was deuided into sixe Communities, vulgarly called *Kreyssen*, for the collection of tributes and like duties, as other Kingdomes are deuided into Counties; and since that time in the yeere 1522, for the same purposes, the Empire was deuided into ten Communities): Further it was decreed, that twenty two persons should with like equality be named yeerely to visit this Chamber or Court.

That

That no appeale should be admitted into this Court vnder the value of fiftie Guldens; and that the executions of iudgements should be done by the next Magistrates, and they not willing or not daring to doe it, should be referred to the Emperour. At a Parliament in the yeere 1522, it was decreed, That no stranger should be appointed cheefe Iudge: That for absence the pensions should be abated, after the rate of the time, and be distributed among the present: That the Iudges should sweare to take no guilts; not to prolong causes; and to doe right without respect of persons; and that the Procters should take no fees, but such as are set downe by statutes. At the Parliament in the yeere 1555, it was decreed, that no Assessors should be of any other Religion, then of the Roman, or the Confession of the Protestants, made at *Augsburg*. That one Assessor should not interrupt the speech of another, nor should rise to conferre one with the other, and that all speeches of anger should be punished, and all be sworne to keep secret the Acts of the Councell: That Aduocates should not be more then foure and twenty in number: That any man should be admitted to speake for himselfe, first swearing to auoide slander: That this Chamber or Court should be yeerely visited, vpon the first of *May*, by the Archbishop of *Mentz*, as substitute to the Emperour; by three other, each chosen by one of the Electors, by two Princes; one temporall, the other spirituall, and by one Counsellor, chosen by each order, (namely one by the Earles, and one by each free City) to whom the complaints should be presented vpon the first of March. That no man should forbid his subiects to appeale to this Court, except they should willingly renounce the appeale; but that all froward appeales for vniust causes should be punished, by paying charges; and being fined; and that no appeale should bee admitted vnder the value of fifty Guldens, excepting those who haue priuiledge to appeale for lesse summes, and that no appeale be made for corporal punishments: That the Chamber should be held at *Spire*, till it be otherwise decreed by Parliament, but that in time of famine or plague, they may for the time choose another place: That two brothers should not be the one an Assessor, the other a Procter: That the Iudges shall meete three dayes in the weeke, and eight of them at the least shall be present: That execution of iudgement shall first be required by letters of the Court, to which if the Defendant shal not yeeld obedience, he shal be cited to appeare, and shall be condemned in costs, and the Plaintiff shall be put in possession of his goods; and the Defendant by the Popes priuiledge granted to this Court, shall be excommunicated, and then execution shall be desired from the Magistrate of the Community, or in case the defendant be powerful, it shall be desired from the Emperour himselfe. Lastly, that no appeale nor petition against the iudgement of the Chamber shall be admitted.

And thus much breefly written of the Imperiall Chamber or Court, shall suffice. Onely I will adde, that appeales were of old granted to the Electors subiects, and at this day in some cases and aboue a certaine value, are granted to the subiects of Princes and Cities; and that in difficult causes, the Germans often referre them, to be iudged by the Colledges of ciuill Lawyers in the Vniuersity: but since Princes and Cities weekly hold Courts of iudgement, so as execution is done before appeale can be made; and since many Cities and Princes haue priuiledges against appeales, granted to them from the Emperour, these appeales are many times and by diuers meanes made voide. In this Chamber the Emperour himselfe may be accused; and many times a Gentleman, or any man of inferior condition, hauing difference with a Prince, gaines the cause against him, and the great differences of Princes, wont to breake into warre, vse quietly to be composed in this Court. The cheefe Iudge, if he be Earle or Barron, hath two thousand Guldens yeerely, by the statute made in the yeere 1548, and hath more if he be a Prince. An Assessor, if he be an Earle or Barron, hath yeerely by the same statute seuen hundred Guldens; if he be a Doctour of the Ciuill Law, or a Gentleman, he hath five hundred Guldens, and each Aduocate in Exchequer causes, hath yeerely three hundred Guldens; and by a statute in the yeere 1557, they receiue for each Gulden 77 Creitzers, for bettering of their pensions, whereas formerly each Gulden was valued at sixteene Batzen, or sixty foure Creitzers.

Capitall
iudgements.

Touching capitall iudgements. By the Ciuill Law, in most heinous offences, the affection is punished, though it take no effect: yet in common custome, and after the forme of the Statutes of *Italy*, he that hath a mind to kill, is not punished, except he doe kill. The old Law of *Saxony* respects the fact, not the will: but of late the Electors of *Saxony* haue made a Statute (which is yet in vigour), that he that prouokes a man to fight, or threatens death to him, shall dye, though hee neuer assaile him. The Germans hold it reprochfull to apprehend any malefactor, which is onely done by the Serieants of the Hangmans disgracefull Family. My selfe obserued, that a young man, Kinsman to the Consul or Maior of a Citie, hauing killed a Gentleman, remained two howers in the Citie, and then fled, without any stop by the Serieants, who notwithstanding did afterwards for fashion sake pursue him, some few howers. Yet I must needs confesse, that the Germans are generally most seuer in Iustice, sparing not the Inhabitants more then strangers, yea, in some cases fauouring strangers more then the Inhabitants, (as in debts, which a stranger cannot stay to recouer by long proceffe.) My selfe hauing a sute for money at *Lindaw*, my aduocate would by no meanes take any fee of me, and the Iudge gaue mee right with great expedition. In criminall offences they neuer haue any pardons from Court, (which are common in forraigne Kingdomes), but the punishment is knowne by the fact, so the malefactor be apprehended. For all hope of safety is in flight, yet I deny not that fauour is often done in the pursute. For since onely the Serieants can apprehend, there is no place, where more malefactors escape by flight. In the Citie of *Lubeck*, most honoured for Iustice, the common report was, that the very Iudges and Senators, had lately wincked at a Gentlemans breaking of prison and flight with his keeper, whom being imprisoned for a murther, they could neither execute, without greatly offending the King of *Denmark*, nor otherwise set free, without scandall of Iustice. A man suspected of any crime, or accused by one witnesse, is drawne to torture, yet is neuer condemned vpon any probability, till himselfe confesse the fact, which confession is easily extorted, because most men had rather dye, then indure torment. So as many times innocent men haue been after knowne to haue perished by their owne confessions, as with vs sometimes innocent men haue been knowne to dye, being found guilty by a Iurie of twelue sworne men. And because it cannot be that the iudgements of men should not often erre; hence it is that the Ciuill Lawyers haue a strange, yet good saying, that a mischiefe is better then an inconueniency, namely, that it is better one innocent man should dye by triall, then many nocent persons should escape for want of triall. In *Germany* not onely men but women also being accused, are put to torture. And for diuers great crimes, the Law iudgeth them to death with exquisite torments. And because they can hardly bee indured with Christian patience, lest the condemned should fall into despaire, the very Preachers, when they haue heard their confessions, and settled their mindes in true faith, by rare example of too great charitie, permit and aduise, that they be made drunken, to stupifie their senses, so as thus armed, they come forth with more bold then holy mindes and lookes, and seeme not to feelee vn-sufferable torments of death.

Neare *Lindaw* I did see a malefactor hanging in Iron chaines on the gallows, with a Masse Dogge hanging on each side by the heeles, so as being starued, they might eate the flesh of the malefactor before himselfe died by famine. And at *Franckford* I did see the like spectacle of a Iew hanged aliue in chaines, after the same manner.

The condemned in *Germany* lose not their goods, but onely in case of Treason against their absolute Lords. But in *Bohemia* the goods of the condemned, fall to the Emperour, as he is King of *Bohemia*, in the Territories belonging to the King; and to the Princes and Gentlemen, in the Territories whereof they are absolute Lords (as they are all, in their owne lands.)

In *Germany* Courtiers and Students of Vniuersities, haue their proper Iudges and Prisons, so as by singular priuiledge they may not be tried in any other Court. And of old the Students of many Vniuersities had such priuiledges (at this day not fully allowed)

allowed), as for murder they could not be punished further, then with expulsion. In *Germany* they have a custome to giue a condemned man to a Virgin that desires him for her husband, but according to the circumstances of the crime, they grant or denie the same.

The office of the hangman is hereditary, so as the sonne cannot refuse to succede his father: And of late the hangmans sonne of *Hamburg* being a Student, and learned if not a graduate, in the Vniuersity of *Basil*, after his Fathers death, was called home by the Senate of *Hamburg*, and forced to doe his Fathers Office, which is most ignominious, but of great profit: For the Germans hold it reprochfull to take off the skinne of any beast, dying of it selfe, so as the hangman doing that Office, hath the skinnes for his labour. The Germans are so superstitious, as they thinke it a great reproch to touch the head or body of any put to death, and thinke it most ridiculous for any man to salute the hangman, or speake curteously to him, and esteeme it a foule fault to eate or drinke with them, or any of his Family. Therefore the Hang-man and those of their Family, who helpe them in their Office (and succeed them hauing no children) doe all weare a greene cap, or some apparent marke, by which they may be knowne, or at least are tied to professe their quality; when they come into any company, lest any man should offend in the former kindes. And in publike Tauernes they haue Tables proper to them, at which the basest body will not sit for any reward. If they performe not their Office with dexterity, they feare to be stoned by the people, whose rage many times in that case they haue hardly escaped; but being expert in doing their Office, and hauing most sharpe Swords, they commonly shew great dexterity in beheading many at one time, and (as it were) in a moment: They are commonly thirsty of blood, so as the common report was, that the hangman of *Torge* beheaded some of his companions with the Sword of Iustice, because they would not pledge him, when they were so fully drunken, as they could no more; whereupon the Sword was taken from him, and is to this day kept in the Senate-house, and onely deliuered to him at times of execution: And that this rascall could not liue a weeke without drinking the blood of some Beast. Besides at *Breme* not long before this time, forty freebooting souldiers being beheaded at one time, and the hangman hauing failed in giuing a foule wound to the first man executed, and hauing with much difficulty appeased the peoples anger for the same, hee presently drunke some of the mans blood that was dead, and after hee had fetched a friske or two, beheaded all the rest with strange dexterity (as it were) in a moment.

Of old among the Germans man-slaughter was punished by a mulct of cattle, but no man escaped death for adultery. At this day (as after will appeare) they punish man-killers more seuerely, and adultery in most places is death, and in no part of *Germany* free from seuerer punishment. Not onely the free Cities of the Empire haue the priuiledge of the Sword, or capitall Iustice granted to them by Emperours; but also many Cities subiect to inferiour Princes haue that priuiledge granted by some of their Lords: and those Cities that haue it not, yet vpon accidents of capitall offences, obtaine it for the time by petitionary letters at Court, so as the Prince permits Iustice, the City giues sentence, and sees execution done in the place where the crime was committed, and presently after the fact, neuer vsing (as we doe) to send Iudges from County to County at set times of the yeere: For casuall man-slaughter, or by chance medly (as we terme it), the Ciuill Law giues arbitrary punishment; but the Law of *Saxony* punisheth it with a certaine and expresse mulct, namely of one *wehrgeld*, and by the Ciuill Law not onely the principall, but euery one that is accessary, payes the whole mulct, whereas by the Saxon Law, if it be not knowne which of them killed him, all iointly pay but one mulct. Killing in sudden anger (which we call manslaughter) is punished with beheading through all *Germany* and *Bohemia*, and that without delay: for if the offender be apprehended, he shall within few howers, or next day be beheaded, and put in the same Coffin with him that he killed, and so both are buried with one funerall pompe, and in the same graue: and if vpon escape, the man-slayer liue within the confines of the Empire, whensoever his fact is knowne, he shall be sent
backe

backe to the place where he committed it, contrary to the custome of *Italy*, where the Princes cherrish, or at least giue safe abode to the banished men of the next Countries: Onely I must except the Lords and Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, who vpon capitall offences are not presently iudged, but are referred to the next Parliament. In free Cities I haue obserued this forme of iudgement and execution. The Iudge sits before the tribunall, couered with blacke cloth, and the Senators and Consuls sit vpon a bench aboue him; and this place of Iudgement is commonly in a Porch or Terras vnder the Senate-house, hauing one side all open towards the market place. Then the Crier, who carries the Sword before the Iudge, calls out the accuser; and the hangman comming forth, accuseth the Malefactor, which done, the Cryer leades the Malefactor before the Tribunall, where he is againe accused, and confesseth the fact, according to his confessions formerly made either in torture or before the Senators appointed to examine him: Then the Iudge giues sentence, and breakes his white rod. This done, the Hangman repeates the sentence in the market place, and presently the Malefactor is brought forth to be beheaded. This man-slaughter in sudden fury, is very frequent among the Germans, by reason of their excessive drinking. In the City of *Hamburg* I obserued thirty seuen to be thus killed in the space of six weekes, and onely three of the manslayers to be beheaded, the rest escaping by flight. And at *Prage* in *Bohemia*, I obserued fiftene seruants of the Polonian Ambassadour (whereof many were Gentlemen), and thirteene Bohemians and Germans, to be wounded to death in their cups, within the space of three weekes, all the manslayers escaping, excepting one poore clowne, who was executed. It is true that Post-Horses are kept for the Sergeants to pursue Malefactors, yet they slowly follow Gentlemen, or those that haue good friends, howsoeuer they would soon apprehend a stranger, or a poore offender, neither vse they earnestly to pursue any, except they be hired by the friends of him that is killed, or be otherwise terrified by the Magistrate.

For combates in *Germany*, reade the precept of patience, in the Chapter of Precepts, being the second chapter of this 3 Part. Here I wil onely say, that in combat very few, or no Germans are killed, few hurt, and that lightly; which I rather attribute to their peaceable nature, not apt to take things in reproch, then to their seuer Lawes. I haue said that manslayers die without hope of pardon, if they be apprehended, but otherwise the Germans haue no seuer Lawes to punish iniuries, (in which Iustice the Sweitzers of all Nations excell), without which Lawes, no capitall punishment can keepe men from reuenge, especially in a warlike Nation, and vnpatient of reproch: Onely at *Augsburg* I remember seuer Lawes, made to keepe the Garrison Souldiers from combates, where they haue a plat of ground, to which they call one another to fight vpon iniuries; but it serues more to make shew, then prooue of their valour: For a Souldier wounding another, payes foure Guldens: Hee that drawes his Sword, though he draw no blood, payes two Guldens: He that vpon challenge and the greatest prouocation, kils another, is banished: And the Magistrate giues such reall satisfaction to the wronged by deed or word, as they may with reputation forbear reuenge: yea, he that doth a wrong, is bound vnder great penalty, that he himselfe shall presently make it knowne to the Magistrate, crauing pardon, and submitting himselfe to punishment, howsoeuer the wronged neuer complains.

At *Prage* in *Bohemia*, manslaughters committed by Gentlemen against strangers, and those of meaner condition, are much more frequent, because Gentlemen can onely be iudged in Parliaments, which are not often called, and are then tried by Gentlemen, who are partiall in the common cause, and commonly acquite them, or delude Iustice by delaies: Otherwise the Bohemians punish manslaughter, murther, robbery, and like crimes, as the Germans punish them.

By the Ciuill Law the punishment of a boy for manslaughter, is arbitrary, but he is not subiect to the Cornelian Law, or capitall punishment, except he be capable of malice. By the Law of *Saxony*, a boy for manslaughter is punished by the foresaid mulct, if he be capable of malice, otherwise he is subiect to no punishment, and in like sort if he depriue one of the vse of any member: but in custome if he be seuentene yeeres

yeeres old, he may be, and is commonly put to death. By the Ciuill law, the punishment of reall and verball iniuries is arbitrary, and as many wounds as are giuen, so many are the punishments. But by the law of *Saxony*, he that strikes another, so as he leese the vse of a member, is punished by a mulct of money vncertaine, which is giuen alwaies to him that is maimed, and if he die not, a thousand wounds or maimes are punished onely with one mulct, except they bee done at diuers times and places, in which case seuerall mulcts are inflicted. Alwaies vnderstand, that these Iudgements are giuen, where the offender is ciuilly accused, for if these wounds be giuen of set malice, and if he be capitally accused, he shall dye, according to the circumstances, which the Germans much regard. Thus at *Lubeck* a man was beheaded, for striking a Citizen in his owne house. And in the way from *Stoade* to *Breme*, I did see a sad monument, of a wicked sonne, whose hand first, and then his head was cut off, for striking his father. He that kille a man of set malice, and like hainous murtherers, haue all their bones broken vpon a wheele, and in some cases their flesh is pinched off, with hot burning pinfers; and they that kill by the high-way, are in like sort punished. And many times for great crimes, the malefactors some few dayes before the execution of iudgement, are nailed by the eares to a post in a publike place, that the people may see them. After the execution, the bones and members of the malefactor are gathered together, and laid vpon the wheele, which is set vp in the place of execution (commonly where the crimes were committed), for eternall memory of his wickednesse, with so many bones hanging on the sides of the wheele, as he committed murthers or like crimes; and my selfe haue numbred sometimes eightene, often fourteene bones thus hanging for memory of so many murthers, or like crimes committed by one man. These markes long remaining, and crosses set vp in places where murthers were committed, though the murtherer escaped by flight, make passengers thinke these crimes to be frequent in *Germany*; yet the high-way is most safe, and the nature of the people abhorring from such acts, which are neuer committed by Gentlemē, but only by rascals against footmen in the highway, and those that dwel in solitary houses. Yet the seuerity of punishments, & the more fierce nature of the Germans (retaining some kind of fiercenes from their old progenitors) make such as are thus giuen ouer to wickednes, to be more barbarous & vnmerciful, and when they haue once done ill, to affect extremity therin. To conclude, I haue said, that the law of *Saxony* condemnes a man to death, who threatens to kil another, though he neuer do the act. By the Ciuill law, difference is made between a day & a night thiefe, because we may not kil him that steales by day, but may kil him that robs by night, if we cannot spare him without danger to our selues. By the law of *Saxony*, he that by night steales so much as a little wood, shall be hanged: but stealing that or like goods by day, shal only be beaten with rods. In the ciuill law, it is doubtful whether theft is to be punished with death or no, & most commonly it concludes, that only theft deserues not death, if it be not accompanied with other crimes. But the law of *Saxony* expressely condemnes a thiefe to be hanged, if he steale aboue the value of fīue Hungarian Ducates of gold; or vnder that value to bee beaten with rods, and to be marked with a burning iron, in the eares or cheekes and forehead, and so to be banished. And howsoeuer generally a thiefe may not be hanged by the Ciuill Law, yet in some cases it condemnes him to be hanged. By the law of *Saxony* the thing stolen must be restored to the owner, and may not be detained by the Magistrate, and they who wittingly receiue stolen goods, or giue any helpe to theecues, are subiect no lesse then the theecues to the punishment of hanging. In *Germany* there be very few robberies done by the high-way, and those onely vpon footemen; for they that passe by coach or horse, carry long Pistols or Carbiners, and are well accompanied. But if any robbers assaile, in respect of the seuerer punishment, they commonly kill. In *Germany* they who are hanged for simple theft, hang in iron chaines vpon the gallowes till they rot and consume to nothing, but in *Bohemia* after three dayes they are cut downe and buried. I did see one that had stolen lesse then fīue gold guldens, whipped about the towne, one that consented being led by his side for ignominy, but not whipped. I did see another small offender led to the gallowes

with a condemned man, that he might beware by that example. And I haue seene others for stealing vnder the said value, put in a basket, and thrise ducked in the river, for a warning vpon the first fault. And I haue often heard them tax our English Justice, for hanging those that steale about the value of thirten pence halfe-peny, which will hardly buy a rope. By the Ciuill Law he that findes any thing, and for gaine keeps it, is guilty of theft; for he ought to make it publicly knowne, and to restore it being owned, or other wise if he be poor to keep it, if he be rich, to distribute it among the pore.

By the Law of *Saxony*, it is a theeuish thing not to make publicly knowne any thing that is found; but hee that so doth, shall not suffer death or any corporall punishment, because he did not of purpose take it away: but if he that lost it, doe cry it in the Church or market-place, then if it be more then the value of five shillings, hee is thought worthy to be beaten with rods, or to indure such arbitrary punishment, according to the value of the thing found.

By the Ciuill Law, hee that cuts downe trees secretly, shall pay the double value: but by the Law of *Saxony*, the mulct is according to the value. By the Ciuil Law, they that steale the necessaries belonging to husbandry, shall restore foure fold, and also incur infamy. But one Law of *Saxony* condemnes them to haue their bones broken with wheelles; and another Law makes the punishment arbitrary. The Ciuill Law confiscates goods for which custome is not payd; but the Law of *Saxony* imposeth a Fyne aswell vpon those which pay not customes and duties, as vpon those that passe not the beaten way, where they are paid, but go some by way, to defraud the Prince. By the Ciuill Law, sacrilegious persons are beheaded: but by the Law of *Saxony* their bones are broken vpon the wheele, and markes are set vp according to the number of their offences in that kynd. By the Ciuill Law, no offender may be burnt in the forehead, because the face may not be disfigured, as created to the similitude of God: but in *Saxony*, those which are beaten with rods, or banished, are also many times marked, by being burnt in the hand, or by cutting off their eares, or by pulling out their eyes, or by being burnt in the cheekes, so as the haire may not couer the marke but it may be manifest to strangers in forraine parts. Yet the interpreters of that Law, thinke at this day, that offenders can not be so punished by that Law, and that a theefe ought not so to be marked. By the ciuil Law, witches doing any act wherupon a man dies, are to be beheaded, but by the Law of *Saxony*, they are to be burnt. Yet by a late Statute of the Elector, they are sometimes beheaded, (for you must vnderstand that in all places, the Prouinciall Law is daily increased by new Statutes of Princes) And by the Law of *Saxony*, a witch hauing done no hurt by that art, is punished arbitrarily. And the Germans credibly report, that there be many witches in the Countries lying vpon the Baltick sea, and especially vpon the Northen side therof, as in *Lapland*, being part of the kingdome of Suetia; and that in those places they haue generall meetings, and Colledges of witches, who wil tell any man what his friends do at any time, in the remotest parts, one of them falling downe as in extasie, and when he comes to himselfe, relating the particulars thereof, and that they ordinarily sell windes to the Marriners, to carry them out of the haven to the maine sea.

In Germany those that set houses on fire, either hired thereunto, or of there owne malice, and also witches vse to bee burnt, or if their crime be heinous, vse to be put to death with a burning iron or spit, thrust into their hinder partes. Coines of counterfeit mony, are by the Law to dye in boiling lead. By the Ciuil Law the goods of a banished man may be seased to repaire any losse, but it is not lawfull for any man to kill him, neither is he infamous. But by the Law of *Saxony*, he that is banished by the Empire, may be killed; because he broke the peace, and after a yeers banishment, he is infamous; alwaies vnderstanding, that he is lawfully banished. By the Ciuill Law, a traitor to his country, is to be burned to death; but by the Law of *Saxony*, his bones are broken vpon the wheele, and by custome many torments are in some crimes added to this punishment. By the Ciuill Law, he that steales a virgin, widow, or Nunne, and all that helpe him in that rape, are beheaded: but by the Law of *Saxony*, besides the
behead-

beheading of the offenders, the places are to be laid waste where the force was offered, and the beasts to be killed that helped to doe the force, as the horses which carried them away; yet this is not obserued, but in practise only he is put to death that offered the force.

Of old the women of *Germany*, were wont to purge themselves from suspicion of adultery, by the combat of champions, or by treading on shares of hot burning iron with their naked feet, without taking any harme, and this purgation should still be obserued; neither is it abrogated in *Saxony*, but only is vanished by disusing. And the Germans haue not only of old been seuerer punishers of breaches in wedlocke, so as it was lawfull for the husband to expell his adulterous wife out of his house before all his neighbours, with her body naked and her haire shorne, and so to beat her with rods through the streets, but also euen to this day, the chastity of wiues, through the seuerity of the Law against the incontinent, is no where so preserued, as in *Germany*. If a married person lie with one that is vnmarried, as well on the man as the womans side, the married party is put to death, and the vnmarried is punished by the purse, and with ignominy, and if both parties be married, both die. And our age hath seene two notable examples of this Iustice in *Germany*, one of a Duchesse, who by authority of her husband and of her owne brother, was for this crime forced to drinke poison secretly, for preseruing of all their honours. The other of another Duchesse who was bricked vp in a most narrow roome, hauing an hole in the wall by which she receiued her meat, to prolong her miserable life, while her husband had another wife and liued with her in the same Castle, in which she thus languished. In most places of *Germany* this sinne is punished no lesse then with death; yet in some places, and vpon some circumstances, (as of a man hauing an old and barren wife) the delinquent sometimes escapes with a mulct of mony: and otherwhere the iudgment is drawne out with delaies of the suit, to spare the parties without manifest breaches of the Law. In *Bohemia* adultery is also punished with death. In *Germany* I did see a poore knaue hanging and rotting on the gallows, being condemned to that death for hauing two wiues at one time in two seuerall Cities, and I did see another beheaded for lying with his wiues sister.

In Ciuill causes, I obserued these laudable customes in *Germany*, namely that in many Courts, they that goe to Law lay downe a caution or pledge, which he loseth, who in the end of the triall, is found rashly and vniustly to haue sued the other. That the Fees of Lawyers are limited, and that icasts or impertinent speeches are punished, and they are tied to speake nothing that is not to the purpose.

Ciuil Iudgements.

Of old, no beauty, age, nor riches, helped a deflowered virgin, to get any husband at any time. And no doubt virgins to this day are no where so carefull of their good name as in *Germany*; no where virgins more modestly behaue themselves, no where virgins liue to so ripe yeers before they be married, as in *Germany*. At *Wittenberg* I did see harlots punished by standing at the Altar with a torch lighted in their hands, and by being whipped with rods, while many drums were beaten; & basons tinckled about them. At *Heidelberg* I did see an harlot put in a basket, and so ducked into the riuer *Neccar*; and because she whooped and hollowed as in triumph, when she rose out of the water, she was for that impudency ducked the second time. At *Prage* in *Bohemia*, howsoeuer harlots be there as common as in *Italy*, and dwell in streets together, (where they stand at the doores, and by wanton signes allure passengers to them) yet I did see some men and women of the common sort, who for simple fornication, were yoked in carts, & therewith drew out of the City the filth of the streets. But while the *Bohemians* thus chasten the poorer sort, I feare the greater Flies escape their webs.

In *Germany* at the time of publike Faires, after the sound of a bell, it is free for debtors, harlots, and banished people to enter the Citie; but they must haue care to be out of the territories before the same bell sound againe at the end of the Faire, they being otherwise subiect then to the Law. At *Leipzig* I did see an harlot taken after this second sound of the bell, who had been formerly banished, with two of her fore-

fingers cut off; and shee, not for incontinencie, but by the law of banishment, was next day beheaded. Whiles I lived in the same Citie, it happened that a virgin of the better sort being with child, and cunningly concealing it, was surpris'd with the time of birth in the Church vpon a Sunday, and silently brought forth the child in her pew or seat, couering it with rushes being dead, which was vnknowne to all in the body of the Church, only some yong men sitting in a roode or loft with the Musitians, perceiued the fact, and acculed her for murdering the child: In the meane time, shee went home from the Church, in the company of the other virgins, without any shew of such weaknes, & after, vpon the said accusation being imprisoned, the report was that shee should bee iudged to death, after the old Law mentioned by the Poet *Propertius*, namely, being sewed in a sacke with a liuing cat (in steed of an Ape), and a liuing Cocke, Snake, and Dog, and so drowned in the riuer with them. But delay being vsed in the iudgement, and her honourable friends making intercession for her, and the murder of her child being not prooued, when I left the Citie after six moneths shee remained in prison, and it was not knowne what would become of her.

Aswell in *Germany* as *Bohemia*, bastards are excluded from publike profession of liberall or mechanical arts, only they may exercise them in the houses of priuate Gentlemen, (in which course of life as seruants they commonly liue) but neuer in open shops. All graduates in Vniuersities take an oath, that they were begotten in lawfull matrimony. And if any man ignorantly should marry a woman great with child, howsoeuer the child bee borne in marriage, yet it shall inherit nothing from the husband. Bastards cannot bee sureties for any imprisoned or delinquent man, nor inioy the extraordinary benefits of the law, and are commonly named of the Citie or Towne where they were borne, for a marke of ignominy, not after any mans surname. But the publike Notaries by priuiledges granted to them from Emperors and Popes, haue power to make their posterity legitimate.

In the lower part of *Germany*, which was all named *Saxony* of old, a debtor shall not be receiued into prison, except the Creditor allow the Iaylor two pence by the day to giue him bread and water, and after a yeeres imprisonment, if the debtor take his oath that he is not able to pay, he shall be set free, yet the creditor hath stil his right reserved vpon his yeerly wages for his labour, and vpon his gaines by any art or trade, and vpon any goods whatsoeuer he shall after possesse. And before any debtor bee imprisoned, the Magistrate giues him eighteen weeks time to pay his debt, and commits him not till that time be past. And in some places the debtor liues at his owne expence, and shall be tied to pay his creditors charges, if he be able to doe it.

In some places, especially at *Lubecke*, I haue obserued that strangers being Creditors, haue more fauour then the Creditors of the same City against a Citizen debtor; because strangers by reason of their trafficke, and hast homeward, cannot well expect the delay of sutes, in which respect their debtors shall presently be imprisoned, whereas mutually among the Citizens, they giue the foresaid or like time of payment, before they will imprison them: Debts without specialty are tried by Oath. In *Bohemia* the debtors are imprisoned presently, and maintaine themselves, not being releas'd till the creditors be satisfied.

In *Germany*, if any man draw other mens monies into his hands, and being able, yet payes not his debts, he is guilty of capital punishment; but that ingenious and honest Nation hath few or no such bankrupts. By the Law of *Saxony*, he that deceiues by false weights and measures, is to be whipped with rods.

The Emperours of old granted the priuiledge of coyning Money, to many Princes and free Cities; and the Emperour in the Dyet or Parliament of the yeere 1500, commanded all Princes, Persons, and Bodies so priuiledged, to send their Counsellors to him at *Nurnberg*, and that in the meane time all Coyning should cease, vnder the penalty to leese the priuiledge of Coyning. In the same place, the yeere 1559, many Lawes were made for coyning Monies, whereof I will relate some few. First the weight and purity of the mettall was prescribed, together with the Inscriptions to be set vpon the Coynes. Then it was decreed, that after sixe moneths no strange Monies

nies should bee currant, whereof many are particularly named. That all forraigne Gold should after the same time be forbidden, excepting the Spanish single and double Duckets, the Portugall Crownes with the short crosse, the Crownes of *Burgundy, Netherland, France, Spaine, and Italy*, to each of which peeces a certaine value was set. Moreouer it was decreed, that counterfet coyning or melting, should be punished according to the quality of the offence. That vncoyned gold and siluer should be deliuered by each man into the Mints of his owne Prince. That it should be lawfull to Goldsmiths for exercise of their trade, (and no more) to melt gold and siluer, and to deuide it into parts, so as they export none of it. That no man should sell or pawne the priuiledge of Coyning, heretofore granted him from the Emperours, and that like priuiledges hereafter to be granted, should be of no force, without certaine conditions there prescribed. Other Lawes of Coyning I haue formerly set downe in the Chapter of Coynes.

Germany hath few or no beggars, the Nation being generally industrious, exceptingleprous men, who liue in Almes-houses, and standing farre off, beg of passengers with the sound of a bell, or of a wooden clapper, but no man denies almes to him that begs, they hauing small brasse monies of little value. The Law forbids any to beg, but those that are lame, and chargeth Magistrates to bring vp their children in manuall Arts. The Lawes wisely prouide against all frauds in manuall Arts and in Trades, and since no Trade can doe more hurt then the Potecaries, for the preservation of health, or the lesse hurt of the sicke, the Law prouides that their shops be yeerly visited, and purged of all corrupted drugges, which the visitors see burned. The Germans freely permit vsury to the Iewes, who at *Franckfort*, at *Prage*, in the Prouince of *Moravia*, and in many places vnder Princes of the Papacy, haue Cities, or at least streets to dwell in, where they liue separated from Christians, and grinde the faces of the poore with vnsatiable auarice. For they take fifty in the hundred by the yeere, with a pawne of gold or siluer, and one hundreth in the hundreth by the yeere; with a pawne of apparell or household stufte, neuer lending any thing without a good pawne. But the Germans among themselues cannot by the Law take more then five or six in the hundreth for a yeeres vse. Yet among Christians, there want not some, who vse both the name and helpe of the Iewes, to put out their mony with greater gaine.

Of old among the *Germans*, without respect to last Wils and Testaments, the sonnes lawfully begotten succeeded alone in the inheritance, and for want of them, first brothers; then vncles. *Cesar* in his Commentaries writes, that the fields were yeerely diuided by the Magistrate, no man hauing fees or inheritance proper to him, lest husbandry should take away their warlike disposition, or they should become couetous; and addes, that they loued vast solitudes vpon their confines, as if no people durst dwell neere them; or at least to the end they might liue more safe from sudden incursions of enemies. At this day all barbarousnesse being abolished, they succeed according to the lawes in the Fees and inheritances of their parents and kinsmen, and affect peace as much as any other Nation. But they trust not so much to solitudes or the naked breast for defence from their enemies, as in strong forts and well fortified Cities.

*The Lawes
of Inheri-
tance.*

By the Ciuill Law, as the sonne, so the nephew, or sonnes sonne, (representing his father) succeeds in land granted by fee. By the Law of *Saxony*, only the sonne succeeds, excluding the nephew: and if there be no sonne, the Fee retournes to the Lord. But howsoeuer the old Interpreters haue so determined, yet the later Interpreters, iudgeing it most vnequall so to exclude the nephew, so interpret the Statute of the Saxonicall Law; as they make the Fee granted to the Father and his children, to extend to the nephews (or the sonnes of any his sonne,) so as the sonnes cannot exclude them. By the Feudatory Ciuill Law, brothers and collateral cosens, succeed in the Fee of the Father, sometimes to the seventh degree, sometimes infinitely: for the Interpreters extend the successiō of the right line without end, but the succession of the collateral line onely to the seventh degree. But in the Law of *Saxony*, collateral kins-

men haue no right of succession in the Fee, except they haue it by right of ioynt inuestiture. These Lawes differ in numbring the degrees. For the Saxons make the first degree in cosen-germans by the fathers side, namely the sonnes of two brethren; and the second degree in the sonnes of two cosen-germans: whereas in the Ciuill Law, cosengermans are in the fourth degree of consanguinity. By the Ciuill Law, brothers diuiding a fee, preiudice not themselves in mutuall succession; so as two brothers diuiding, and after one of them dying without a sonne, the part of him that is dead, shall returne to him that liues. But by the Law of *Saxony*, the succession depends vpon vsing it in common, from which if they depart, they are iudged to haue renounced the mutuall right of succession; so as one brother dying after the diuision, the other hath no right to his part: therefore by custome one brother vseth to retaine the fee, and to satisfie his brethren in mony and goods, commonly with condition that this money and goods shall be bestowed in getting another fee. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall haue built houses, or bestowed mony in bettering the old houses, the Lord of the Fee shall either satisfie the heire according to the estimation of the expence, or shall suffer him to carry away the houses. But by the Law of *Saxony*, the fee lies open to the Lord; with all the houses built, one case excepted. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall die without heire male before the moneth of March, the fruits of that yeere pertain to the Lord: but if hee die after the Calends of March, before the Moneth of August, the fruits pertain to the heires. But by the Law of *Saxony*, if the vassall liue past the day when the rent is due, the heires shall inioy the fruits of his labour. By the Ciuill Law, if the Fee vpon the death of the Lord, fall to all his sonnes, either equally or otherwise, the inuestiture must be desired of all: but by the Law of *Saxony*, it sufficeth to aske it of one sonne of the dead Lord. By the Ciuill Law, a seruant or a clowne may be inuested in a Fee; which done, the clowne becomes a Gentleman, if the nature of the fee require it: But by the Law of *Saxony*, onely hee that is borne of the knightly order by father and mother is capeable of a fee, though custome preuaile to the contrary. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall leaue an heire, he cannot refuse the inheritance, and retaine the fee, but must hold or refuse both: but by the Law of *Saxony*, he may retaine the fee, leauing the inheritance, and in that case is not bound to satisfie creditors. By the Ciuill Law, a man may giue or sell his land to a Prince or Prelate, and take it againe of him in fee. But by the Law of *Saxony*, except the Prince or any buyer whatsoeuer, retaine the land a yeere and a day, before he grants it backe in fee, hee that gaue or sold it, or his heire, hath right to recouer the land. By the Ciuill Law, if the vassall haue lost his horse or armes in warre, hee hath no remedy against the Lord, because he is tied by duty to helpe him: but by the Law of *Saxony*, the Vassall is not tied to serue the Lord any longer, except he repaire his losse, and the Lord is tied to pay a certaine ranome for his captiue Vassall. By the Ciuill Law, the Lord, or the Father of the Vassall being dead, the Vassall is bound to aske inuestiture within a yeere and a moneth: but by the Law of *Saxony*, either of them being dead, he must aske it without delay. By the Ciuill Law, the Vassall must serue the Lord at his owne charge: but by the Law of *Saxony*, he is onely tied to serue him sixe weekes, and by custome the Lord must feede him and his horse, or giue him a competent allowance.

By the Ciuil law, the pupil is excused from the Lords seruice: but by the law of *Saxony*, the Tutor must serue in his place. By the Ciuill law, a Fee falling to a Monk, belongs to the Monastery during his life: but by the law of *Saxony*, it returnes to the Lord. And touching the succession of Monks in any inheritance whatsoeuer, though by the Ciuil law they are accounted dead, yet the same law admits the to succeed with the children of the intestate father: but by the law of *Saxony*, they are not capable of any inheritance; yet this Law seeming vniust to the Popes, it was corrected, so as their succession was giuen to the Monastery. But in our age, the Iudges haue pronounced a Monke himself to be capeable of inheritance, notwithstanding the Papall Law giues his inheritance to the Monastery, and that because the Monkish Vowes being against the word of God, the persons of Monkes are free to take inheritance. By the Ciuill Law, the Vassall is bound to accompany his Lord when he goes with the King of the Romans, to take the

the Crowne of the Empire at *Rome*: but by the Law of *Saxony*, he may redeeme this seruice with paying the tenth part of his yeerely rent; and since, the golden Bulla hath restrained this seruice, to twenty thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, and the paiment of them hath since been equally diuided through *Germany*, allowing a horseman twelue Guldens, and a footeman foure Guldens. By the Ciuill Law, he forfeites his Fee, who cuts downe fruitfull trees, or puls vp vines, but by the Law of *Saxony*, it is free to the possessor, to make the lands or houses of the Fee better or worse, at his pleasure. By the Ciuill Law, if the Lord deny inuestiture, it must be asked often and humbly: but by the Law of *Saxony*, if the Vassall aske it thrice, and hath witnesse that the Lord denied his seruice, afterwards, so he haue good witnesse thereof, hee and his heires shall possesse the Fee, without any bond of seruice, and his heire is not bound to aske inuestiture. By the Ciuill Law, if two Lords of one Vassall shall both at one time require his seruice, he is bound to serue the most ancient Lord: but by the Law of *Saxony*, the person of the Vassall must serue the Lord that first calles him, and he is to pay a summe of money (as the tenth pound) to the other.

By the afore said Lawes and daily practise, it appeares, that the Territories of Princes (according to the old Feudatory Lawes) either fall to the eldest son (who giues his brothers yeerely Pensions, or according to his inheritance, recompenceth them with money, or other lands), or else are equally diuided among the brothers. Yet some Fees are also feminine, and fall to the daughters and their husbands, and some may be giuen by testament: but others, (as those of the Electors) for want of heires males are in the Emperours power, who with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, commonly giues them to the husbands of the daughters, or to the next heires by affinity, if there be none of consanguinity. I haue heard of credible men, that the Dukedome of *Austria* first falls to the sons, then to the cousens, and for want of them to the daughters. The Duke of *Wineberg* and the Duke of *Coburg* (sonnes to *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* and Elector, but deprived of his Electorship by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, for his Religion), did equally diuide their fathers inheritance, (the Electorship being giuen away, the inheritance wherof could not be diuided): but I did obserue, that the brother to that Duke of *Coburgs* son being vnmarried, had no inheritance sub-diuided to him, which was said should be done, when he tooke a wife. The Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, not long before this time. deceased, did diuide all the inheritance with his brother Duke *Casimere*, excepting the Palatinate, which with the stile and dignitie of Elector, belongs to the eldest sonne. But they say that many times the Knights and chiefe men of the Prouince, wil not for the publike good, lest the Princes power should be weakened, permit this diuision among their Princes, but force the younger brother to take money or yeerely pension for the part of his inheritance; and that this diuision is also many times forbidden by the dying fathers last Testament. And they seeme to do this not without iust cause, since the great number of children often oppresseth diuers principalities. Thus 17 brothers, al Princes of *Anhalt* (for the title is common to al the yonger brothers with the eldest, euen where the patrimony is not diuided) diuiding their fathers estate betweene them, were said to haue each of them ten thousand gold Guldens by the yeere; and if all these brethren should haue children, it was probable that the Principalitie could not beare so many heires. I remember that I did see one of them at *Dresden*, in the Court of *Christian* Elector and Duke of *Saxony*, who receiued of him a pension to maintaine certaine horses, and was one of his Courtiers. The like happened in our time to the Counts of *Mansfeild*, whereof twenty seuen lined at one time, and some of them followed the warres of *Netherland*, the reuenues of so narrow a County sufficing not to beare vp the dignitie of their birth, howsoeuer it yeeldeth Mines of Siluer, which were at that time pawned for money to the Fuggari of *Augsburg*.

I obserued that the younger sonnes of Protestant Princes, whose Fees could not be diuided, yea, and the eldest sonne during his fathers life, inioyed the reuenues of Bishopricks as Administrators (being so called), besides money, and pensions, and some lands of inheritance, and otherwise for better maintenance followed the warres.

In this sort when the Elector Christian Duke of *Saxony* died, his three sonnes being yet vnder age, inioyed three Bishopricks, namely, those of *Misen*, *Nauberg*, and *Merfberg*, though the Emperour and the Gentlemen of those parts in a Prouinciall meeting, were instant to haue three Bishops chosen, and the Emperour desired that dignity for one of his brothers. The same three Princes yet being vnder age, I did see coynes of Gold and Siluer bearing the images of all three: but when they came to age, the Electorship and the Inheritance belonging to it, fell to the eldest sonne, the younger retaining the said Bishopricks for life, and their part of other lands that might bee diuided, for inheritance to them and their children.

The Fees of Princes are giuen by the Emperour, and the Fees of many Gentlemen and of some Earles are giuen by Princes: but I returne to the Lawes of Succession.

By the Ciuil law; they that descend of the right line, haue the first place in succession, al which without respect of sex or fatherly power, do succcede equally, the sons by the Pole, the nephewes to their part, namely, to the part which their father should haue had, if he had been then liuing; so as it seemes, that fower or more nephewes, the sons of a third brother dead, diuiding with two brothers liuing, all the nephewes shall only haue a third part; belonging to their father being dead, and each of the two liuing brothers shall haue another third part. The Law of *Saxony* changeth nothing touching the persons, but differs in the succession of goods: For the daughters shall by priuiledge haue their mothers apparrell, and other ornaments, with all vtensiles (or household stuffe), so as they shall be valued to them in their due parts. And the niece, borne of one of the sisters being dead, hath the same right with the other sisters for her mothers part: but none can haue these vtensiles, saue the women on the mothers side, (vulgarly called *Spiekmagen*), for the brothers daughter hath no right to them. And I haue heard of learned men, that these vtensiles cannot bee alienated by the last testament, namely, vessels of brasle (but not of pewter), linnen, beds (excepting the heires of Inne-keepers, whose chiefe wealth commonly consists in such furniture) also sheepe, geese, iewels of gold, and like ornaments of the mother, excepting the scale ring of gold, and pearles, and other iewels, which men vse to weare as well as women. By a Law made in the Dukedome of *Meckelburg*, because the women in the yeere 1388 redeemed their captiue Prince with their Iewels, many priuiledges of succession are granted to women. By the Law of *Saxony*, as the vtensiles belong to the daughters, so besides the decree of the Ciuill Law, in the Knightly Order all goods of expedition (as Armes, and the like) belong to the sonnes, and the sword is alwaies giuen to the eldest sonne. But these things are not obserued among those of common or plebeian ranck, except custome haue made them as Law, so as the Daughters by custome haue the vtensiles, and the eldest sonne haue the chiefe horse for the plough. I haue formerly said, that by the Law of *Saxony*, the nephew is excluded from succeeding in a Fee with his vncle on the fathers side (that is, his fathers brother), but that in our daies the nephew is admitted according to the Ciuill law. I haue said, that in the succession of moueable goods, the sonnes succcede the father by the Pole: but the nephewes (or sonnes of another sonne deceased) succcede their Grand-father onely in the part belonging to their father. I haue said, that the Law of *Saxony* changeth nothing touching the persons, but only differs in the succession to some goods, as the vtensiles. Now I adde further, that the nephewes succession and equall diuision with his fathers brothers, is decreed by an Imperiall Law, abrogating all contrary customes.

By the Ciuill Law, brothers on both sides, and together with them, the children of their dead brothers and sisters, are then first called to inheritance, when the deceased hath no heires in the right line descending or ascending: but without any respect to the Imperiall said Law, (as speaking of custome, not written Law), or to the last Ciuill Law, the Law of *Saxony* decrees, and of old custome it is obserued among the Saxons, that in the succession of Collaterals, the liuing brother excludes the children of his dead brother, (I say in freehold, not in fee) and the brother on both sides excludes the brother on the one side onely in the third degree, and the brother on both sides

excludes

excludes the children of his dead brother in the third degree. But I have obserued that this law is thus practised among the *Saxons*, as imagining there be three brothers, *Thomas*, *Iohn*, and *Andrew*, and it happening, that *Thomas* first dies leauing a sonne, and then *Iohn* dies vnmarried, or without issue, the goods of *Iohn* at his death shall not fall to the sonne of *Thomas* his eldest brother, but to his brother *Andrew* yet liuing; and *Andrew* dying last, as well his owne as his brother *Iohns* goods fall to his owne sonne: but if he haue no sonne, then they fall to the sonne of *Thomas*. And againe putting the case, that *Thomas* and *Iohn* are both dead, and each of them hath left a sonne or sonnes; if *Andrew* die without a sonne, the sonne of *Thomas* succeedes him, without any respect to the sonne of *Iohn*. By the Ciuill law, the vnkle of the deceased by the fathers side, is not onely excluded by the brother of the deceased, but also by the brothers children: but by the Law of *Saxony*, since the right of representation simply hath no place, and these persons are in the same degree, namely, in the third degree, they are called together to the inheritance, yet the Scabines (or Iudges) of *Leipzig*, haue pronounced the contrary to this iudgement of the Iudges in the highest Court of the Duke of *Saxony*, rather following the Ciuill Law, which preferres the brothers sonne, before the vnkle on the fathers side. By the Ciuill Law in the successions of Collaterals, the brothers of both sides are for a double bond preferred to the brothers by one parent only, so as the priuiledge be not extended to things in Fee, but to things in free-hold; because in Fees the bond on the mothers side is not regarded. By the Law of *Saxony* a brother on both sides excludes a brother by one parent, as nearer by one degree.

By the Ciuill law Bastards are admitted to the inheritance of the mother; and the brother lawfully begotten is called to the inheritance of a dead bastard brother by the said mother, but by the Law of *Saxony*, as a bastard cannot bee admitted to inherit with one lawfully begotten, so he that is lawfully begotten, cannot succeede a bastard, that is not legitimated, and by the law of *Saxony* a mother hauing a bastard daughter, and dying without any other child, cannot leaue her vtensile goods to that daughter. Yet in all cases concerning bastards, the Iudges leaue the law of *Saxony* as vnequall, and iudge after the Ciuill law, so as in *Saxony* bastards both succeed, and are succeeded vnto, and alwaies part of the goods is giuen, if not by law, yet by equitie, to maintaine the bastards, and the Interpreters will haue the law of *Saxony* vnderstood of those, that are borne in incest, who haue not the benefit of legitimation. By the Ciuill law he that is borne in the seuenth moneth after marriage, is reputed lawfully begotten: but by the law of *Saxony*, hee is reputed a bastard that is borne before the due time; yet because Phisitians agree, that the seuenth moneth may be called due time, in custome and practise the law of *Saxony* agrees with the Ciuill law.

By the Ciuill Law the Testament is broken by the birth of a Posthumus, (that is, a sonne borne after his fathers death), if it giue no part to this child; so the birth be proved by two witnesses: but by the Law of *Saxony* foure men by hearesay, and two women by sight, must testifie the birth. In the Ciuill Law it is controuerted how sonnes of brothers shall succeed the vnkle by the fathers side; and the greater part saith, that they succeed to the parts of the brothers: so as one child of a brother shall haue as much as two or more children of another brother: but by the Law of *Saxony* when the inheritance falls to any that are not brothers and sisters, they succeed by pole; so as one brother hauing many children, each of them shall haue equall part with the onely child of another brother; and if they be further off in degrees, those that are equall in degree, haue equall portions. But both these Lawes are made to agree by a Statute of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth in the yeere 1539, whereby it is determined that the sonnes of brothers shall not succeed to parts, but by pole, to the Vnkle by the Fathers side; notwithstanding any Statute or custome to the contrary.

By the Ciuill Law the diuision of Inheritance must be made by Lots, and if the parts be not so made equall, the Iudge must determine it; but by the Law of *Saxony*, if there be onely two persons, the elder deuideth, and the yonger chuseth, and if there

be

be more persons, then according to the Ciuill Law, the inheritance is deuided equally, and they cast lots for their parts.

In this deuision I haue obserued such equity among the Saxons, as if one sonne of a Citizen, haue beene brought vp in the Vniuersity, or instructed in any Art or Science at the Fathers charge, some thing shall be taken from his part, and giuen to the other brothers wanting like education, or being tender in yeeres: And the Germans being lesse apt to disagreement, seldome goe to Law about inheritance, and if any difference happen, an Arbiter is appointed, and the Magistrate determines it with expedition. By the Ciuill Law the Sonne of a banished man is depriued of his Fathers inheritance, but by the Law of *Saxony* he shall enioy it.

By the Ciuill Law the degrees of Consanguinity, end in the tenth degree, excepting Barrons and noble persons, who dying without heires, the kinsmen succede, though it be in the hundreth degree; and if all the Family of a King should die, and leaue no man neerer then one of the old blood remoued a thousand degrees, yet hee should succeed in the Kingdome. The degree of Consanguinity by the Law of *Saxony*, ends in the seuenth degree, for that is the tenth by the Ciuill Law, the sonnes of two brothers being by the Law of *Saxony* in the first degree, who by the Ciuill Law, are in the fourth degree. By the Ciuill Law Cities howsoever priuiledged, cannot possesse the vacant goods of men dying without heires, but they fall to the Emperour; but by the Law of *Saxony* Cities that haue absolute power, confiscate these goods by custome, so as the goods of a stranger, or any dying without heires, are brought to the Iudges of the place, who keepe them for one whole yeere: yea, they challenge vnmoueable goods, but with prescription of yeeres: And these goods vse to be conuerted to godly vses, and I haue obserued some to be decpely fined, for fraudulent detaining these goods.

By the Ciuill Law he that is of age, so he be in his wits, and no prodigall person, may freely sell, giue, or by any course alienate his goods: but by the Law of *Saxony* this power is restrained, for no man without the consent of the next heires can alienate vnmoueable goods gotten by his Progenitors, (vulgarly called *Stamgütter*), but onely for godly vses, or dowries giuen vpon marriage, (for contracts of dowry are of force for vse and property without consent of the heires, though made after the marriage, if the giift be confirmed by the giuers death): but if any man will sell his Progenitors goods, first by the Ciuill Law he must offer them to be bought to the next heires, and they refusing to buy them, he may then freely sell them to any man, and if they were neuer offered to the heires, notwithstanding the possession is transferred, but the heires haue an action for their interest.

By the Ciuill Law, weakenesse (as of old age) doth not make the giift of lesse force: but by the Law of *Saxony*, a man or woman sicke to death, cannot without the consent of the heires, giue any goods aboue the value of fise shillings, so as a certaine solemnity is required among the sicke, and also those that are healthfull, in the giift of any moueable or vnmoueable goods: For among the sicke or healthfull, he that will giue any goods, if he be of Knightly Order, hee must be of that strength, as armed with his Sword and Target, he can vpon a stone or block an ell high mount his horse, and his seruant is admitted also to hold his stirrop. If he be a Citizen, he must be able to walke in the way, to draw his Sword, and to stand vpright before the Iudge, while the giift is made: And a Clowne must be able to follow the Plow one morning. Lastly, a woman must be of that strength, as shee can goe to the Church of a certaine distance, and there stand so long till the giift be made: but these things are vnderstood of giifts among the liuing, not of giifts vpon death. By the Ciuill Law giifts are of force, though made out of the place where the goods are seated: but by the Law of *Saxony* for vnmoueable goods the giift must bee made in the place, and before the Iudge of the place, where the goods are seated, onely some cases excepted.

By the Ciuill Law, the heire that makes no Inuentory, is tied to the Creditors, aboue the goods of Inheritance; but by the Law of *Saxony* he is neither tied to make an Inuentory, nor to pay fur ther then the goods of the deceased extend. By the Ciuill Law

Law, within ten dayes, and by the Law of *Saxony*, within thirty dayes after the death of him that dies, the heire may not be troubled by the creditors. An Imperiall Statute decrees, that he who makes a Testament, must be in his right mind, so as he speakes to the purpose, and must haue witnesses, who haue no profit by his Testament, and such as themselves haue power to make a Testament. Hee that disinherites the next heire, is bound to giue him a lawfull legacy according to his goods. By the Ciuill Law leproous persons and borne vnperfect, are not excluded from inheriting: but by the Law of *Saxony*, the lame, dumbe, blind, leproous, and the like, are not capable of inheritance, or fee, yet if any man after his succession shall become leproous, he shall enioy the inheritance.

By the Law of *Saxony*, Tutorage belongs onely to the Kinsmen, by the Fathers side, and not (as by the Ciuill Law) to all in the same degree, but euer to the next, and if many be in the same next degree, then to the eldest of them only, yet so as the danger of Tutorage belongs to all together. Thus *Christian Duke of Saxony* dying, the Duke of *winberg* only, (not the Duke of *Coburg* in the same degree with him); was Tutor to his children, though the Electorship was taken from their Grandfather, and giuen to this Family with great and iust enuy by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. In common iudgement, especially respecting such cases, the kinsmen on the mothers side seeme more fit to be Tutors, who haue no profit, but rather losse by the death of the Pupill, whereas the kinsmen on the Fathers side are heires to him. Yet the common practise to the contrary, (as in this particular example) produceth no tragicall euents among the Germans, being of a good and peaceable nature. By the Ciuill Law, a Pupill is said to be in minority till he be five and twenty yeeres old, and the tutorage ceaseth, and the Pupill is capable of inuestiture at ripe age, namely the Male at foueteene, the female at twelue yeeres age: but by the law of *Saxony* the Pupill is said to be in minority till he be 21 yeeres old, and the Male is capable to be inuested in his fee when he is 13 yeeres & six weekes old: for the Saxons make difference between these two things, *Binnen Jahren vnnnd binnen Tagen*, that is, vnder yeeres, and vnder daies: for the Pupill is held vnder yeeres for inheritance til he be foueteene yeeres old, and for Fees till he be thirteene yeeres and six weekes old: but he is held vnder daies or in minority, till he be twenty one yeeres old. The Imperial law of the golden *Bulla* notwithstanding, makes the Electors sonnes to be of ripe age, and free from Tutors at eightene yeeres age. I haue obserued that Tutors in *Saxony* allow the Pupils five in the hundreth for all their money which they haue in their hands. Females are vnder Tutors till they marrie, and they cannot marrie without their consent, but refusing to giue consent, they are bound to yeeld a reason thereof before the Iudges, lest they should fraudulently denie consent. By the Ciuill Law the Tutor is not bound to giue account, till the Tutorage be ended, but the Administrator may yeerely be called to account, and the eldest brother must giue account to the younger, of the inheritance which hee administred vndeuided: but by the Law of *Saxony*, if the Tutor be not heire to the Pupill, (as the Kinsman by the Fathers side, while the Mother liues, who excludes him from succession), he is tied yeerely to giue account, but if he be heire to the Pupill, he is not bound to giue account, which notwithstanding is restrained to Parents and Brothers, who for reuerence of the blood, and naturall affection, are freed from suspicion of fraud or fault, especially where the administration is of goods, which either they possesse with the Pupils vndeuided, or in which they haue right of succession. Also by the Law of *Saxony*, the elder brother (when his brother hath no mother liuing) as heire to his brother, is not tied to giue account to his brother, or to his ioynt heire for the administration of a common and vndeuided Inheritance. In like sort by the Ciuill Law, the Tutor is bound to giue sureties or sufficient caution, for preseruing the Pupils goods; but by the Law of *Saxony*, (as formerly), if the Tutor bee heire to the Pupill, or ioint heire with him in vndeuided Inheritance, hee is not tied thereunto. By the Ciuill Law whatsoever falls to the sonne in the power of the Father, of his mothers goods, either by Testament of the Mother, or from her dying intestate, the Father shall haue the vse and full administration thereof for his life, and for the confidence and reuerence of a Father, hee is not tied to giue sureties or
caution

caution for vsing or restoring those goods to his sonne, as others hauing like vse thereof are bound to doe, yet so as in regard of this vse for life, the Father is bound according to his power to giue a gift in marriage to his sonne leauing him: but the mother hath no right to the vse of her sonnes goods. By the Law of *Saxony*, the vse is so long granted to the Father, till his children depart from him: but the Lawyers so interpret this, if the Father be cause of the separation; for if the Sonne will depart of his owne motion, except he be out of minority, and will take vpon him the care of a Family, the Father shall retaine the vse, and is bound after to restore these goods, except they perish by misfortune without his fault. And the same Law is for the Mother also, touching the goods of her Sonne, when the Father is dead: but the Law concerning the Father, must be vnderstood of the vnmoueable goods falling vnto the Son from the Mother.

By the Ciuill Law the Father and Mother, or others in the ascending line, succeed the Sonne or Daughter dying, in equall portions with the Brothers and Sisters: but by the Law of *Saxony*, the Parents of the Sonne dead, or if they be dead, the Grandfather and Grandmother, or any ascendants whatsoever, exclude brothers and sisters by both Parents, and collaterals whatsoever; and indeed by the Law the Father alone succeeds the dying Sonne or Daughter, excluding the Mother, excepting the vtensile goods, in which the Mother is preferred: but by the late Statute of the Electors, this Law is changed, so as the Father and Mother succeed together: yet these things must be vnderstood of the goods in freehold; for in Fees they of the ascendant line succeed not the descendants, but as euery stranger may succeed, by contract expressed in the inuestiture. By the Ciuill Law the Father cannot make a gift to the Sonne being vnder his power: but by the Law of *Saxony* he may, yet the sonne receiuing the gift, is bound to acknowledge it when his Father dies, and to abate so much of his portion in the diuision with his brothers, if it be of any value, and not giuen to supply his wants at that time: And by both Lawes the gift is good from the Father to the Sonne going to warfare:

By the Ciuill Law the Wife in time of marriage, may haue goods, in which the Husband hath no right, either to alienate or to administer them; as those goods which shee brings to her Husband aboue her dowry, and neuer giues them to him: but by the Law of *Saxony* the Man and Wife haue all goods in common, so as all are said to be the Husbands, and the Wife can call nothing her owne, and the Husband hath the vse of all without exception, euen while they liue together, for the burthens he beares, yet he hath not the property of these goods, onely they both possesse them vndeuided so long as they liue together. The Husband at marriage takes his wife and all her goods into his tuition, but this tuition is onely vnderstood for the vse, which ends when the wife dies, but the wife hath not like vse in her husbands goods: And the husband in administering the goods of his wife, must deale honestly, and neither sell nor ingage them, because he is onely her Tutor. By the Ciuill Law the wife hath power, without the presence or consent of her husband, to giue or alienate her moueable or vnmoueable goods, onely during the marriage shee cannot giue away her dowry to the prejudice of her husband, without his consent; but by the Law of *Saxony*, the wife cannot giue her vnmoueable goods, nor sell or alienate any goods without her husbands consent, because shee is vnder his power as her Tutor. Yea, the wife cannot giue her goods to her husband, because hee being her Tutor, cannot bee actor to his owne profit: but if before the Magistrate shee chuse another Tutor, by whose authority the gift is made, then it is of force. For in all cases in which a gift betweene man and wife is of force by the Ciuill Law, in the same cases at this day by custome it is of force among the Saxons, so as the former manner be obserued: But all these things of the Wiues gift to her Husband, and of alienating her goods by contract, (which shee cannot make without the consent of the Husband her Tutor), are not vnderstood of the alienation by her last Will and Testament. For by the Law of *Saxony* it is controuerted, whether the wife may giue a gift to her husband at her death, without the authority of the foresaid Tutor chosen by her, and if it be giuen without the
same,

same, whether after the death of the wife, (according to the Ciuill Law) this gift be confirmed. And some interpreters say, that the same authority of a chosen Tutor, and the same solemnity is required, as in a gift between the living, others determine that the gift at death without a Tutor is of force, so it be made before the Iudge, because it is not a simple giuing, but participates some thing of the last Will and Testament; and for that cause five witnesses are required to it, or that it be registred; which done, the gift is of force, because fauour is to be giuen to the last Testament, which must not be captious, but free. Also because he that is of ripe age, but in minority, though hee cannot giue or contract without the authority of his Tutor, yet hee may giue for death. And so it is concluded, that in doubtfull cases the gift must be fauoured, that it may subsist, rather then be made voyd. Lastly, the Law of *Saxony* in this, consents with the Ciuill Law; that a wife may make a Will, and for death giue her vnmoueable goods to any other but her husband, without the consent of the husband her Tutor. But by the Statute of the Elector, the gift of vtensile goods made to the husband in prejudice of her next kinswoman, is of so little force, as with death it is not confirmed, except it be remuneratory. Yet among the living, this gift of stufte (as some restraine it, so it be not to the husband) is of force, if it be made before a Notary, and with witnesses. By the Ciuill Law, the husband may not haue the care of his wifes goods, lest she vpon affection shuld remit his ill aduistration, & so shuld be in danger to loose the goods of her dowry: but by the Law of *Saxony*, presently vpon marriage, the husband is lawful Tutor to his wife. By the ciuil law the dowry of the wife giuen by her father, vpon the death of the wife, returnes to the father, except it be couenanted to the contrary in the contract of the dowry: but by the law of *Saxony*, the husband vpon his wifes death, gaine all moueable goods, and so much of the dowry as was in ready mony, except it be expressly couenanted to the contrary in the contract of the dowry, and all the goods of the wife aboue that shee brought in dowry, fall to the husband, nothing excepted, but onely the vtensile goods, yet this Law is not extended to the perpetuall and ycerely rents of the wife, which are reputed vnmoueable goods. By the Ciuill Law, if either the man or the wife marry the second time, the party may in no case giue more to the second husband or wife, then to the children of the first marriage: but among the Saxons this Law is abolished by contrary custome, so as not onely the Stepmothers vse to haue much more of the husbands goods, then the children of the first marriage, but on the other side also, the second husbands vpon the death of the second wife, being to haue all her moueable goods, excepting the vtensiles, commonly gaine more then her children of her first marriage.

By the Ciuill Law, a Widdow retaines the dwelling house, honour, and dignity of her Husband deceased, till shee marry to another, and by the Law of *Saxony* the dead Husband leaues his widdow the right of his Family and blood, and custome so interpreters this Law, as all priuiledges and dignities are thereby granted, as by the Ciuill law. Widdows & Virgins by the Law of *Saxony*, if they be of such age as they haue no Tutors, may giue or alienate their goods, which a wife cannot do, being vnder the Tutorage of her husband: yet the interpreters restraine this to mouable goods, being otherwise in vnmoueable goods, but by last wil & testament they may dispose of both.

By the Ciuill Law, if there bee no Letters of Dowry or Iointure, the Husband dying, the Wife must haue the fourth part of his goods: but in some parts of *Saxony* the custome is, that the Wife being a Widdow, shal haue the third part of her Husbands goods, as it is in all *Misen*: but in other parts, as in *Thuring*, the Ciuill Law is obserued, and shee hath the fourth part, if the Husband leaue but 3 or foure children, but if he haue more, then the widdow hath onely an equall part with each of them: But in *Misen* the wife hath not the vtensile goods, which vse nor to bee giuen to women hauiug a third part. And moreouer the widdow is tied not onely to leaue her owne goods, but her part of goods gotten in marriage by her husband, and whatsoever her friends gaue to her in the life of her husband, or shee any way gained, to their children at her death, whether shee gaue them to her husband in time of his life, or no, for it is alwayes presumed that shee got these things out of her husbands goods: And if in any place there be no custome to determine this,

then the widow besides her fourth, or equall part, hath also the vtenfile goods. And in case the husband leaue no children, then the widow hath her choise, whether shee will receiue the third part, or renouncing the same, will retain vtenfile goods, and all other her owne goods mouable or vnmouable, together with her dowry. But if the husband leaue children, the widow hath not this choise, but must renounce all the rest, and sticke to her third part. And by custome of the Country, her dowry and gift for mariage is doubled; so as shee that brought one thousand guldens for her dowry, shall haue two thousand guldens in the diuision of her husbands inheritance. And the right which married parties by statute haue in one anothers goods, cannot be taken from them by last Will and Testament. Discourfing with men of experience, I heard that the widowes of Princes, whiles they remaine widowes, possesse all their husbands estate (excepting the Electorships, which the next kintman by the Fathers side administers by his right, during the minority of the sonne) and inioy also the tutorage of their children: but if they marry againe, the country frees it selfe from them, with giuing them a tun of gold for Dowry. And that the Daughters of Princes haue Dowries frō the subjects by subsidies collected, & vse to sweare before the Chancellor, that their husbands being dead, or vpon any accident whatsoever, they will not retourne to burthen the Country. That the Daughters of Gentlemen neuer marry to any of inferior degree then Gentlemen, (which is constantly kept by both sexes) and are commonly bestowed with a small Dowry: and since by the Law they cannot succeed in fees, haue at the parents death only a part of their mouable goods with the vtenfils proper to them: and one sister dying, her portion goes not to the brothers or their children: as also the married Sister dying, and leauing no Daughter, her portion goes not to her own sons, (except liuing & in health she bequeathed it to them in her Testament) but to the Neece on the Mothers side. Lastly, that in case the goods of a dead woman are neither given by her last Testament, nor any Kinswomen to her on the Mothers side can bee found, her goods goe not to her owne Sonnes or male-Kinsmen, but are confiscated to the Prince, or in free Cities to the Commonwealth.

*The degrees
in Family.*

*First the
Wives.*

It is said that the Roman Emperor *Caracalla* was wont to say, that only that Nation knew how to rule their wiues, which added the feminine article to the Sunne, and the masculine to the Moone; as the *Germans* doe, saying; *Die Sonn vnnnd der Mone*. And no doubt the *Germans* are very churlish to their wiues, and keep them seruilly at home: so as my selfe in *Saxony* haue seene many wiues of honest condition and good estate, to dresse meat in the kitchen, and scarce once in the weeke to eate with their husbands, but apart with the maides; and after the meale, to come and take away their husbands table; and if they came to sit with him at table, yet to sit downe at the lower end, at least vnder all the men. My selfe haue seene husbands of like quality to chide their wiues bitterly, till they wept abundantly, and the same wiues (of good ranke) very soone after to bring a chaire to the husband, and serue him with a trencher and other necessaries. The men being inuited to friends houses, or any solemne feasts, neuer goe in company with their wiues, who goe alone with their faces covered. It is no nouelty for a husband to giue a box on the eare to his wife. And they scoffe at the Law in *Nurnberg*, wich fines the husband three or foure Dollers for striking his wife, as a most vniust Law. It is ridiculous to see the wiues of German foote-soldiers going to the warre, laded with burthens like she-Asses, while the men carry not so much as their own clokes, but cast them also vpon the womens shoulders. And I should hardly beleue that the *Germans* can loue their wiues, since loue is gained by louelinesse, as the Poet saith:

ut ameris amabilis esto.

He that for loue doth thirst,

Let him be louing first

But they while they commaund all things imperiously, in the meane time neither for dulnes court them with any pleasant speech, nor in curtesie grace them in publicke, so much as with a kisse. It is a common saying,

Dotem

Dotem accepi, Imperium vendidi.

I tooke a Dowry with my Wife,

And lost the freedome of my life.

But howsoeuer the Germans haue great Dowries in marriage, and their Wiues haue power to make a Testament, for disposing their goods, with many like priuiledges; and howsoeuer they be also prouoked with these iniuries, yet the men keep them within termes of duty. May not wethen iustly maruell, that Englishmen hauing great power ouer their Wiues, so as they can neither giue any thing in life, nor haue power to make a will at death, nor can call any thing their owne, no nor so much as their garters, yea, the Law (I must confesse too seuerely) permitting the Husband in some cases to beate his Wife, and yet the Husbands notwithstanding all their priuiledges, vsing their Wiues with all respect, and giuing them the cheefe seates with all honours and preheminences, so as for the most part, they would carry burthens, goe on foote, fast, and suffer any thing, so their Wiues might haue ease, ride, feast, and suffer nothing, notwithstanding, no people in the World, (that euer I did see) beare more scornes, indignities, and iniuries, from the pampered sort of Women, then they doe. Surely either these our Women want the modesty of the Wiues, or else our Men haue not, I will not say the seuerity, (which I lesse approue), but rather the gravity and constancy of the Husbands in *Germany*.

But while the Germans thus vse their Wiues like Seruants, they behaue themselves as Companions towards their Seruants, who bring in meate to the Table with their heads couered, and continually talke with their Masters without any reuerence of the cap or like duty:

Of seruants.

The Germans are neither too indulgent, nor too sterne to their sonnes and daughters, yet they giue them no tender education, but as they bring their children naked into the hot stoaues, so they expose them naked to frost and snow. Neither doe they exact any humility or respect from their children, who in all places are familiar with their Parents, & neuer stir their hats when they speak to them, & when they goe to bed, they aske not blessing on their knees, as our children doe, but shake hands with them, which is a signe of familiarity among friends in *Germany*, as in most other places.

Of Sons and Daughters.

A Gentleman neuer so poore, will not marry the richest Merchants Daughter, nor a Gentlewoman ypon any condition any other then a Gentleman: Neither is there any iuster cause of disinheriting, then base marriage, which pollution of blood the Kinsmen will not suffer, as in our age hath beene seene by notable examples: One in the House of *Austria*, whereof the Arch-Duke of *Inspruch* married the Daughter of a Citizen in *Augsburg*, which his Kinsmen would not suffer, till he conditioned, that her children should not succeed him in his Fees, as they did not, though at this time they were liuing. The other of an Earle, who marrying the Daughter of a Citizen in *Nurnberg*, was cast in prison by his Kinsmen till he left her. Hee is not accounted a Gentleman, who is not so by foure descents at the least, both by the Fathers and the Mothers side; and I remember that the Monkes of *Lunenburg* by Statute may not admit any man into their number, who hath not eight degrees on both sides: yea, the Germans are so superstitious in this kind, as a Gentleman may haue an action against him, who saith hee is no Gentleman. For the better coniecture of Gentlemens estimation in *Germany*, I remember one of the cheefe called *Von* (of) *Shulenburg*, whom I did see, and hee was said to haue foureteene thousand gold Guldens yeerely rent, and neuer to ride without forty or fifty Horse to attend him: But I cannot sufficiently maruell, that the Gentlemen, howsoeuer sometimes learned, yet proudly despise Graduates of the Vniuersity, no lesse or more then Merchants, which I found, not onely by common practice, but also by my priuate experience: For conuersing with a Gentleman, hee perceiuing that I spake Latin better then hee thought became a Gentleman, asked mee how long I did study in the Vniuersity; and when I said that I was Master of Arts, (which degree our best Gentlemen disdain not), I found that hee did after esteeme mee as a Pedant, whereupon finding by discourse with others, that Gentlemen dispise these degrees, I forbore after

The degrees in Commonwealth.

Gentleman.

to make this my degree knowne to any: And it seemed more strange to me, that Gentlemen first rising by learning, warfare, and trafficke, they onely iudge warfare worthy to raise and continue Gentlemen: but indeed the trafficke of *Germany* is poore, being cheefly of things wrought by manuell Artists, which they haue some pretence to disdaine, whereas in *Italy* trafficke is the sinew of the Common-wealth, which the most noble disdaine not: And it were to be wished, that in *England* (where trafficke is no lesse noble) the practice thereof were no staine to Gentry. When I told an English Gentleman the pride of the Gentlemen in *Germany*, despising degrees of Learning, and he heard that the Gentlemen were vulgarly called *Edelmen*, he pleasantly said, that they were so called of the English words, Idle Men. The Gentlemen of *Germany* beare the Armes of their Mother, though shee be no Heire, as well as of their Father, and commonly they ioine to them, in steede of a motto or sentence, certaine great letters, that signifie words, as *D.H.I. M.T.* signifying *Der herr Ist Mein Trost*, that is; The Lord is my comfort, and likewise *F.S.V.* signifying *Fide sed vide*, that is, Trust, but beware. Also Citizens and Artists, beare Armes of their owne inuention, and tricked out fully as the Armes of Gentlemen, onely the helmet is close, which Gentlemen beare open.

The generall Orders of Knights.

Among the generall Orders of Knights, into which Gentlemen of all nations are admitted, the Templaries in the yeere 1124, were confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, being so called of the Temple at *Ierusalem*, in part whereof they dwelt. Histories report that Pope *Gregory* the ninth incited them to doe great damage by their treachery to the Emperour *Fredericke*, making the holy warre in *Asia*. At last the inducing of heathenish Religion, all kinds of lust and intemperance, and the suspicion of their conspiring with the Turkes, or the feare of their too great power, made Pope *Clement* the fifth, a Frenchman, and residing at *Auignon*, first to extinguish the Order in *France*, then in all Christendome, in the yeere 1312; The second Order of the Iohanites (or Saint *Iohn*), was instituted by *Baldwine* the second King of *Ierusalem*. Then in the yeere 1308, they tooke the Ile of *Rhodes*, and were called the Knights of *Rhodes*, till they were expelled thence by the Turkes, in the yeere 1522, and then possessing the Iland of *Malta*, they are to this day called the Knights of *Malta*: And great part of the Templaries rents, was giuen to this Order, into which of old none but Gentlemen were admitted. The third Order of the Teutonikes, that is, Germans, was instituted in the yeere 1190, in the time of the Emperour *Henry* the sixth. They were called Hospitals of the Hospitall which they kept neere the Sepulcher of Christ, to entertaine Pilgrimes: At last all Christians being driuen out of *Palestine*, they removed their seate to *Venice*, whence being called by the Duke of *Moscovy* against the *Prussians*, they seated themselues in *Prussia*, *Linonia*, and *Curlandia*. They were all borne of noble Parents, and did weare a white cloake, with a black crosse. The Polonians in the yeere 1410, killed the Master of the Order, and many thousands of the Knights. When many Cities vnder the protection of the King of *Poland*, sought their liberty in the yeere 1450, and this Order had wonne a battell against the King, at last because the Citizens refused to pay the Souldiers, the Knights themselues betrayed their Cities to the Polonians, and after much blood shed on both parts, at last in the yeere 1466, peace was made, with couenants, that the King of *Poland* should haue *Pomerella* with other Castles and Townes, and that the Order should retaine

Vpon the dissolution of this Order, the Duke of *Prussia* was created.

Kingspurg. And finally in the yeere 1547, this Order was totally extinguished, the Master thereof being (as they said) forced to these conditions, namely that *Albert* Marqueffe of *Brandeburg*, (being of the Electors Family) then Master of the Order, should become vassall to the King of *Poland*, and should possesse *Konigsburg* with title of a Duke, to him and his brethren of the same venter, and their Heires Males for euer: (In which Dukedome were fifty foure Castles and eighty sixe Townes). Moreover that the said Duke should take new Armes, and a Dukall habit, and when hee came to doe his homage at *Crakaw* in *Poland*, should haue his seate by the Kings side, but that vpon Male Heires failing, the Dukedome should fall to the Kingdome

dome of *Poland*, which was to provide for the Daughter and Heire according to her degree, and to appoint no other Gouvernour of the Prouince, then a German hauing inheritance in *Prussia*. In the time of my being at *Dantzke*, it was said, that Duke *Albert* was growne into a Frensie, by a poysoned cup giuen him, at his marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of *Cleue*: and the common speech was, that the eldest sonne to the Elector of *Brandeburg* was daily expected in the Dukes Court, to marry the Daughter and Heire to the sickly Duke, to whom him selfe was next of kinne by the Fathers side, and Heire. And it was a common speech, that the said sickly Duke had lately lent forty thousand Guldens to the King of *Poland*, and that the Elector of *Brandeburg* had offered seuen Tunnes of gold to the King of *Poland*, that his Grandchild might succeed in the Dukedome of *Prussia*, but that it was flatly refused by the Senate of *Poland*: so as it was diuersly thought, according to mens diuers iudgements; what would become of the Dukedome after the said sickly Dukes death, some iudging that the King of *Poland* would keepe the Dukedome falling to him, others that the powerfull Family of *Brandeburg*, would extort the possession thereof, by force of money, or of armes.

I omit the military Orders of Knights in *England*, *France*, and *Netherland*, to be mentioned in their due place.

Among the Germans I could not obserue any ordinary degree of Knights; conferred in honour vpon such as deserue well in ciuill and warlike affaires; such as the Kings of *England* giue to their Subiects, with the title of Sir to distinguish them from inferiour Gentlemen: But in our age we haue seene Master *Arundell* an English Gentleman, created Earle of the Empire for his acceptable seruices to the Emperour: *Christian* Elector of *Saxony* deceased, did institute a military Order of Knights, like to the Teutonike Order, saue that it is no Religious Order; and he called it, *Die gulden gesellschaft*, that is, the Golden Fellowship, by which bond hee tied his neere friends to him: And the badge of the Order, was a lewell, hanging in a chaine of gold, hauing on each side of the lewell engrauen a Heart peirced with a Sword and a Shaft; and vpon one side neere the Heart, was the Image of Faith holding a Crucifix, with these words grauen about the Heart; *Virtutis amore*, that is, for loue of Vertue, vpon the other side neere the Heart was the Image of Constancie holding an Anker, with these words grauen about the Heart, *Qui perseuerat ad finem, saluus erit*, that is: He that perseueres to the end shall be saued. Lastly, about the circle of the lewell, these great letters were engrauen: *F.S.V.*: that is, *Fide sed vide*, namely in English, Trust; but beware.

The ordinary degree of Knighthood in Germany.

The Prouinces of the reformed Religion, haue no Bishops, but the reuenues of the Bishopricks are either conuerted to godly vses, or possessed by the Princes, vnder the title of Administrators: And in like manner the reuenues of Monasteries for the most part are employed to maintaine Preachers, and to other godly vses; but in some places they still permit Monkes and Nunnes, (I meane persons liuing single, but not tied with Papisticall vowes), for the education of their children, and the nourishing of the poore. In each City, and each Church of the City, many Ministers or Preachers serue, who haue no tythes, but onely liue vpon Pensions, commonly small, and not much vnequall: For Ministers commonly haue one or two hundred Guldens, and the Superintendants one or two thousand Guldens by the yeere, besides wood for fier, and Corne, and some like necessaries for food. These Superintendants are instead of Bishops, to ouersee the Cleargy, but are not distinguished in habite or title of dignity from the other Ministers: yet to them as cheefe in vertue and learning, as well the Ministers as all other degrees yeeld due reuerence, and in all Ecclesiasticall causes they haue great authority: But otherwise *Germany* hath many rich and potent Bishops, of whom generall mention is made in the Chapter of Prouerbs, and particularly in this Chapter, much hath bene said of the three spirituall Electors.

Bishops.

The Husbandmen in *Germany* are not so base as the French and Italians, or the slaues of other Kingdomes, but much more miserable and poore then the English

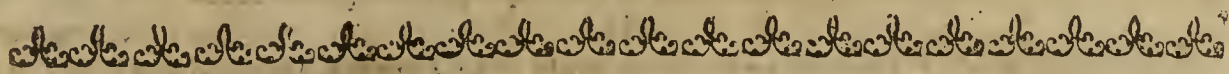
Husbandmen.

Husbandmen : yet those of *Prussia*, a fat and fertile Country, come neereſt to the Engliſh in riches and good fare. The other being hired by Gentlemen to plough their grounds, giue their ſeruices at low rates, and pay ſo great rent to their Lords, as they haue ſcarcely meanes to couer nakednes with poore clothes, and to feed themſelues with ill ſmelling coleworts and like meate, In *Moravia* incorporated to *Bohemia*, and lying betweene it and *Polonia*, the husbandmen are meere ſlaues. And at my being there I heard that the Barron of *Promnitz* hauing been lately in *Italy*, did make free a ſlaue of his, who was there a Potecary, and gaue him a preſent. Alſo I vnderſtood by diſcourſe, that the Marqueſſe of *Anſpach* in *Germany*, hath many meere ſlaues for his husbandmen. But all other in *Germany* are free, howſoeuer without doubt they be greatly oppreſſed not only by the Gentry, but alſo by the Churchmen, ſo as wee find in late hiſtories, that the Bawren (or clownes) in the yeare 1502 made a rebellion, perhaps with the mind after the example of the Sweitzers to get liberty by the ſword, but yet pretending only reuenge vpon Biſhops and Churchmen, prouerbiſſally ſaying that they would not ſuffer them to draw breath. And it is probable that the neighborhood of the Sweitzers, who footed out their Noblemen, & got liberty by the ſword, makes the Gentlemen of *Germany* leſſe cruell towards the poore clownes. For either vpon that cauſe, or for the fertility of the Country, no doubt the clownes in *Sueuia* and places neare *Sweitzerland*, liue much better then in any other parts; as likewiſe in places neere *Denmarke* and *Poland*, admitting ſlaues generally, the poore people are more oppreſſed then any where elſe through *Germany*.

The degrees
in *Bohemia*.

In *Bohemia* the higheſt degree is that of Barons, and the Gentlemen haue the ſame priuiledges with them; all other in townes and fields are meere ſlaues, excepting Cities immediatly ſubieſt to the Emperor as King of *Bohemia*, where many are either emancipated for mony, or find more clemency vnder the yoke of a German Prince. For in lands belonging to the Barons and Gentlemen, the King hath no tribute, but all is ſubieſt to the Lord, with abſolute power of life and death; as likewiſe the King hath his lands, and ſome thirty Cities in like ſort ſubieſt to him. And howſoeuer the Gentlemen doe not commonly exerciſe this power againſt the people, leſt the *German*s ſhould repute them tyrants, yet with wonder I did heare at *Prage*; that a Baron had lately hanged one of his ſlaues, for ſtealing of a fiſh. It is free for a Gentleman to hang any of his ſlaues for going into ſtrange Countries without being made free, if he can apprehend him. Many times they giue them leaue to goe into forraigne parts, to learne manuary arts, but they call them home at pleaſure, and when they come back, make them worke for the Lords behoofe. They take their Daughters for mayd ſeruants, and Sonnes for houſhold ſeruants at pleaſure. And theſe poore ſlaues can leaue their children nothing by laſt Will and Teſtament, but all their goods, in life and at death, belong to the Lords; and they will find them, be they neuer ſo ſecretly hidden. In the Prouince of *Moravia*, incorporated to *Bohemia*. I haue formerly ſaid that the Gentlemen haue like priuiledges, and abſolute power ouer their ſubieſts, being all born ſlaues. And in *Germany* that the Marquis of *Anſpach* hath like born ſlaues. And I ſhal in due place ſhew, that in *Denmark* and *Poland*, the people are meere ſlaues, ſo as the Gentlemen and Lords reckon not their eſtates by yearly rents, but by the number of their Bawren (or clownes) who are all ſlaues. In *Bohemia* the goods of condemned perſons fall to the Lord of the fee. Among the Barons, the Baron of *Rosenburg* was cheefe, who for life was choſen Viceroy, and dwelt vpon the confines of *Auſtria*, being ſaid to haue the yearly rents of eighty thouſand Dollers; but in reſpect he had no Sonne to ſucceede him, he was leſſe eſteemed, eſpecially himſelfe being decrepite, and his brother alſo old and without probable hope of iſſue. The ſecond family of the Barons, was that of the *Popels*, hauing many branches, and plenty of heires. One of them was at that time in great grace with the Emperor *Rodolphus*; And the whole family for the iſſue was much eſteemed of the people and States of the Kingdome. In *Bohemia* (as in *Poland*) Gentlemen cannot be iudged, but at ſower meetings in the yeare, and then are tried by Gentlemen; ſo as the accuſers being wearied with delaies, the offenders are commonly freed, but men of inferior condition, are

are daily iudged and suddenly tried. The Bohemians giue greater titles to Gentlemen by writing and in saluting, then the Germans, where notwithstanding (as appears in the due place) there is great and vndecent flattery by words among all degrees. I did not obserue or reade that the Bohemians, haue any military or ciuill order or degree of Knights, as the English haue. The Hufsites hauing changed nothing in religion, saue onely the communicating of the Lords Supper in both kinds, with some other small matters, yet I did not heare that they haue any Bishops, and I am sure that the Bishopricke of *Prage* had then been long void. They and all of the reformed Religion in *Bohemia*, send their Ministers to *Wittenberg* an Vniuersity in *Saxony* for receiuing of Orders with imposition of hands, from the Lutheran Superintendant and the Ministers of that place.



CHAP. IIII.

Of the particular Common-wealths, as well of the Princes of Germany, as of the Free Cities, such of both, as haue absolute power of life and death.



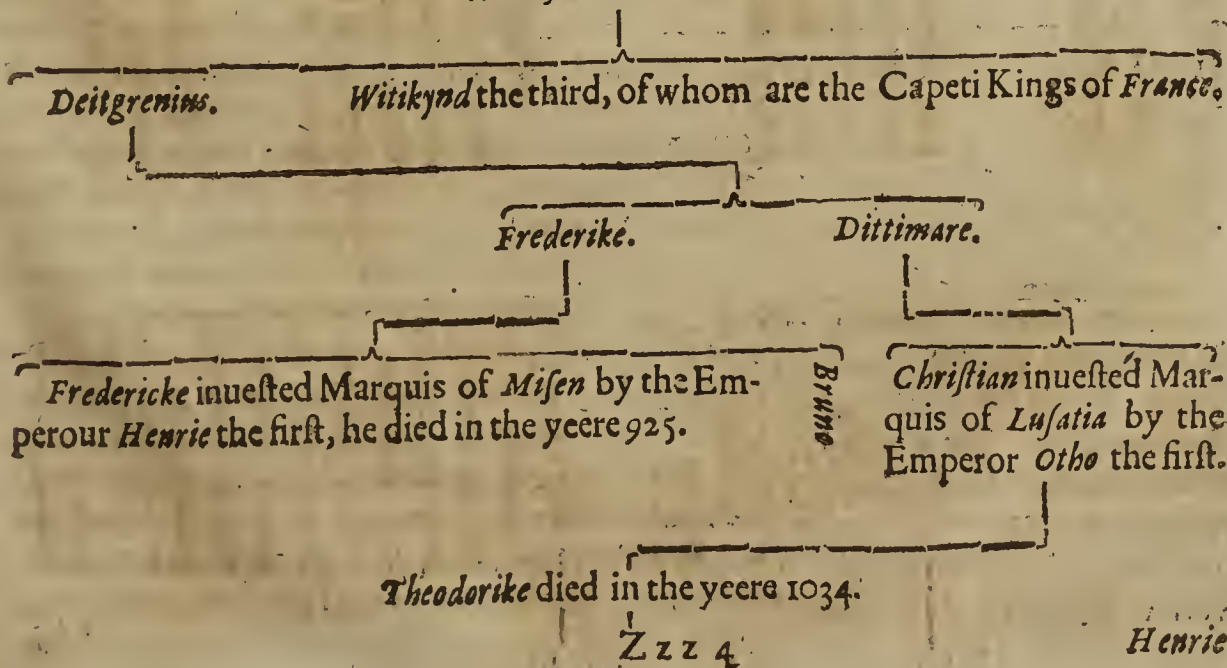
It remaineth to adde something of priuat Princes Courts, and the Gouvernement of the free Cities. And since I haue formerly said, that these Princes and Cities, hauing absolute power of life and death, are many in number, and that according to the number of the Princes, the places also where taxes and impositions are exacted, are no lesse frequent, as well for subiects as strangers, passing by, both for persons and for wares. And that they who deceiue the Prince in any such kind, neuer escape vnpunished. Now to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely mention the

chiefe Princes and Cities, by which, coniecture may be made of the rest; and this I will doe briefly, without any repetition of things formerly set downe. Touching the Electors, I haue formerly related the principall lawes of the golden *Bulla*. The Duke of *Saxony* is one of these Electors, many waies powerfull, and he deriues his pedigree from *Witikind*, a famous Duke of the Germans, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the Great, who forced him to lay aside the name of King, permitting him the title of a Duke, and to become Christian in the yeere 805.

The Princes of the Empire and free Cities.

The Duke of Saxony Elector.

Witikind the second.



Henric Marquis of *Misen* and *Lusatia*, died in the yeere 1106.

Time.

Conrade the Great died in the yeere 1150.

Otho the Rich built *Friburg*, where hee had found Mines of Silver, and died in the yeere 1189.

Theodorike was poisoned by the Citizens of *Leipzig*, in the yeere 1220.

Henric by right of inheritance became *Langraue* of *Thuring*, and died 1287.

In right line from *Henric*, discends *Fredericke*, who chosen Emperour, yeelded the Empire to his Competitor the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, taking mony for giuing vp his right, and he died in the yeere 1349.

In right line is *Fredericke* the Warlike, who ouercame the *Bohemians* rebelling against the Emperour, received the Scholars of *Prage* to study at *Leipzig*, restrained the title of Dukes of *Saxony* to Families, which after the Emperours of *Saxony* had been confusedly vsurped, and lastly appropriated the title of Elector to his Family. He died in the yeere 1423.

This is the seuen-teenth Duke of *Saxony*, and the first Elector of *Saxony* in his Family.

Fredericke the Gentle died in the yeere 1464.

Ernestus the Elector died in the yeere 1486.

Albert the Stout, Duke of *Saxony*, died in the yeere 1500.

John Elector exhibited the reformed Confession at *Augsburg*, and died 1533.

The Elector *Fredericke* the Wife, who put the Empire from himself, & chose *Charles* the fifth. Hee did found the Vniuersitie at *Wittenberg*, and died 1525.

Henric Duke of *Saxony*, made Governour of *Friesland*, by his father, was therein danger to be put to death, had not his father come to deliuer him he died in the yeere 1541.

George of *Leipzig*, called the Popish, was Duke of *Saxony*, and died in the yeere 1539.

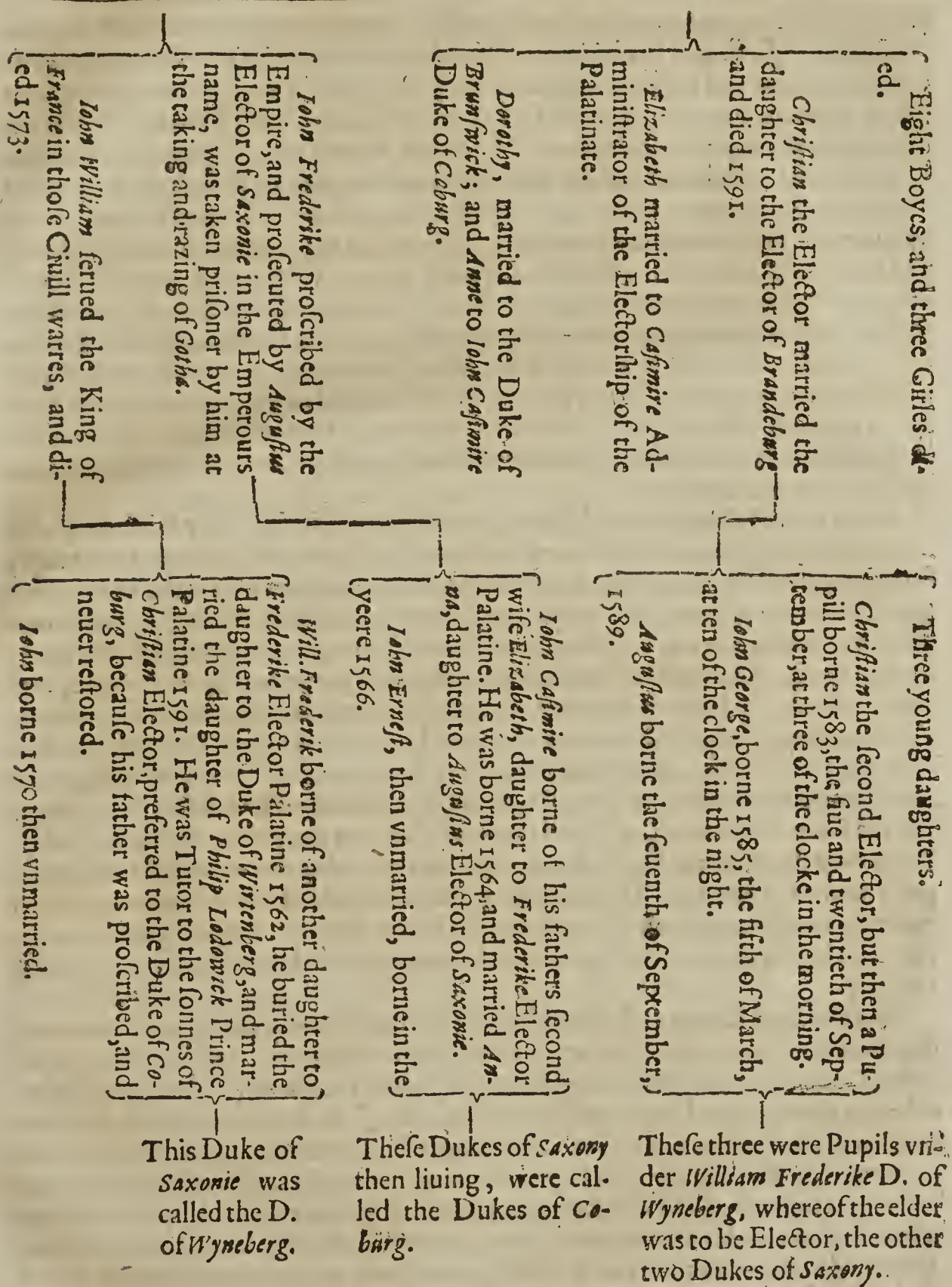
John Frederike for the Reformed Religion deposd from the Electorship by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. He married *Sibill*, daughter to the Duke of *Sulzbach*, and died 1554.

The last Elector of this branch.

John

The first Elector of this branch. *Mauritius* made Elector by the Emperour *Charles* the 5, was borne 1521, died 1553. *Augustus* Elector married *Anne* daughter to the K. of *Denmarke*, and died 1586.

Eight



The Princes borne of these three Families, are Dukes of vpper *Saxony* (for there bee also poore Dukes of lower *Saxony*, as one residing at *Angria*). While I lived at *Leipzig*, *Christian* the Elector of *Saxony* died 1591, whose Vnkle by the Fathers side *Mauritius*, was the first Elector of that Family. For the Emperour *Charles* the fifth making warre against *John Frederik* then Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, and against the Langraue of *Hessen*, as Rebels to the Empire; but indeede with purpose to suppress these chiefe defenders of the Reformed Religion, and to bring the free Empire of *Germany* vnder the Spanish yoke, he cunningly warned *Mauritius*, as next heire, to sease the lands of *John Frederik*, or otherwise they should fall to him that tooke possession of them. Whereupon *Mauritius*, though he professed the Reformed Religion, which now had great need of his helpe, yet inuaded his kinsmans lands, vnder a faire pretext, that he tooke them, least the Emperour should alienate them to strangers, professing that he would restore them to his kinsman, when he should be reconciled to the Emperour.

perour. But such is the power of ambition, as in the end he did nothing lesse, but further receiued the title of Elector, taken from *Iohn Frederike* and his children, and conferred vpon him and his heires males, by the Emperour. The report was, that *Luther* seeing *Mauritius* brought vp in the Court of the Elector *Iohn Frederike*, foretold the Elector that he should one day confesse, hee had nourished a Serpent in his bosome. True it is, that *Mauritius* shortly after restored the cause of Religion, in like sort deceiuing the Emperours hope, by making a league with the King of *France*. But euer since, the posteritie of *Mauritius* hath been iealous of the heires to *Iohn Frederike*, and hath gladly taken all occasions to suppress them. Whereupon *Augustus* succeeding his brother *Mauritius*, was easily induced, by vertue of his Office, as Arch-Marshal of the Empire, to prosecute with fire and sword *Iohn Frederike*, the eldest sonne of the said *Iohn Frederike*, whom the Empire had proscribed. At which time he besieged him in *Gotha*, a strong Fort, which he tooke and razed to the ground, coining Dollers in memory of that Victory, with this inscription; *Gotha taken, and the proscribed enemies of the Empire therein besieged, either taken or put to flight, in the yeere 1567, Augustus Elector of Saxony coined these.*

And it is not vnlikely, that *Christian*, sonne to *Augustus*, especially for feare of this Family, fortified *Dresden* with so great cost and art, howsoeuer the common people thought it rather done, because he affected to be chosen Emperour at the next vacation. Of this Family thus prosecuted and deposed from the Electorship, are the two Dukes of *Saxony*, the one of *Coburg*, the other of *Wineberg*, so called of the Cities wherein they dwell. And the Duke of *Coburg* hauing been proscribed by the Empire, and neuer restored, the Duke of *Wineberg*, though more remoued Kinsman, yet was made Administrator of the Electorship, with title of Elector, as Tutor to the sonne of *Christian* & his two brethren, who were brought vp by him in the Court at *Dresden*, vnder their mother the Widow to *Christian*, being of the house of *Brandenburg*. So as, were not the Germans nature honest and peaceable, had not the power of the Elector of *Brandenburg* stood for the Pupils, it was then thought, that the wronged Family had great meanes of reuenge. This example makes me thinke, that it is farre more safe to make the next Kinsman on the mothers side Tutor, who can haue no profit, but rather losse by the death of the Pupill, then the next Kinsman by the Fathers side, being his heire.

The Dukes of *Coburg* and of *Wineberg*, are Dukes of *Saxony* by right of blood, and of possessions therein: but the Family of the Elector hath nothing either in vpper or lower *Saxony*, but onely *Wittenberg*, belonging to the Electorship, which was conferred vpon them by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. The Elector holds his Court at *Dresden*, in the Prouince of *Misen*. Touching *Christian* the Elector, hee was reputed to be much giuen to hunting, to be prone to anger, not to be solicited by petition, but at some fit times; to affect solitarinesse, and little to be seene of the people, hardly to admit strangers to his presence at any time, much lesse when he sat at the table to eate, (contrary to the vse of the Princes of the house of *Austria*), to haue skill in the Art of Gold-Smithes, and to spare no charge in keeping braue Horses. And no doubt hee was so carried away with this last delight, as he would take in gift from his very enemies, any beautilfull thing belonging to the Stable. And while I was at *Wittenberg*, a Scholer hauing spoken some words, that he loued Horses better then Scholers, was sent to *Dresden*, and there whipped about the streetes. Beyond measure he was giuen to large drinking, (in plaine termes to drunkenesse), and that of the most strong Wines, so as this intemperance was thought the cause of his vntimely death. And for these drinking games, he had certaine faire chambers ouer his Stable, something distant from his lodgings of his Court, which were appropriated to festiuall solaces. As soone as he was made Elector, he presently ordained the new Iudges for the *Saxon* Law, vulgarly called *Schoppenstuel*, and the Consistories. In the yeere 1586 hee had a meeting at *Lubeck*, with the King of *Denmarke*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*. In the yeere 1589, at *Naumberg* he renewed the hereditarie league, betweene his Familie, and the neighbour Princes, namely, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, his eldest sonne *Ioachim Frederike*

Frederike, then called Administrator of *Hall*, the three brothers a *William*, *Lodwike*, and *George*, Langraues of *Hessen*, *Frederike William* Duke of *Saxony*, (for one man hath often times two names in Baptisme), *John* Duke of *Saxony*, (for the title is common to younger brothers and houses of one Family with the elder), *John Casimire* (Tutor to his Nephew the Elector Palatine), *John Ernest* Duke of *Saxony*, *Christian* Prince of *Anhalt*, *Wolfgang* and *Phillip* Dukes of *Grubenhagen*. And to knit his friends loue more firmly to him, I haue said that he did institute an Order of Knighthood, called the Golden Fellowship. He had for his Counsell, his Officers of Court, and some Doctors of the Ciuill Law, and among them, *Crellius* Doctor of the Ciuill Law, and the Master of his Game or hunting (whose name I haue forgotten), were in speciall grace with him; for the Princes of *Germany* admit no Phisitions nor Diuines to their Counsell, as hauing care of the body and soule, not of the worldly estate. Neither doth any young Princes keep their Fathers Counsellors, but such as serued them in their fathers life time. *Mysen*, *Voitland*, and part of *Thuring*, Prouinces subiect to the Elector, haue firrill fieldes, frequent Cities, many Castles proper to the Elector, innumerable Villages, and neare *Friburg* rich Mines of Siluer, (as I haue shewed in the first volume or part, where I treat of my iourney through these parts). But howsoeuer these Prouinces excell in these things; yet because they are of no great circuit, the Elector is not so powerfull in the number of vassals, as in yeerely reuenues. So as at a publike meeting, he had no more then some two thousand vassalls, when the Elector of *Brandeburg* had eight thousand, who notwithstanding is farre inferiour to him in treasure and warlike power. He then fortified the City of *Dresden*, as a Fort, and so strongly, as it was thought inpregnable by force, and all the Citizens were bound to haue Corne and all necessaries for the food of their families, for sixe moneths alwaies laid vp in store. And in time of that secure peace, yet the walles were furnished with Artillery, as if an Army had line before the Citie. And in times of Diuine seruice, the streetes were chained, and guards of souldiers were set in the Market place, and other parts of the City, so as nothing could bee added in time of the greatest warre. The Elector had in the Citie three hundreth Garrison souldiers, whereof those that were Citizens had three Guldens, and the old souldiers sixe Guldens by the moneth. The Captaine had the pay for eight and the Lieutenant for two horses, each horse at twelue Guldens by the moneth. The Ensigne had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, foure Corporals or Campe-Masters had each ten Guldens, the Scout-Master ten Guldens, and the quarter-Master eight Guldens. He gaue honourable stipends to foure great Captaines, who liued at home, but were bound to serue him when he should call them. His Court was no lesse magnificall, wherein he had three Dukes for his Pensioners, namely *Christian* Prince of *Anhalt*, *John D.* of *Winbrooke* (both yonger brothers), and the Duke of *Desb*, whose Dukedome lies vpon the confines of *Hungary*. And to each of these he gaue the pay of twenty Horse, each Horse at twelue Guldens the moneth. He had also in his Court three Earles, *Bastian Stick* a Bohemian, *Phillip* Count of *Hollock*, and one of the Counts of *Mansfeild*, and to each of them hee gaue the like pay for twelue Horses. He had also in his Court five Barrons, namely, two Cousens Barrons of *Zantzke* in *Bohemia*, the Barron of *Ausse*, the Barron of *Shinck*, and the Barron of *Done*, and to the fower first he gaue like pay for ten, and to the last for twelue Horses. He had in his Court twenty young Gentlemen, who carried his Launce and Helmet, vulgarly called *Spissyongen* (Youths of the Speare), to whom he gaue yeerely coates of Veluet, and all necessaries, and to each of them he gaue a chaine of gold to weare. Hee had twelue Gentlemen of his chamber, and to each of them he gaue a chaine of gold, his diet in Court, and like pay for ten horses. He had sixteene youths of his Chamber, and to sixe of the eldest (yet not bearing Armes) he gaue each like pay for two Horses, and the other ten he maintained with all necessaries. He had fiftie Pensioners to waite at his table, vulgarly called *Druckses*, and these did ride before him, and to each of them he gaue his diet in the Court, and like pay for three horses. He had twelue *Sexhsruff*, and to each of them he gaue like pay for sixe horses. He had fifty *Audlepurfen*, so called of a short peece they carried (in English we call them Calbiners),

Calbiners), and to each of them he gaue the pay of one Horse, apparrell twice in the yeere, and two hundred Guldens yeerely stipend. These (as all other degrees) had their Captaines and Liefetenants, and each third night by turnes, they did watch at the doore of the Electors Chamber, hauing no diet in Court, but onely the night of their watch, both liuing otherwise, and lying in the City. He had fifty Eintpauners with a Captaine and Liefetenant, who did ride as Scouts farre before the Elector, and looked to the safety of the wayes, each of which had pay for one Horse. He had sixteene Trumpeters, whereof three did ride alwaies with the Elector, and two Drummes beating a Drumme of brasse, vulgarly called, *Kestell Drummeren*, and each riding, had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, out of which they kept each Man his Horse, and each staying at home, had ten Guldens monethly stipend; and all of them at solemne Feasts were apparrelled by the Elector. Hee had of his Guard one hundred, (vulgarly called *Trabanten*), whereof the Gentlemen had eight, the rest sixe guldens monethly; and the Gentlemen kept watch at the doore of the Electors Chamber, carrying Holbeards, and the rest kept watch at the gates of the Court, armed with Muskets, and yeerely they were apparrelled. He had three Chaplaines, whereof one was alwaies to be at the side of the Elector. He had sixteene Singingmen, whereof ten being Men, had each of them 400 Dollers stipend, & six being boyes, had some 100 dollers for maintenance. He had 18 Musicians of diuers Nations, whereof each had some 140 dollers yeerely stipend. He had two Tumblers or Vaulters, one an English man, the other an Italian, with the like, or somewhat greater stipend. He had eight French and two Dutch Lacqueis, to runne by his stirrop, or the side of his Coach, whereof each had some 100 Dollers stipend, & apparrell, besides extraordinary gifts.

The Dukes Stable may not be omitted, being more magnificall, then any I did euer see in the World, (whereof I haue at large spoken in the first Part, writing of my journey through *Dresden*): for therein I did see one hundred thirty sixe forraigne Horses of the brauest races, (besides two hundred Horses kept in other Stables for drawing of Coaches and like vses); and in this cheefe Stable a boy and a man were kept to attend each horse, the men hauing for diet thirty grosh weekly, the boyes twenty foure grosh, (that is, a Doller), and the men for yeerely wages had also sixteen dollers, besides apparrell twice in the yeere, and boots both to Men and Boyes. It cannot bee expressed, at least this is not the fit place to write, how sumptuously and curiously all things were prepared for the Horses and their Keepers. A Gentleman of speciall account was ouerseer of this Stable; and had a great stipend for his care thereof. He had eight *Leibknechten*, (that is, Seruants for the body), who did leade the Horses for the Electors saddle, whereof each had the monethly pay for two Horses, and three hundred Guldens yeerely stipend. He had foure Riders, whereof each had two hundred Dollers yeerely stipend, and apparrell. One chiefe and two inferior Horse-leeches and Smiths, foure Armourers (to pollish the Armes for Tilting), three Sadlers, two Cutlers (to pollish the Swords), two Feathermakers, and two Porters of the Stable, had each of them one hundred Guldens yeerely stipend, and apparrell twice in the yeere.

Besides, the Elector *Christian* had a Kingly Armoury, or Arsonall for Artillery and Munitions of warre, which they said had furniture for an Army of eighty thousand Men, ouerseene by a Captaine or Master of the Ordinance, his Liefetenant, and three Captaines of the watch, who had no small stipends; besides fifty Gunners, who had each of them sixe guldens by the moneth, with yeerely apparrell: But when I was at *Dresden*, this Armoury was much vnfurnished by aides newly sent into *France* to King *Henry* the fourth, at the instance of his Ambassadour the Earle of *Torinè*. These aides, though sent with the consent of the foresaid Princes confederate, yet were letted as at the charge of the King of *France*, and as voluntary men, because the Princes are bound vpon paine to leese their fees, and by the couenants of the peace giuen to the confession of *Augsburg*, not to vndertake any warre without the Emperours knowledge, which bonds are often broken, the Princes of *Germany* administering all as absolute Princes, onely with consent of their confederates: But I passe over this, and returne to the matter in hand.

The

The foresaid so many and so great stipends, were most readily paid without delay out of the Exchequer, called the Silver Chamber, monethly or yeerely, as they did grow due. And all the Pensioners aforesaid, did keepe the horses in the city, for which they had pay. to which if you adde the 136 horses of the chiefe stable, and the 200 kept by the D. in other stables, you shal find, that *Dresden* was never without a 1000 horses of service, for any sudden event. And the number was not lesse of the horses which the Elector kept in his Castles not farre from the Citie; so as he had ever (as it were in a moment) ready 2000 horses for all occasions. This *Christian* Elector of *Saxony*, was said to impose most heauy exactions vpon his subiects (no lesse then the Italian Princes, who place all their confidence in their treasure, none at al in the loue of their subiects, or then the Netherlanders, who for feare to become slaues to the Spaniards, beare vntollerable exactions) The Country people about *Dresden* cried, that they were no lesse oppressed then the Iewes in Egypt, being daily forced to labour at their owne charge in fortifying the City. And many complained, that the Red Deare, wilde Boares, and like beasts destroied their fields (for I said that the Duke was much delighted in hunting, which is also forbidden to all, euen the best Gentlemen) no man daring so much as to driue the beasts out of their pasture and corne, he that sets a Dog on them, being subiect to great penalty, and he that killes one of them, being guilty of death. But nothing did more cause the Duke to be malignied, then that he had left the positions of *Luther* in religion, and carefully endeouored to establish those of *Caluin*, as shal be shewed in due place. His subiects were wont to pay for seuerall goods, as a sheepe, a cow, and the like, a yeerely tribute; but of late it had been decreed by the 3 States, that after the value of goods, each man for 60 grosh should pay two pennings yeerely, I meane as well moueable goods (namely, wares and ready money), as houses lands, and all vnmoueable goods, and that not according to the yeerely value, but yeerely according to the value at which they were (or might be) bought or sold. Neither could any man dissemble his wealth, since that deceit will appeare at least vpon the last Will and Testament, and once found vseth to be punished with repairing the losse, and a great fine. This tribut was at first granted only for 6 yeres, but those ended, the terme was renewed, and so it continueth for euer. And this tribute alone was said to yeeld yeerely 60000 gulden's: but the chiefe reuenue of the Elector was by the imposition vpon Beare, which (as I haue formerly said) that people drinkes in great excessse. And they said, that this tribute also at first was imposed only for certaine yeeres: But the Elector meaning nothing lesse then to ease them of this burthen, of late there had bin a paper set by some merry lad vpon the Court gates, containing these words in the Dutch tongue; *Ich wünsch ihm lang leben; vnd kein guten tag darneben: vnd darnoch den hellisch feur: der hatt auffgehebt dab bearstewer: Vndergeschreiben. Das wort Gottes vnd das berestewer, weren in ewigkeit.* That is:

I wish long life may him befall,
And not one good day therewithall:
And Hell-fier after his life here,
Who first did raise this Taxe of Beare.

Post-script: The Word of God, and the Tax of Beare last for euer and euer.

The Brewers pay tribute according to the value of the brewing, not according to the gaine they make, namely, some eighth part for one kind of Beare, some fifth part for another kind in most places. At *Wittenberg* I obserued, that for one brewing of some 48 bushels of Mault, worth some 48 gulden, the Dukes Treasurer receiued 8 gulden. This Treasurer dorch foure times yeerely view the brewing vessels, and number the Students of *Wittenberg*, to preuent any defrauding of Tribute. For howsoeuer in all these parts they drinke largely, yet at *Wittenberg*, in respect of the great number of Students, and at *Leipzig*, for the same cause, and in respect of a great Faire, this tribute growes to an higher rate, then in other cities; yet the Citie *Torge*, though lesse in circuit then these, only exceeds these and all other, in yeelding this tribute, because the beare therof is so famously good, as it is in great quantitie transported to

other Cities of these Prouinces, where the better sort most commonly drink it and no other; so as that Citie alone yeelds one yeere with another seuenteen thousand gold Guldens for tribute of Beare. The same Citie makes yeerely seuen thousand wollen clothes, each cloth thirty two elles long, and worth some fourteene Dollers; yet for each cloth they pay onely one siluer Grosh, whereby it appeares, that the tribute of cloth and like commodities, is lightly esteemed, as of lesse importance, then the transcendent traffique of Beare. *Torgel* likewise yeerely paies to the Elector 500 Dollers for the fishing of a Lake neare the City, which once in 3 yeeres was said to yeeld 5000 Dollars to the City: One sole Prouince, yet much inhabited, and very fertill, namely *Misen*, was said one yeere with another to yeeld 180000 Dollers for all tributes, and halfe part thereof onely for Beare. The Mines of Siluer are of great importance, which by the Law belong to the Electors in their Prouinces, not to the Emperour. And this Elector hath many of these Mines-namely, those of *Friburg*, those of *Scheneberg*, those of *Anneberg*, and those of the valey of *Ioachim*, of al which I haue written at large in the Geographickall description. And no doubt this Elector is potent in treasure, so as howsoeuer he be inferiour in dignity to the Elector Palatine, yet he is most powerfull of all the Electors.

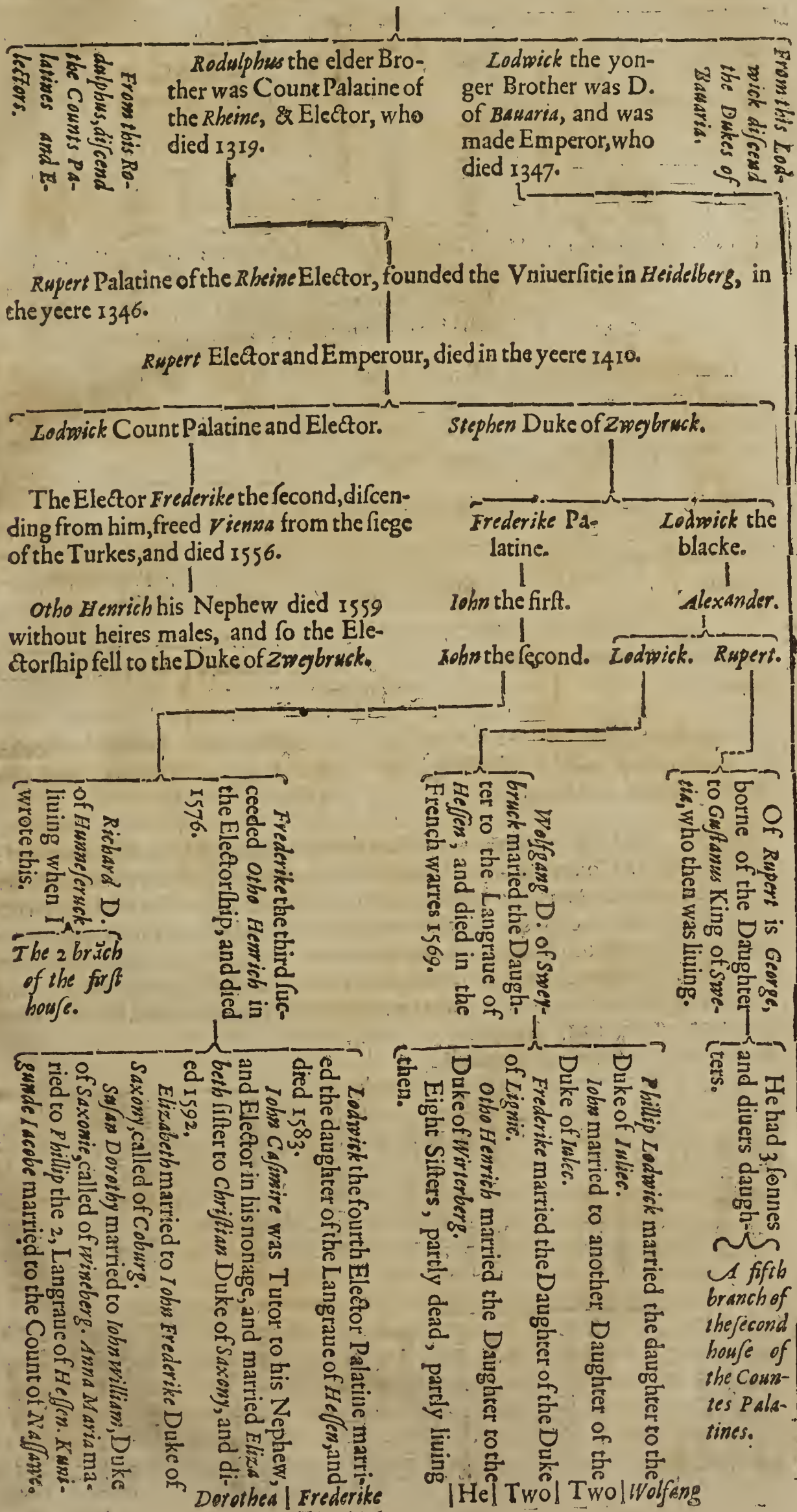
Among the walled Cities subiect to him (not to speake of the Townes, Castles, and pleasant Villages), *Leipzig* is next to *Dresden*, to which it onely yeelds for the fortifications, and the Electors Court. *Leipzig* giues the Law to the vpper Territorie, as *Wittenberg* doth to the lower, and both are adorned by being Vniuersities: but at *Leipzig* the Scabines sit, Iudges of great Authoritie for the Law of *Saxony*, being in number seuen, namely, three Senators of the City, and foure Doctors of the Ciuill Law. But *Wittenberg* hath not the right of the Sword to execute malefactors, which the Elector *Augustus* (they say) translated to *Leipzig*, because the Iudges obstinately denied him power to pardon malefactors, or to moderate the Law. So as when any man is capitally accused at *Wittenberg*, the cause is first referred to the Scabines at *Leipzig*, who finding him guilty, giue power to the Senators of *Wittenberg*, to pronounce sentence, and doe execution. *Wittenberg* is no faire City, but a famous Vniuersitie, and at this time had a great many of Students, and it is not subiect to the Duke as inheritance from his progenitors, but as he is Elector, for to the Electorship it properly belongeth. Besides the great tributes it paies for Beare, it also yeelds yeerely to the Duke 1500 gold Guldens, for the Bridge built ouer the Elbe. Here, as in all other places, Lime and Brick are sold in the Dukes name, and to his vse. As well *Leipzig* as *Wittenberg*, in difficult cases, aske counsell for the Ciuill Law, of their owne and (if need be) of forraigne Vniuersities, where the Doctors of the Ciuill Law, in the name of the Faculty, write downe their iudgement in the case propounded. These Doctors are also Aduocates, whereof there were twenty two at this time at *Leipzig*, and because this profession is much esteemed, the Germans willingly apply themselves to the study thereof.

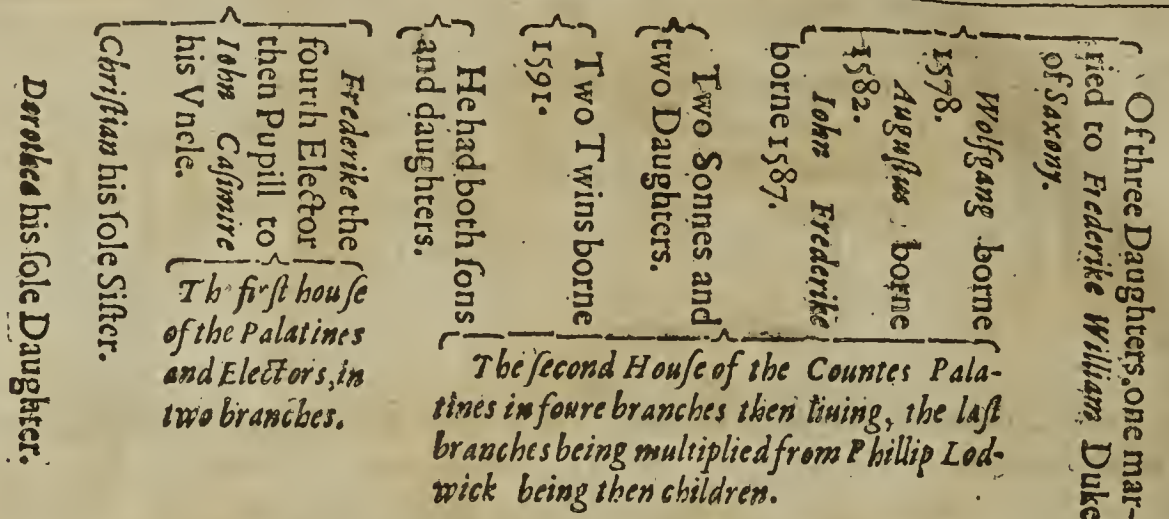
The Count
Palatine of
the Rheine,
Electors, and
the Duke of
Bauaria.

The Count Palatine of the *Rheine*, by old institution is cheefe among the temporall Electors, and is of the same Family, of which the Dukes of *Bauaria* descend. The Pedegree of them both, is deriued from the Emperour *Charles* the Great. *Otho* the elder brother Palatine of *Wirtelbach*, vpon the proscription of the Duke of *Bauaria*, had that Dukedome conferred on him in fee by the Emperour in the yeere 1180. From his younger brother descend the Counts of *Salmes* now liuing. But from the said *Otho* the elder brother, are descended, both the *Palatines* Electors, and the Dukes of *Bauaria* now liuing.

Lodwicke Duke of *Bauaria*, who died in the yeere 1231, receiued the *Palatinate* of the *Rheine* in fee from the Emperour *Fredericke* the second. *Otho* the fourth, succeeded him in the Dukedome of *Bauaria*, and the *Palatinate* of the *Rheine*, and was the first Elector of this Family, who died in the yeere 1253. His sonne *Lodwicke* the seuer, Elector Palatine and Duke of *Bauaria*, made *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg* Emperour, who was the first Emperour of the House of *Austria*. He married this Emperours Daughter, & died in the yeere 1294, leauing two sonnes, who diuided the inheritance, as followeth.

Rodel-





Thus of *Rodolphus* the eldest sonne to *Lodwick* the Seuerer, descend two houses in many branches of the Countes Palatines, whereof the chiefe and first hath the Electorship. And of *Lodwick* the Emperour the second sonne to *Lodwick* the Seuerer descend the Dukes of *Bauaria*, as followeth.

The Dukes of *Bauaria*.

Lodwick the Emperour had two sonnes.

Stephen Duke of *Bauaria*, who died 1392.

William Count of *Holland* by right of his wife. Of him descended the Counts of *Holland*.

Frederike Duke of *Bauaria* died 1404.

John of Monach Duke of *Bauaria* died 1397.

George the rich founded the Vniuersitie of *Ingolstat*, and built the Colledge of *Saint George*, and died 1503.

Albert the third refused to be chosen King of *Bohemia*, and died 1460.

Elizabeth his Daughter was married to *Rupert* Count Palatine, and to *Rupert George* by his last Will gaue the Dukedome of *Bauaria*, but the Emperour *Maximilian* would not confirme this gift, as iniurious to the next heire in this pedigree, whence rose the warre of *Bauaria*.

Albert the fourth brought the Channons of 2 Monasteries to *Monach*, and that of his owne authority, for which he hardly escaped the proscrition of the Empire; and to him the Emperour adjudged the inheritance of *George* against the Palatine, who had married the daughter of *George*, and was by his last Will made his heire. He died 1508.

Sidonia married to *Philibert* Marquis of *Baden*.

Sabina married to *Ulrich* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, died in the yeere 1564.

Sibill married to *Lodwick* the fourth, Elector Palatine, died in the yeere 1511.

William made warre against the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and died in the yeere 1577.

Albert the 5, built 3 Colledges for the Iesuites. He married *Anna*, daughter to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and died in the yeere 1579.

Maria borne 1553, and married to *Charles* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, 1572.

Maria Maximilian borne 1552.

Ernestus Bishop of *Liege*, after Archbishop and Elector of *Colon*, borne in the yeere 1554.

Ferdinand borne in the yeere 1550.

William borne 1548, married *Rita*, Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Lorraine* in the yeere 1568.

Maximilian

One Sister,
Maximilian.

Ferdinand &
Prepositus of Co-
len, and Chan-
non of Trier.

Phillip Bishop
of Ratisbon.

Maximilian D.
of Bavaria.

It was couenanted, and stands agreed betweene the House of the Electors Pallatines, and the house of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, that vpon want of heires males, one of them should succede the other; and when the Daughter to the Duke of *Bavaria*, in the time of the Emperour *Maximilian*, opposed her selfe to this contract, she was forced to yeeld to it by the Emperour.

I returne to the Electors Palatines. The foresaid *Frederick* the fourth, Pallatine and Elector, being vnder age, had Duke *Iohn Casimire* his fathers brother for his Tutor, who at his brothers death besieged the Citie of *Colex*, in the name of the Bishop, whom they had driuen out for being married. This *Casimire*, in his brothers life-time had a noble inheritance beyond the *Rheine*, to him and his heires, and then hearing of his brothers death, hastened to *Heidleberg*, where he brought the people to obedience, who would not haue him Administrator, because he professed the Reformed Religion after *Caluins* doctrine, not after that of *Luther*. And he presently sent backe the Emperours Ambassadors, who were come thither about that controuersie, refusing to yeeld his right in the Tutorage of his Nephew, which he defended in the Imperiall Chamber at *Spire*. After he brought vp his Nephew wisely and religiously, appointing him his diet apart with his Teachers and the Steward of his Court, to whose table one Professour of the Vniuersity was daily inuited, who had charge to propound a question to the Prince, out of the Histories, and controuersies of Religion. And the Prince did not presently make answer, except it were in a common subiect, but asked time to consider of it, and consulting apart with his Teachers, after some halfe houer returned to giue his answer. Thus by daily practise the chiefe accidents of Histories, and controuersies of Religion were made familiar to him. The Citie *Heidleberg*, somtimes held in Fee frō the Bishop of *Worms*, was in time beautified with buildings and an Vniuersity, and became the seate of the Electors. The said Elector *Frederike* the fourth, being a pupill, was after the foresaid manner brought vp in the Reformed religion, according to the doctrine of *Caluine*: but in the meane time *Richard* the Duke of *Hunnefruck* his next heire, if hee should die without issue male, did obstinately follow the reformed doctrine of *Luther*, and so did the rest of his kinsmen, the Dukes of *Rweybruck* (their towne being so called of the two Bridges) excepting the second brother of them, who consented in Religion with the Elector. This Elector *Frederick* the fourth, married the daughter to the Prince of *Orange*, by his wife of the French family *de Chastillon*. His Court was not great, nor any way comparable to that of the Elector of *Saxony*. For he had scarce thirtie Gentlemen to attend him, and to them he gaue no more then some twenty five Guldens for stipend, which they spent vpon their seruants that attended them and kept their horses. And he had no more then eight Yeomen for the Guard of his body. Wine was sparingly drawne, and all expences made with great frugalitie. But the fame of this Electors wisdom and affabilitie, made him much esteemed of strangers, and while he conuersed with his Citizens often comming to the publike place for exercise of the Peece and Crosse-bow, and being easie of access, yet carried himselfe like a graue and noble Prince, hee became deare to his subiects. Of whom hee exacted moderate tribute for their lands, houses, money, and goods, and some two small fennings for each Mosse or measure of wine. In five places vpon the *Rheine* he exacted impositions or taxes, which one yeere with another yeelded some twelue or sixteene thousand French Crownes, and they said, that hee receiued yeerely some fiftie or sixty thousand Crownes by the siluer Mines of *Anneberg*, besides extraordinarie subsidies, which his subiects vse to grant him

The Elector
Palatine of
the Rheine.

him vpon occasion of war, or like necessities of the Commonwealth. And I remember, when the Citizens of *Strasburg* his neighbours made warre with the brother of the Duke of *Lorraine*, about their Bishopricke, so as the Palatine was forced to leuy souldiers for defence of his people from the rapine of both Armies, that he imposed an extraordinary subsidie vpon his subiects, of a quarter of a Doller for each hundred Dollers any man possessed, in moueable or vn moueable goods.

The Margraue of Brandenburg Elector.

The Margraue (or Marquis) of *Brandenburg* is by the first institution the last of the Electors, but more powerfull then any of them in the number of Vassals; and his territories are much larger then those of the Elector of *Saxony*, but his reuenues are nothing so great. He held his Court at *Berlin*, some twelue German miles distant from *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*. His pedigree is deriued from *Peter Colonna* (a Roman Patritian, of the ancient blood of the *Camilli*), who banished by Pope *Gregorie* the seventh, had lands giuen him in *Suenia* by the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and built the castle of *Zagaroll*, and about the yeere 1120 had a sonne called *Burchard*.

Burchard Count of *Zoller* (his Castle so called.)

Frederick, the first race of the Burgraues of *Nurnberg* being extinct, was inuested 1273 of that dignity by the Emperour *Rodolphus*, whose sister was mother to *Frederick*.

Eitel Frederick Count of *Zoller*.

Frederick the second Burgraue of *Nurnberg*, died in the yeere 1330.

Conrade diuiding the Principallitie with his brother, gouerned at *Nurnberg*, and foure of his posterity were great Commanders of the Order of the Teutonike Knights.

Frederick, Burgraue of *Nurnberg*, had the Marquisate of *Brandenburg* conferred on him by the Emperour *Sigismund*, and also the Electorship in the yeere 1427, and hee sold the Castle and Burgraueship of *Nurnberg* to the City of *Nurnberg*. Hee died in the yeere 1440.

The first Marquisse and first Elector of this Family.

Albert, Marquisse and Elector, called the *Achilles* of *Germany*, ouercame the Citizens of *Nurnberg* in eight battles, and in the ninth being ouercome, promised them peace. He first made league with the Elector of *Saxony* and the Langraue of *Hessen*, and died suddenly in a Bath in the yeere 1486.

Frederick Marquisse and Elector going into *Palestine*, did yeeld the Electorship to his brother *Albert*, and died in the yeere 1470.

John, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, at his fathers commandement, yeelded the Electorship to his second brother, and died in the yeere 1464.

By his first Wife, Daughter to the Marquisse of *Baden*, he had *John* Marquisse and Elector, commonly called the *Cicero* of *Germany*, he died 1499. And had two sisters by his mother.

Ioachim

By his second wife *Anne*, Daughter to *Frederick* the second Elector of *Saxony*, he had *Frederick* the fifth Marquisse of *Brandenburg* in *Francia* and *Voytland*. Hee married the daughter of *Casimire* King of *Poland*, and died in the yeere 1536. Hee had five sisters by his mother, three married, two Nunnes.

Casimire

Casimire married the daughter to the D. of *Bavaria*, he died 1577.

George gave the Confession of Religion at *Augsburg*,

William Bishop of *Regensburg*, died 1563.

Albert M. of the Teutonic Order, being overcome by the King of *Poland*, was made D. of *Prussia*, the Order being extinguished, and founded the University at *Konigsberg*, he died 1568.

Five sisters all married.

Joachim the first, Elector, founded the University at *Frankfort* upon *Viadra*, in the yeere 1506, he married *Elizabeth*, daughter to the King of *Denmark*, and died 1535.

Anna, married to the King of *Denmark* *Frederick* the first, died 1521.

Vrsula married to the Duke of *Pomerania*; another *Vrsula* to the Duke of *Meckelburg*.

Albert Archbishop and Elector of *Mentz* & Cardinal, made the war of Religion, which *Lodwick* Elector Palatine appeased. He died 1545.

Albert, called the *Altiadaes* of *Germany*, most warlike, was proscribed by the Empire, and died in banishment, in the yeere 1557.

Marie married to *Frederick* Elector Palatine, died 1567.

Geo. Fred. recovered *Prussia* from the K. of *Poland*, & took it in Fee 1578. He married *Elizabeth* of *Brandenburg* 1558, and *Sophia*, daughter to the D. of *Brandenburg* 1579. He had five sisters.

By the daughter of the Duke of *Brunswick*, he had *Albert Frederick* borne 1553, said to be frantick, so as *George Frederick* his vncles son gouerned the Duke-dome of *Prussia*, he was at this time living.

By *Dorothy* Queene of *Denmark* hee had *Anna Sophia*, married to the Duke of *Meckelburg*, and she died 1591. Besides males and females dying young.

Joachim the second, Elector, for killing a Turk, had a Military Girdle of *Charles* the fifth, to whose part he was firme, and obtained life for the captive Elector of *Saxony*, he died 1571.

John leagued with the Protestants, yet serued the Emperour at his brothers perswasion, but after joined with *Mauritius* Elector of *Saxony* against the Emperour, he died 1570.

Five sisters, *Anne* married to the Duke of *Meckelburg*. *Elizabeth* to the Duke of *Brunswick*. *Margaret* to the Duke of *Pomerania*. *Elizabeth* to *George* Marquis of *Brandenburg*. And *Catherine* to &c.

By the daughter of the D. of *Silesia* hee had some daughters. How the *Teutonic* Order was extinguished, and of the succession in *Prussia* is formerly spoken in this Chapter, and in the Geographical description of *Germany*.

Joannes Georgius the Elector then living, borne in the yeere 1525.

Barbara married to the D. of *Bre-gan* in *Silesia*.

Elizabetha *Magdalena* married to *Otho* D. of *Luneburg*.

Hedwigis married to *Julius*, Duke of *Brunswick*.

Sophia married to the Baron of *Rosenburg* Viceroy in *Bohemia*, 1564.

By his first wife *Sophia* (as some say) daughter to the Count of *Barba*, hee had *Joachim Frederick* borne 1546, heire to the Electorship, at this time Admiral of the Archbishops. of *Halle*. Hee married one of the House of *Brandenburg* in the yeere 1570, & (if I be not deceived) had at this time a second wife, the daughter of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

By *Sabina* daughter to *George* Marquis of *Brandenburg* married 1547, and dying 1574. Hee had three daughters, *Ermenard* married to *John Frederick* D. of *Pomerania*. *Anna Maria* married to the eldest brother D. of *Pomerania*, and *Sophia* married to *Christian* Elector of *Saxony* 1582.

By *Elionora* daughter to the Prince of *Anhalt* married 1577, at the fifty three yeere of his age, and fourteenth of her age, hee had three sonnes, *Christi-an*, and *Joachim Ernest*, and a third whose name I know not; and in the yeere 1592 when he was 67 yeeres old, he had a daughter, besides two other daughters formerly begotten.

John Sigismund
 borne 1572.
Anna Catharina
 borne 1575.
George borne
 1577.
Augustus borne
 1580, Chanon of
 Strasburg.
Albert Frederike
 borne 1581.
Joachim a Twin
 borne 1582.
Ernest a Twin
 borne 1582.
Christian Wil-
helms borne 1588.

The Spirituall Electors.

Hitherto I have spoken of the Temporall Electors. The second among the Spirituall Electors is the Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, which Seate, when I passed through *Germany*, was possessed by *Wolfgang* of the noble Family of *Dalberg*, and all his Kinsmen, dwelling neare *Heidelberg*, were of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of *Luther*, and therefore lesse esteemed him, who notwithstanding was thought noemie to the Reformed Religion, but rather willing to permit it, did he not feare the opposition of the Chapter. For *Gebhard Truchsesse* Arch-bishop of *Colen* and Elector, had lately bin deposed, and another placed in that Seate, because he married *Agnes* Countesse of *Mansfield*, with whom at that time he liued, being made a Cannon at *Strasburg*, (for that citie hauing abolished the Roman Religion, yet kept the places of Cannons without any bond of superstition, and vsed to bestow them onely vpon Princes and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion), and in this citie he then liued a quiet life, after he had in vaine tried by force of Armes to regaine that Arch-Bishoprick. The third Spirituall Elector, but first by institution, is the Arch-Bishop of *Trier*, a Citie seated beyond the *Rheine*, vpon the confines of *France*, which Seate, when I passed through *Germany*, was possessed by *Iohn* (if I mistake not his name) of the Noble Family of *Schonburg*. And whereas the other Electors dwell in the cities whereof they are named for the most part, his continuall abode was at the castle *Erbrotsteine*, seated neare the *Rheine*, some halfe daies iourney from *Trier*. All these Arch-Bishops haue not onely Spirituall but also Temporall power in all their Territories.

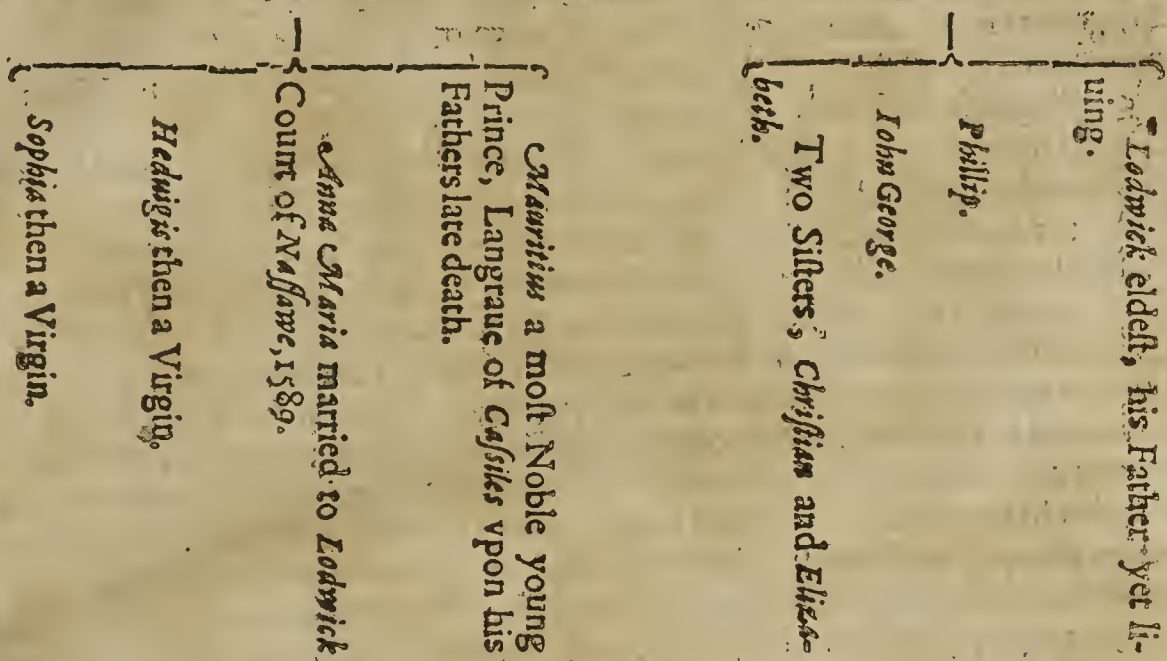
The Langraues of Hessen.

The Families of the Langraues of *Hessen* is deriued from *Lambert* Count of *Hannow*, who died in the yeere 1015. Of his first branch come the Margraues of *Berg*, and also the Barrons of *Grimberg*. Of the second branch come the Langraues of *Hessen*, whose Progenitor *Lodwick*, called the Gentle, being chosen Emperour, refused that burthen, and died in the yeere 1458. *Phillip* vnited to the Protestant Princes in the league of *Smalcald*, and ioyning his forces with the Elector of *Saxony*, against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, was perswaded by his friends, when the Electors Army was broken, to yeeld himselfe to the Emperour, by whom he was kept prisoner for a time, contrary to promise. He founded the Vniuersitie at *Marpurg*, and died in the yeere 1567.

The said *Phillip* married the Daughter to the Duke of *Meckelburg*, and by her had the following issue.

His Sister *Elizabeth* was married to *Iohn* Duke of *Saxonie*.

William borne 1532, held his court at *Cassels*, hauing half the inheritance. He deliuered his father out of prison, and married *Sabina*, daughter to the D. of *Wirttemberg*, and died not long before I passed through *Germany*.
Lodwick borne 1537 held his court at *Marpurg*, & had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance. He first married *Hedwige* daughter to the D. of *Wirttemberg*, & after *Mary* of *Mansfield*, both barren. And at this time he liued, but without any child.
Agnes married to *Mauritius* Elector of *Saxony* 1541, and after to *Iohn Frederick* D. of *Saxonie*.
George borne 1547, held his court at *Dernsfat*, and had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance, and married *Magdalen*, daughter to *Bernard* Count of *Lipp*, & she was dead, but he the liued.
Anna married to the Duke of *Zweybruck*, died 1581.
Barbara married to *George* Earle of *Montpelgard*.
Elizabeth married to *Lodwick* the fourth, Elector Palatine.
Christina married to *Adolphus*, of the roial blood of *Denmarke*.



The foresaid *William* Langraue of *Hessen*, of his chiefe City called the Langraue of *Cassiles*, had in diuision with his brethren halfe his Fathers inheritance, the other halfe being diuided betweene his two brothers. And since that time I heard, that his brother *Lodwick* of *Marpurg* was dead without issue, and that his fourth part of this inheritance was returned to *Mauritius*, eldest sonne to *William*. Yet because *Mauritius* was addicted to the reformed Religion, after the doctrine of *Caluin*, which hee and his Courtiers with many subiects professed, howsoeuer hee had not yet made any generall alteration, whereas his Vncle *Lodwick* persisted in the doctrine of *Luther*, I remember the common speech in the land of *Hessen*, that *Lodwick* had threatned his Nephew *Mauritius* to disinherite him; and giue his lands to the children of his brother *George* of *Dormstatt*, if he made any generall alteration in Religion.

I haue formerly said, that the dignity of the Empire decaying, many Principalities were giuen in Fee, and the Lords thereof became absolute Princes. At that time many great Cities were immediately subiect to the Empire, whereof many were at sundrie times after ingaged for money to the said Princes. At last the power of the Empire being more fallen by many Ciuill warres raised by the Popes, to confirme their vsurped power ouer the Emperours, these Cities with money bought their liberty, partly of the Emperours, partly of the said Princes, from which time these Cities being called Imperiall, and hauing freedome with absolute power, became daily more and more beautified with buildings, and strong by fortifications; yet some Cities still subiect to diuers Princes, yeeld not to them in beauty and strength, as *Dresden* and *Leipzig* subiect to the Elector of *Saxony*; *Monach* and *Ingolstat* subiect to the Duke of *Bauaria*; and *Breslaw* the chiefe Citie of *Silesia*, a Prouince ioyned to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*.

The Emperour at his election sweares, that hee will maintaine these Cities in their freedome, and not suffer them to be drawne backe to the subiection of the Empire, or the said Princes. Also I haue formerly spoken of the many and iust suspicions betweene the Emperour, the Princes, and these Free Cities, which it were needlesse to repeate. Of old the great Cities of the Empire were ninety sixe in number, but many of them haue since been alienated to the Princes of *Netherland*, or vnitied by League to the Cantons of *Sweitzerland*, so at this day there remaine only sixty Free Cities of the Empire.

Of the Common-wealths of these Cities, it shall suffice in generall to haue said, that the Gouvernement is very moderate and equall. The Patritians liue vpon their reuenues, as Gentlemen. The Plebeians intend Traffique and Shop-keeping; and bee they neuer so rich, neuer so wise, can neuer become Patritians, but still keepe their ownerancke, as all other Orders doe. And the Artisans so they keepe

the

the Lawes, (which bind the highest as well as them) are secure from the iniuries of any greater man. In ciuill causes they iudge not after strict Law, but according to equity, and without delay: but more easily to coniecture of all in generall, It will not be amisse particularly to obserue the gouernement of some few:

*The City of
Nurnberg.*

And because *Nurnberg* is one of the chiefe, I will beginne with it. The Margraues of *Brandeburg* were of old Burgraues of *Nurnberg*, till *Fredericke* the fourth about the yeere 1414, sold that his right, and the Castle of *Nurnberg* to the Citizens thereof. *Albert* his sonne, called the *Achilles* of *Germany*, for some duty denied to him, made warre vpon the City, drawing seuen teene Princes to take his part, as the other free Cities assisted *Nurnberg*. At this day the Margraue of *Anspach*, being of that Family, calls himselfe Burgraue of *Nurnberg*, but hath onely the bare title, without any command in the City: yet because his lands lie on some sides vnder the very wals thereof, the Citizens repute him a dangerous neighbour. The common report was, that this Margraue had lately sold to the City a great wood, growing very neere the walles thereof, and that shortly after hee was at variance with them, as if hee had sold onely the wood, and not the soyle, so as (if vulgar speech may be beleued) they were forced againe to buy the ground: And yet he hath not renounced his right of hunting therein, which he challengeth proper to himselfe. Giue me leave to digresse so much from my purpose, as to say, that the neighbourhood of this Margraue, is no lesse suspected by the free City *Wassenburg*, not farre distant, where vpon a mounaine in his owne ground, hanging ouer the City, he hath built a strong Castle. And because all the streetes of that little City lie open to it, the Citizens when first he beganne to build, complained to the Emperour of that wrong, and obtained letters to command the Margraue to build no further, but he not onely disobeyed those letters, but built the same with more speed and strength. Now I returne to *Nurnberg*, the Commonwealth whereof is Aristocraticall. The great Counsell hath no set number, but commonly consists of some three hundred persons, whereof many are Patricians, liuing honourably vpon their rents, as Gentlemen, others are Merchants, and some few Artisans, of the best and richest workemen. The Senate referres to this Counsell, the impositions of tributes, and the decrees of peace and warre, which Subiects of Counsel being rare, this Counsell is seldome called together, but the authority of them is so great, as the seales of any two of them, set to any last Testament, serues in steed of seauen witnesses required by the Ciuill Law. Out of this great Counsell, the new Senate is yeerely chosen, and when the time of Election is at hand, this great Counsell names a Consull and a Scabine, of the Gentlemen called ancient, or out of the cheefe of the next Order; and in like sort the old Senate of the yeere past, names three of the ancient Gentlemen. These five are called the Electors of the new Senate, and as soone as they are chosen, all Magistracy ceaseth. Then these Electors being sworne, are shut vp into a Chamber, whence they come not forth, till they haue chosen twenty six Consuls and Scabines, of each thirteene. Then they chuse the rest of the new Senate, and as soone as they are chosen, they name among themselues those that are called ancient, which are commonly the same men, except some bee put in the place of them that are dead, for it is a disgrace to be put from that dignity. This Election is made in one day, and the Senate consists of forty persons, whereof thirty foure are Patricians or Gentlemen, and so the gouernement is especially in the hands of the Gentlemen, as a thing whereof they hold the common people to be vncapable. Of these Gentlemen are held the seuen Men, and the Senate of the ancient, as also the Captaines and Treasurers.

To be a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, makes a Gentleman, or any other, to be vncapable of a Senators place. But when in difficult cases they neede the aduise of Doctors, they send two Senators to consult with them, who relate their iudgment to the Senate. For this cause, and because all iudgments are according to equity, not after the strict Law, there be fewe Doctors in that City, neither haue they many Aduocates; the Senate giuing stipend only to foure, who plead all causes. Yet the City intertaines some Doctors, to aduise them, as I formerly said, & to assist them in iudgment,

exhibiting the cause in writing, as also to be Ambassadors. To the said 34 Gentlemen, 8 Plebeians are added, which make the said Senate, and these Plebeians have free voyces, but are removed from secret Counsels, and having liberty to be absent, seldome meete with the Senate, except they be called. So as the common people have little or no authoritie, and are kept vnder, in so much as meetings (excepting funerals and like ceremonies) and walkings by night are forbidden, yet they have their priuiledges inuiolably kept, and liue in great libertie, vnder a most equall gouernement. Of these Gentlemen gouerning the Citie, they haue (as I haue heard) twenty eight honourable Families, or there about. And of the said thirty foure Gentlemen of the Senate, eight are called the Ancient, who like old soldiers are freed from seruice, the other twentie fixe diligently attending the publike affaires, with capitall and Ciuill iudgements, and one of them is chosen, to intertaine passengers worthy of Honor, by presenting wine to them in name of the Senate, and also to call the Senate together, to propound the causes vpon which they deliberate; to aske their Voyces, and to doe many like duties. These twenty fixe Gentlemen are diuided into thirteene Consuls, and thirteene Scabines, and these Scabines iudge capitall causes (first examined by the whole Senate) as the Consuls iudge Ciuill causes. And they so diuide the yeere betweene them, as each of them for a moneth is Consull or Scabine. Out of them are chosen seuen men, who haue the greatest authority, and determine all secrets of State, and to them the Treasurers make account. And howsoeuer two of one Family may be Senators, yet two of one Family cannot be of these seuen men. Three of these seuen are chosen Captaines, who haue the keeping of the Armory, and the keyes of the Gates, and vpon any tumult all flie to them, and yeeld them obedience. Two of these Captaines are Treasurers, whereof the chiefe hath the first place in all Assemblies. To these Treasurers one of the Plebeians is added, to ouersee the expence of the treasure, and two of the best sort of the Plebeians are Clerkes of the Exchequer, but onely the two chiefe Treasurers disburse and lay vp all moneys. They haue in all publike Counsels two Chauncellors, whereof one alwaies attends the Counsell of seuen men, and these Chauncellors write the Decrees of Counsell, receiue and reade, write and send, all letters, being as Secretaries, and they haue fixe Clerkes to write vnder them. All the Senators haue their seuerall stipends out of the common Treasure. Each of the seuen men hath yeerely five hundred Guldens, besides gainefull Offices, as the keeping of the Seales, and each Treasurer hath eight hundred Guldens, and each Chauncellor two hundred Guldens yeerely. In Iudgements they doe not much vse the pleadings of Proctours or Aduocates, but vse to iudge summarily vpon oath, or to appoint Arbiters to compound controuersies.

But among the Courts of Iudgements, one is of five men, from whom there is no appeale, yet they referre the greatest canses to the Senate. The second Court is of eight men, and hath two Tribunals, where the causes of citizens are determined, which exceede not the value of thirtie two Crownes, and these two Tribunals in greater causes are vnited, and haue three or foure Doctors appointed by the Senate to aduise them, for onely the Scabines iudge, and from these Tribunals appeale is granted to the Senate, if the cause exceede the value of five hundred Crownes. These chuse a Iudge to see their Decrees put in execution, and to see capitall offenders executed. They appoint a Iudge for the Villages and territories subiect to the City, for whose assistance the Senate chuseth some out of the great Counsell. These weekly giue the Law to the Villages and Country people, and by the exercise of this Office, the Iudges are inabled for the Office of Scabines. Also they chuse a Iudge to haue care of the Faires and Markets, who sets the price of Bread, Flesh, and all things there sold, and he hath foure Senators to assist him, in weekly inquiring after the workes of Artificers, that they sell no vnperfect workes, nor vse any fraude. Of the Senators, three are chosen supreme Tutors for pupils and widowes, who diuide inheritances, see that all Testaments be performed, and appoint new Tutors, in case the old bee dead, suspected, or absent. These supreme Tutors prouide, that the moneys of pupils be put forth to vse, and that the profit returnes to the pupils. They receiue the accompts of the
Tutors,

Tutors, and provide that the Pupils be religiously and honestly brought vp. One Senator is set ouer each Church, Monastery, and Almes house, to see the reuenues well administred, and to promote the causes thereunto belonging. Five Gouvernors are set ouer the Territory without the walls; among which, the Chancellor hath yearly one hundred Crownes, each of the rest twenty five Crownes for stipend. In time of warre, they chuse seven Senators, who take vpon them the care to provide all necessities for the same. I vnderstode there, that not long before, they had numbered in the City twenty two thousand Artificers, seruants, and people of interior rank, and that the last subsidy imposed in time of warre, was one Gold Gulden in the hundred, of euery mans mouable and vnmouable goods, and one gold Gulden by the Pole, for all such as had neither inheritance nor Art to liue vpon.

Augsburg. *Augsburg* is one of the Imperiall Citties (vulgarly *Eim Reichs statt*) and in the yeare 1364. the Senate consisted of two Patritian Consuls, and of ten Marchants, and seauen Artisans, with power of Tribunes, all yearly chosen. The Emperor *Charles* the 4 gaue the City new priuileges, & confirmed the old, because the Citizens swore obedience to his Sonne. And the Emperor *Sigismund* confirmed and increased the same. When the Emperour *Charles* the fifth held a Parliament in this Citty, (as many Parliaments haue beene held there) the old honour was restored to the Patritians, & the Plebeian Tribunes were taken away, two Aduocates being set in their roomes. Two Gentlemen Consuls, at this day gouerne the City, with six Iudges for criminall causes, whereof three are Gentlemen, two Citizens, one Plebeian. These are chosen by the great Senate, consisting of those three Orders: but in causes of Religion, the City is subiect to the iurisdiction of the Bishop of Tilling. This City hath many noble and rich Merchants, whereof many haue priuiledges of Barrons, and some of Earles; and among them, the chiefe Family is of the *Fuggari*, famously knowne, being at this time both boyes and men some thirty in number, and the chiefe of them was Marke of the *Fuggari*, who had married the Daughter to the Earle of *Schwartzenburg*, and was much delighted in the gathering of antiquities, with much curtesie vsing to shew the same to such passengers as tooke pleasure therein. Three Cozens of this Family had great and large, but disperfedly scattered possessions, besides that they were rich in treasure, for supply whereof, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and his sonne *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, often made vse of them, ingaging to them the impositions & custome of Hauens for ready money, and giuing them great priuiledges of trafficke. In which kind the said King of *Spaine* so obliged them to him, as the heart being alwaies where the treasure is, hee made them no lesse obsequious to him then subiects, so difficult a thing is it, for couetous Merchants to preserve their liberty. Great iealousies were betweene this City and the Duke of *Bauaria*, whose territory extends to the very walles of the City. And I remember at my last passage through *Augsburg*, this Duke attempted to stop the course of water from the City, whereupon the Citizens sent out Souldiers to beate backe the Dukes workemen, but the controuersie was soone after appeased, and came not to blowes. They perpetually, euen in time of peace, keepe some five hundred Souldiers in the City, who dwell in a streete by themselves, and the City being seated vpon the mouth of the Alpes, leading into *Italy*, and the Citizens being diligent in trafficke, it cannot be that it should not abound in riches. *Augsburg* in the foresaid Parliament held there, after *Charles* the fifth had overcome the Protestant Princes, was said to haue bought their peace of the Emperour with 3000 gold guldens. I know not for what cause they are seuer towards strangers, but I obserued, that they haue a Law forbidding strangers to dwell in the City, allowing them onely a short time of abode, and during the same, curiously obseruing what businessse they haue.

Strasburg. *Strasburg* is also a free City of the Empire, and (as the rest) gouerned by a Senate yeerely chosen: for howsoeuer it is one of the Cities leagued with the Cantons of *Sweitzerland*, yet it is stilll numbered among the free Imperiall Cities: And it is stately built, and rich in treasure, for so it must needes be, since the ordinary tributes and taxes are so great, as I haue heard the Citizens professe, that they yeerely pay one dol-

ler in a thousand, for the value of their mouable and also vnmoueable goods, (wherein the full value of Land, not the yeerely rent, is reckoned), and that if any fraud be detected, in the last Testament, or otherwise, the heire or the party offending (if hee liue) is deeply fined for the same. While I passed through the City, they had begun a warre with the Duke of *Lorraine*, about the choice of their Bishop, which warre they had vnprudently denounced, before they had leuied Souldiers, or made prouisions to make it, so as their territories were exposed to many oppressions, before they could gather troopes to defend them, and offend the enemy: And it was vulgarly reported, that they could deliberate of nothing in counsell so secretly, as it was not presently made knowne to the enemy.

The Imperiall City *Franckfort*, is famous for the two yeerely Marts, one at Midlent, the other at the middest of September, at which times all neighbour Princes keepe Horsemen to guard the Merchants passing that way, to which Horsemen I remember that each passenger gaue 6 creitzers, either of duty or in curtesie, for his person. Also this City is famous for another priuiledge contained in the Lawes of the golden *Bulla*, namely, that all Emperours must be chosen there, and in case two Emperours be chosen, the same Law defines, that if one of them shall besiege the City, and there expect his enemy halfe a moneth, and if in that time he come not to breake the siege, then it shall be free for the City to receiue the first, as hauing the victory: For of old custome the new chosen Emperours keepe their coronation Feast in this City, with great magnificence, which was lastly kept (as they said) by *Maximilian* the second, at which time among other solemnities, they roasted an Oxe in the middest of the field for the people, and when the Marshal of the Court had cut a peece as for the Emperor, the rest of the Oxe was in a moment rent in peeces by the common people.

I must make at least some mention of the Cities lying vpon the Sea of *Germany* towards the North, whereof most are not onely called free, because they are Imperiall Cities, but by the same name, though in diuers signification, are called *Hanssteden*, that is, Free Cities, in respect of the priuiledges of trafficke granted to them of old in the neighbour Countries.

Among these *Lubecke* is the chiefe of the neighbor Cities ioined in league for common defence, whither the Senators of all the other Cities come once in the yeere, to consult of publike affaires. The territory of the City reacheth not aboue a German mile, but after some few miles distance, there is a certaine Towne which belongs to *Lubecke* and *Hamburg*, by common right, being ingaged to them for money by the Duke of Lower *Saxony*, of whom they after bought the rest of his Inheritance. This Towne for sixe yeeres space was wont to be kept by those of *Lubecke*, appointing the Gouvernour, and receiuing the rents; which time ended, those of *Hamburg* were wont to haue it in like sort for sixe yeeres, and so by turnes they were wont to enioy it. *Lubecke* of old had a Duke, till it was subiect to the Empire by the Emperour *Fredericke* the first, after whose death it became subiect to their Duke againe, and after five yeeres became subiect to the Danes, but by the helpe of *Fredericke* the second it freed it selfe from the Danes in the yere 1226, and after by fauour of the Emperours obtained freedome and absolute power: Both *Lubecke* and *Hamburg* are said of old to haue acknowledged the Kings of *Denmarke*, but at last expelling the Kings Proctors, they became free, and submitted themselues to the defence of the Empire: For which cause to this day they warily obserue the actions of the Kings of *Denmarke*, and liue in feare and suspition of their attempts, and howsoeuer they haue freedome and absolute power, yet they are carefull to haue the fauour of the Kings of *Denmarke*, because they haue power to hinder their trafficke in the Baltike Sea: yet sometimes leagued with the neighbour cities (which in the common cause of freedome are easily drawne to giue mutuall aide), they haue made warres against the Kings of *Denmarke* with good successe. *Lubecke* is commended for iust government, (not to speake of their hospitality, very faire and vniforme buildings, and the very pleasant seate of the Towne). It is gouerned by the ciuill Law, and by statutes made by the Senate; as also somemade by the consent of the confederate cities. No appeale to

Franckfort.

Lubecke.

Vniuer-

Vniuersities or to the Chamber of the Empire is admitted, except the cause be aboue the value of five hundred dollars. They lately made sumptuary Lawes, restraining the number of guests and dishes in Feasts, with penalties according to the excesse. The Citizens yeerely chuse twenty new Senators, and this Senator chuseth of their number foure Consuls, with a Iudge skilfull in the ciuill Lawes. These Magistrates define all ciuill and criminal causes, the whole Senate first examining them, and iudgements are giuen by common consent with the doores shut: but when any capitall iudgement is to be executed, at the day appointed to the Malefactor, and the very houre he is to die, the hangman pronounceth the sentence in the market place. The consuls take the highest place by turnes, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, at which times they also by turnes heare Ambassadors, and receiue complaints. Many Offices are deuided among the Senators, two gather the rents, others haue care of the wines, (which are sold in a publike house to publike vse, no priuate man being allowed to make that gaine), others ouersee the buildings, that they be vniforme and strongly built, and free from danger of fier, and likewise the fortifications of the City. Foure Sericants attired in red gownes, attend the Senate, and summon men to appeare, (besides twelue inferiour Sericants), and they neither carry Sword nor any Mace before the Magistrates, but follow them in the streetes like Seruants. They doe not imprison any debtor or light offender, but onely summon such to appeare before the Magistrate, and declare to them the fines imposed for not appearing: but they apprehend capitall offenders, and preuent their escape by flight. It is not lawfull for a creditor to put his debtor in prison, but after a set time and with cautions, prescribed in the Law of *Saxony*, wherein notwithstanding, they of *Lubecke* so fauour strangers, as they onely haue right in this kind with expedition, and haue a proper tribunall (or seate of iudgement) for themselves onely: yet herein they seeme not fauourable to strangers, in that they permit them not to dwell in the City, otherwise they doe as the common vse is, to keepe all commodities in the hands of Citizens, not to be sold to strangers, but by a Citizen, especially since without the helpe of strangers they haue their owne ships to bring in and carry out all commodities.

Hamburg.

Hamburg is in like sort gouerned, but I cannot so much commend them for hospitality, being rude to all strangers, and malicious to Englishmen aboue others, for no other cause then for that our Merchants leauing that City, seated themselves at *Stoade*: so as it was not safe for any stranger, much lesse for an Englishman, to walke abroad after dinner, when the common people are generally heated with drinke: And the very Iustice was herein commonly taxed, not that they punished whoredom (which no good man will disallow) but that they permitted whores in great multitudes, and yet fauoured the knauery of the Sergeants, who combining with the whores, intrapped men in their houses, so as not onely the whores & Sergeants made profit thereby, but the very Magistrates were iustly suspected, to approue this course for their owne gaine.

Brunswicke.

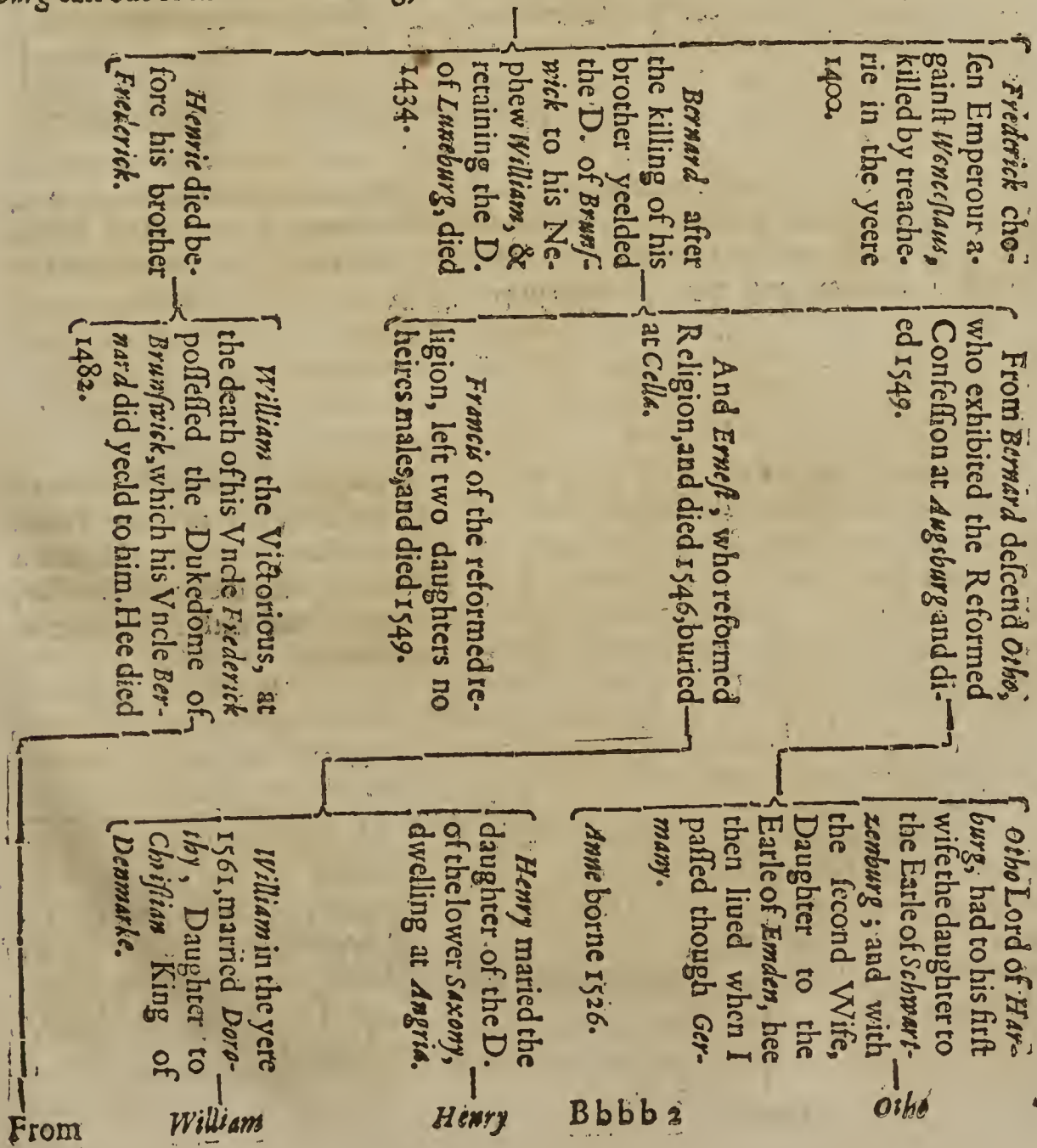
Brunswick an Imperiall City, worthily to be numbred among the cheefe, & so called as the Village of *Bruno*, is not farre distant from *Hamburg*, and seated in the center of *Saxony*, was of old (as they say) the Metropolitan City therof. It consists of five Cities gathered into one, wherof each hath his seuerall priuiledges, and they are thus seated, *Alstatt* is the part on the West side, *Newstatt* on the North side, *Imfacke* the part towards the East, *imbagen*, & *Altweg* (built first of all the rest) are the part towards the South. And howsoeuer all these haue each their seueral Senators and priuiledges, yet all of them iointly making the city of *Brunswick*, liue vnder one common Law and gouernment, the Senators of each by yeerly courses gouerning the whole body of that common-wealth. For howsoeuer tenn Consuls be yeerly chosen, two of each City, yet to the two Consuls of that City which by course is to gouern for the yeere, the other eight as inferiour, and much more all the Senators of the five Cities, yeelde for the time great reuerence in the Senate and all meetings, and great obedience in all things commanded. One Senate house is common to all the five Cities, yet each of them hath also a priuate Senate-house. The forme of the publike gouerning

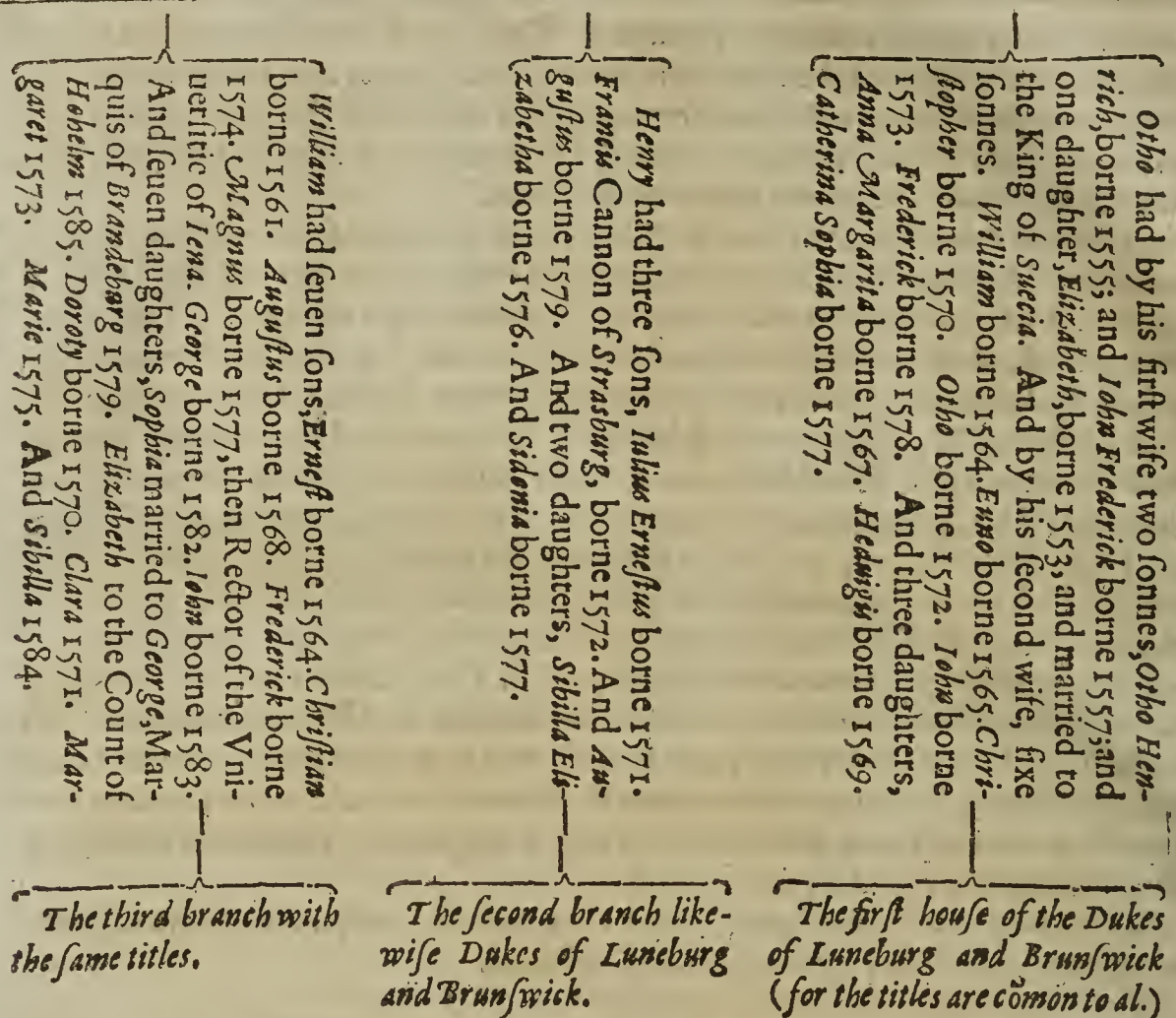
gouvernement is Democraticall (or popular.) They live in such feare of the Duke of *Brunswick*, lest he should take away their liberty, as they have not onely fortified the Towne very strongly against assaults or sieges, but also willingly imploy their Citizens in forraigne warres as hired souldiers, insomuch as no man is made free who hath not first served one or two yeeres in the warres.

The Dukes of *Brunswick* & of *Luneburg*, deriue their pedigree from one root, namely, from the old family of the Dukes of *Bavaria*: for *Henric* called the Lion, D. of *Bavaria*, (who was Duke and Elector of *Saxony* also, commanding a most ample Territory), being proscribed by the Emperour, and for a time living as a banished man in *England*, the Dukedome of *Bavaria* was by the Emperour given in Fee to the Palatines of the *Rheine*, and so passed to a new Family. This *Henric* the Lion died in *Brunswick* about the yeere 1195. His eldest sonne *Otho* the fourth being chosen Emperour, was overcome by his Competitor, and being againe raised to that dignitie, was put from it by *Frederike* the second, and died 1218. *Otho* his brothers Sonne, was forced to yeeld the Dukedome of *Saxony* to the Elector of *Saxony* *Albert* the second. And the Emperour *Frederick* the second cast his Garrison out of *Brunswick*, with the helpe of the Citizens, and made *Brunswick* a free Imperiall City. But at last the Emperour vpon the submission of *Otho* forgave him, and created him Duke of *Brunswick* and *Luneburg*. This *Otho* died in the yeere 1252, from whom this house was subdeuided into the following Families. From *Henric* the Vnderfull, descend the Lords of *Ember* and *Grobenbagen*. From *Albert* the Fat, dying in the yeere 1318, descend the Dukes of *Brunswick* and of *Luneburg*, as followeth.

The Dukes of *Brunswick* and of *Luneburg*.

Magnus Torquatus heire of both Dukedomes, (whose garrison the citizens of *Luneburg* cast out of the castle *Calkberg*) left three sonnes.





From *William* the Victorious descends *Henry*, who twice in vaine besieged *Brunswick* aided by other free Cities. He died 1514.

And *Ericus*, called the Popish.

Henric made captiue by the Elector of *Saxony* 1545, twice besieged *Brunswick*. He had two sisters and foure brothers; *Ericus*, *Christopher* Bishop of *Verden*, *Francis*, and *George* Archbishop of *Breme*. The eldest married *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, and died 1568.

Ericus called also the Popish, married his daughter to *Iohn* Prince *Dauria* of *Genoa* in *Italy*. He had a base sonne, who died without issue, and lies buried with his Father at *Pania* in *Italy*.

Iulius, his two elder Brethren being killed, left his Priest-hood, reformed Religion after *Luthers* doctrine, founded an Vniuersitie at *Helmstat*, and called it *Iulia*; married *Hedwigis*, daughter to *Ioachim* the second, Elector of *Brandeburg*, and died in the yeere 1589.

He had foure sisters, *Catherine* married to *Iohn* Marquisse of *Brandeburg*. *Margaret* to the D. of *Munsterberg*. *Clara* first an Abbess, then married to *Phillip* Lord of *Grubenhage*. And *Mary* an Abbess.

Henric

Five sisters, *Sophia* married to *Ernest Duke of Pomerania*. *Mary* to *Francis D. of lower Saxony* 1582. *Elizabeth* to the Count of *Schaumburg*. *Dorothy* borne 1577. *Hedwigis* 1580.

Three brothers, *Philip Sigismund* Bishop of *Verden*, borne 1568. *Jochim Carolus* borne 1573. *Julius Augustus* borne 1578.

Henric Julius borne 1562 Administrator of two Bishopricks of *Halberstat* and *Orinda*, first married *Dorothy* Daughter to *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony*, then *Elizabeth* daughter to *Frederike* King of *Denmark*, yet living.

The second house of the Duke of *Brunswicke*, more powerfull then all the former joyned.

By his first wife he had *Dorothy Hedwigis* borne 1587, by the second *Frederike Vdalrike* borne 1591.

The Duke of *Brunswicke* keeps his Court at a strong Castle, within the little City *Wolfenbeiten*, lesse then a German mile distant from *Brunswick*, of which City he beares the title, in respect it of old belonged to his Progenitors (in which kind he is also called Duke of *Lunenburg*, to which he hath right of succession; and *Burgrave* of *Nurnberg*, which title hath beene long extinct), not that he hath any least power oier the City, or so much as a house therein, whom the Citizens rather with many miles removed from them. I haue said that *Henry Julius* Duke of *Brunswick* hath three brothers, and that the eldest of them was Bishop of *Verden*, but when my selfe passed that way, I vnderstood that of these three younger brothers, the eldest was Bishop of *Osenburg*, the next Channon of *Strasburg*, and that the youngest was a Student in the Vniuersity of *Helmstatt*, founded by his Father: And it is worth obseruation, that the Duke himselfe was Administrator of two Bishopricks. I haue shewed that the City of *Brunswicke* got their liberty by the Sword, in the time of Duke *Otho*, and with the aide of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second: And as they gained it by Armes, so they maintaine it, hauing beene often besieged by the Dukes, and to this day bearing vp the title of their City. And not long before my passage that way, when at the marriage of the Duke with the sister to the King of *Denmarke*, the Citizens of *Brunswicke* discharged some great Peeeces of Artillery in honour of the marriage, yet so great are the iealousies betweene the Duke and them, as hee tooke it in ill part, and shaking his head for anger, said it was done in ostentation of their strength, and as the threatening of enemies rather then the triumph of friends: And the Senators of *Brunswicke*, though inuited to the marriage, yet would not come thither. Neither doe they willingly suffer the Duke to come into their City. And not long before, when the Duke for pleasure disguised himselfe as a Carman, and droue a Cart of wood into the City, to be sold there, the chief Consul hauing notice therof, commanded the gates to be shut, and the streets to be chained, & when the Duke had long sat vpon the cart, with some annoiance by reason of raine, and found he could not goe back, and thought it dangerous to goe into any priuate house, at last the Consul bought his wood, and so drew the Duke to his house, where he intertained him honorably, yet remembred him that he had put himselfe in needles danger, knowing the ill affection of the common people towards him, and then sending for the Dukes seruantes to attend him, led him out of the city with honour.

Lunenburg a free City of the Empire, is strongly fortified, and stately built, but hath no lesse ielosy with the neighbor Dukes, bearing the title of the City, yet they neither dwell in the City, nor medle with the gouernment therof, but abide at *Cella*, and at *Sethern*, some twelue miles distant, and in other Cities of that Prouince, according to the deuision of their inheritance betweene them. The Citizens of *Lunenburg*

The Duke of *Brunswicke*.

The City & the Dukes of *Lunenburg*

burg knowing that of old they bought their liberty of these Dukes, and that to this day they pay them some tributes, iustly feare lest the Duke or his Brothers and Cosens, being many in number, should practise any thing against their liberty, or at least being poor, should seek new occasions to extort mony from them. The Duke of old had a strong Castle, built upon a Mountaine hanging over the City, vulgarly called *Kaleckberg*, that is the Mountaine of Chalke; but the Butchers of the City, at a Shroffide, making shew of mustering in Armes, tooke this Castle, for which service to the Commonwealth, the Butchers to this day have the keeping therof. But the Citizens are so suspicious, lest it should be betrayed to the Duke for mony, as if any of them who keep it, doe at any time goe forth of it, into the City or to any other place, they are no more permitted to enter the same.

Dantzke.

Vpon the furthest shore of the Baltike sea towards the North-east, the free City of *Dantzke* is seated. It is free in respect of priuiledges for traffique, and for that it is gouerned by the Senators and the Lawes of the City, yet not numbered among the Imperiall Cities, because it in some sort acknowledgeth the King of *Poland*, and paies some couenanted tributes to his Minister residing in the City. In the time of *Stephen Bathory* Prince of *Transilvania* and King of *Poland*, this City was by him besieged, and forced to pay these tributes. Whereupon the Citizens to pay them without their own preiudice, doubled all Impositions upon strangers trading there. The Consul of the City there, (as in all *Germany*) is vulgarly called *Burgomaster*, & he iudgeth all ciuill & criminal causes, but appeales are granted from him to the Colledge of ciuill Lawyers, & from them to the Senate of the City, and in some causes, from the Senate to the King of *Poland*. This City consists of three Cities, vulgarly called *Reichstat*, *Furstat*, & *Altstatt* (that is, the City of the Kingdome, the fore City, and the old City), and each hath his gates, and his Senate, and the Consull may be chosen out of either Senate, so as for the time of his Office, he reside in the cheefe City, called *Reichstatt*. Here be the furthest limits of the Empire towards the North and the East.

And from hence towards the West lies the shore of the Balticke Sea, and of the German Ocean, upon which are seated *Stetinum*, *Meckleburg*, *Lubecke*, *Hamburg*, and *Breame*, Imperiall Cities, and free, as well for priuiledges of trafficke in neighbour Kingdomes, as for absolute gouernement at home: And in *East-Friesland* (for *West-Friesland* belongs to *Netherland*) the furthest limits of the Empire towards the West and North, end in the City of *Emden*.

Emden.

This City hath his Count, bearing title of the City, and of late he kept his Court therein: but the Citizens professing the reformed Doctrine of *Caluin*, and the Count attempting to force them to the profession of *Luthers* Doctrine, not long before I passed that way, the Citizens expelled the Count, and gaue oath to the Senators of the City, to obey them, to be ready in armes for the defence of the City, and not to remove their dwellings from thence without leaue of the Senate. And the Citizens were thus confident; because the City lies upon the confines of the *Netherlanders*, who maintained men of warre in that Inland Sea, and upon the Riuer passing by the wals of the City, to stop any passage, and to defend the ships of Merchants, forced in those flats to expect the returne of the tide. And generally it was thought that *Emden* would ioine in league with the vnited Prouinces of *Netherland*, but as yet it remained vnder the Empire, not free by priuiledge, nor yet subiect to the Count of *Emden*. This Count at this time had two sonnes by the daughter of the King of *Suetia*, and howsoeuer his younger brother by the loue of his mother, had obtained the best part of the inheritance, yet he had no children, nor was thought likely to haue any, so as no doubt was then made, but that the whole inheritance would after his death returne to the children of the elder brother. And these things shall suffice, briefly written in generall of the Commonwealth of *Germany*, and in particular, of the absolute Dominions vnder the Empire.

CHAP. V.

Of the Common-wealth of Sweitzerland, according to the diuers subiects of the former Chapters.



THE Sweitzers deriued of diuers peoples (and among others of the Schwalen and Friselanders), howsoeuer they be Germans both in language and manners, yet because the old Galles gaue them a seat at the foote of the Alpes, they were accounted Galles (or French) till the time of *Julius Caesar*. In the Commentaries of *Caesar*, wee find their Commonwealth diuided into foure Communities, whereof one, namely that of *Zurech*, had not long before ouerthrowne the Army of *Lucius Cassius* Consul of *Rome*. About this time the Sweitzers weary of their barren seat, attempted to seeke a new place of dwelling, had not *Caesar* ouercome them, and contained them at home. And from that time to the daies of *Charles* the Great, and so long as his race possessed the renewed Empire of the West, they were still esteemed Galles: but when that imperiall dignity fell to the Germans, they became subiects to those Emperours, and were numbred among the Germans, hauing the same manners, lawes, and customes with them, as at this day they haue. The Emperours gouerned this Nation, by Gouvernours vulgarly called *Reichsvogt*, till at last the Commonwealth of the Sweitzers was seuered from that of the Germans, and made a free state, which in the age before ours, hath gotten great reputation: And here it is worthy to be obserued, that the ambition of Popes, and their diuellish tyranny ouer the Emperours, not onely (after some eight hundred yeeres from Christ) caused almost all the Garboyles of States, whereof we haue heard, or read, or which with our owne eyes wee haue seene, but in particular were the chiefe, yea, sole causes, of rending this strong member from the body of the Empire. *Sweitzerland* about that time, abounded with noble Families, and them the Gouvernours fauoured, to increase their owne power, whereupon they oppressed the common people, and prouoked their extreame hatred, so as they were forced to combine themselues in mutuall league against this oppression: yet the common people had neuer dared to oppose themselues to the Gentry, if the Empire had enioied peace: But when the Bishops of *Rome*, often cast out their spirituall thunderbolts (I meane excommunications) against the Emperours, and as well absolued all subiects from the Oath of Allegiance, as heartned ambitious Traitors to be competitors against the Emperours, yea, stirred vp their Kinsmen and their very Children to make ciuill warre with them: in this confused Anarchy, a Patron was not wanting to the most wicked person, to defend him, so he would follow his party. Hence it came, that when the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, in the yeere 1240, receiued the common people of *Sweitzerland* into his protection against the Gentlemen, they likewise, as the Clients of Monasteries, followed the Popes party, whereupon the people of *Zurech*, the *Vrij* and *Suitij*, (of whom the whole Nation is called *Sweitzers*) being three Communities, first in the yeere 1251, made a league for three yeeres against the Gentlemen, lying in waite to intrap them; and after by little and little, they made more firme and perpetuall leagues for defence of absolute liberty: and seruing diuers Emperours in the Papall tumults, from time to time obtained great priuiledges. Then they drew other Communities and neighbour Cities to be partners of their leagues. Finally, after they had rooted out the Families of Gentlemen, and had by conspiracy cast out the Gouvernours of the Arch-Dukes of *Austria* (to whom the Lordship of *Sweitzerland* was fallen), they in processe of time attained this absolute State, which we see them enioy at this day: For the foresaid strife

continuing betweene the Emperours and the Popes, and *Lodwick* of *Bauaria* contending for the Empire with *Fredericke* of the House of *Austria*, the *Sweitzers* tooke part with *Lodwicke*, who expressely ratified the freedome or liberty of their Commonwealth.

Four parts
of the Com-
monwealth.

And that consists of three parts, the communities (vulgarly called Cantons) the fellowes or confederates, and the stipendary Cities, or *gouvernements*, to which *Stemler* addeth the forraigne leagues for a fourth part.

Thirteen
Cantons.

The communities are vulgarly called *Cris*, and by the Italians Cantons of the *Sweitzers*, (as we will hereafter call them), and they are thirteene in number. Among these Cantons, the *Vry* (comming from the *Taurisci*) the *Suitij* (comming from the *Cimbri*) the *Vnderwaldij* (of the race of banished Romans) about the yeere 1308, made a mutual league for ten yeeres, and hauing ouercome in battell *Leopold* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, in the yeere 1315, made this league perpetuall. *Lucerna* the fourth Canton, being much wronged, while it was vnder the Patronage of the House of *Austria*, to auoid tyranny in that confusion of the Empire, did in the yeere 1332, ioine it selfe in perpetuall league. *Zurech* a free City of the Empire, was in like sort receiued for the 5. Cantō. When these cantons made war vpon *Glarona*, to haue the possession of a country most commodious for the cōmon good, all the people so hated the *Gouernors* appointed by the House of *Austria*, and so desired freedome, as they yeelded vp themselves to the Cantons, and so *Glarona* the foresaid yeere became the sixth Canton. Likewise when the Canton *Zurech* made warre vpon *Zug*, a Towne (possessed by gentlemen subiect to the House of *Austria*) whence they were much annoied, the Citizens being forsaken by the Gentlemen, yeelded themselves, and being receiued into the league, became the seuenth Canton. *Berne* a free city of the Empire, and vnder the power of the *Gouernours*, hauing found the faithfull loue of the Cantons, in the said confusion of the Empire, did in the year 1352, make a perpetuall league with the three first named Cantons, wherein notwithstanding *Zurech* and *Lucerna* are contained, the three Cantons being bound to those two, for the succour of *Berne*, and being bound to *Berne*, for the succour of the two Cantons, and so *Berne* became the eight Canton. The Towne *Friburg*, subiect to the House of *Austria*, being many waies oppressed in the said confusion of the Empire, made league with *Berne*, and when the House of *Austria*, vpon pretence to visit them, did for that cause, spoile them of their goods, they in the yeere 1481, after the end of the Burgundian warre, became the ninth Canton. *Solothurn* a free City of the Empire, had made a perpetuall league with *Berne* in the yeere 1351, and after in the yeere 1481, was receiued for the tenth Canton. *Bazila* free City of the Empire, had in the yeere 1327 made a perpetuall league with the 3 first Cantons, & after prouoked by many iniuries of the house of *Austria*, did in the yeere 1501 make a perpetuall league with all the Cantons, and so was receiued for the Eleuenth Canton. *Scaphusen* an Imperiall city, first sold or ingaged to the house of *Austria*, and againe vnited to the Empire, when the Duke of *Austria* was proscribed in the Councel of *Cofnetz*, because the Emperor *Frederick* the third in the yeere 1454, exacted an oath of the citizens, as Duke of *Austria* not as Emperor, they first made a league for certaine yeares with six Cantons, and after at the end of the *Saenian* warr made a perpetuall league in the yeere 1501 with all the Cantons, and so became the twelfth Canton. *Abbatiscella* vulgarly called *Apinzill*, containing eight Villages, after it had obtained freedome from the Abbot of *Saint Gallus* by Armes and mony, had wart with the house of *Austria* about the yeere 1408, at which time it made a league with the Cantons, and after prouoked by the iniuries of the said Abbot, in the yeere 1452, it made a perpetuall league with the seauen first Cantons, and at last in the yeere 1513 became the thirteenth Canton.

Fellowes in
league.

Among the fellowes in league, first the Abbot of *Saint Gallus* in the yeere 1451, obtained to be made a citizen of the foure Cantons, *Zurech*, *Lucerna*, *Suitia*, and *Glarona*, which right all the Abbots renewe, and promise that all their possessions shall lie open to the said Cantons, and that in controuersies they will rest in the iudgement of the cantons, and by another agreement each of these Cantons appoint a captain to

be

be Assessor to the Abbot in iudgment, and the cantons haue halfe of all mulcts or fines imposed, and the subiects of the Abbot are bound to serue them in warr. And howsoeuer some of the cantons at this day are of the reformed religiō, yet they send a captaine according to the couenant, and defend all the rights of the Monastery. In the second place, is the towne of *Saint Gallus*, which hauing bought freedome from all rights of the Abbot and of the Empire, made a perpetuall league with six Cantons, *Zurech, Bern, Lucerna, Suitia, Zug, and Glarona*, which was confirmed in the yeare 1454.

In the third place are the *Rhati*, called *Grisons* by the *Italians*, deuided into three leagues. The first is called the vpper league, consisting of nineteene communities, and was made with the seauen old cantons in the yeare 1407. The second, in respect of the Bishopricks of *Chur*, is called the league of the house of God, consisting of nineteene communities, (wherof two vse the Language of *Germany*, the rest the Language of the country, being corrupt *Italian*), which the yeare following ioined in league with the cantons. The third league called the tenne iudgments, (or iurisdctions) & consisting of tenne communities ioined in the league with the Cantons in the yeare 1498, and at the same time the house of *Austria* preparing war against the *Rhetians*, they all iointly made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons.

In the fourth place the seauen tenths of the *Valesians*, and the Bishop of *Seduce* Earle of *Valesia*, for the controuersies of religion in our time, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with seauen Cantons of the Roman Religion, *Lucerna, Vria, Suitia, Vnderwaldia, Tugium*, (vulgarly *Zug*), *Friburg*, and *Solodurum*, vulgarly *Solothurne*).

The Towne *Rotenilla* in the fifth place, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons, in the yeere 1519; but because it is seated in *Germany*, out of the confines of mountainous *Sweitzerland*, caution was made that without the consent of the Cantons, they shall make no warre, nor giue any aides, and if warre be made vpon them, in case the enemy consent, they shall rest in the iudgement which the Cantons shall hold iust and equall: And that they shall make no league without the consent of the Cantons, and in time of ciuill warre shall follow the greatest part of them.

In the sixth place *Mulhusium* of old an Imperiall City, was incorporated to the City of *Bazill* in the yeere 1506, and after nine yeeres, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons.

In the seventh place, the Towne *Bienna* (or *Bipennium*) enioying all priuiledges vnder the Bishop of *Bazell* in the yeere 1303, made a more firme league with *Bern* in the yeere 1352.

In the eighth place is *Geneua*, which gaue all rights, and kept all olde couenants with the Bishop thereof, till hee sold the same to the Duke of *Sauoy*. After that time, this City made diuers leagues with the Cantons for certaine yeeres, and at last couenanted the right of Citizens with the Canton of *Bern*, and being assailed for Religion, confirmed the same more strictly, in the yeere 1536, since which time some motions haue beene made, to vnite *Geneua* with the Cantons in publike league, but hitherto it could not be effected.

In the ninth and last place is the Towne *Neocomum*, with the County thereof, which the Sweitzers tooke in the warre against the King of *France*, *Lewis* the twelfth, and because it belonged to the Duke of *Longouille* in *France*, his widow in the yeere 1529, obtained to haue it restored to her vpon certaine conditions, yet still it hath league of fellowship with the Cantons of *Bern, Lucern, Friburg, and Solothurn*, and the Lords of the County haue a particular league with the Canton of *Bern*.

Touching the people gouerned by the Sweitzers in common, they be siue stipendiary Cities, and nine gouernements. The Cities are so called, because they serue the Sweitzers in warre at their stipend, and hauing their owne Magistrates, yet are subiect to the Cantons, and ruled by their statutes. These Cities of old subiect to the House of *Austria*, became subiect to the Cantons, vpon condition that keeping their priuiledges, they should obey them in the same manner, as formerly they did the house of *Austria*. The Sweitzers took *Baden, Brimogart, and Mellinga*, when the Duke of *Austria* was

Stipendiary
Cities and
Gouernements.

was proscribed, & after the Emperour ingaged those cities to the Canton of *Zurich*, which made other 7 cantons partners of that ingagemēt, namely, *Lucerna*, *Suitia*, *Vnderualdia*, *Vria*, *Tugium*, *Glarona*, and *Lerna*. The *Sweitzers* tooke *Raperswill* in the yeare 1458, being receiued into the city, and helped by those of their faction. And they tooke the fifth city *Frawersfeld*, in the yeare 1460, when the Duke of *Austria* was excommunicated, vpon the Popes command well pleasing to them. Among the Gouvernments, that of *Baden* is subiect to the foresaid eight Cantons. The second of *Targ* is subiect to al the same Cantons, excepting *Bern*, but the iudgements & Fines belong to the ten old Cantons. The third of the free Prouince, was giuen to the *Sweitzers* in fee from the Emperour, when the said Duke of *Austria* was proscribed, and it is subiect to the same Cantons, excepting *Bern*, but the Gouvernor dwels not among them, onely vsing to come to them for the iudgement of causes. The fourth is the country of the *Saruntes*, sold by their Earle to the said Cantons, excepting *Bern*, in the yeare 1483. The fifth of the *Rhegusi* was sold to the Canton *Apenzell* in the yeare 1460, and the Cantons drew it to common subiection, when *Apenzell* was admitted into the number of the Cantons, so as *Apenzell* also is partner in that Gouvernment.

In the last place are the foure Gouvernments beyond the *Alpes*, leated in *Italy*, namely the town *Lucanum*, the *Locarnenses*, the *Medrisiani*, & the middle vally, which the Duke of *Milan* gaue to the Cantons for a reward, vpon the casting out of the French in the yeare 1513, and yet the King of *France*, *Francis* the first, after vpon the casting out of that Duke, confirmed this giuft to the Cantons. To these is added the towne *Ballitoni* sold to the Cantons, *Vria*, *Suitia*, and *Vnderualdia*, in the yeare 1422, the country wherof is diuided into three Gouvernments, commaunded by the said three Cantons, by courses or turnes.

Forraigne
leagues for
yeers, name-
ly the papall
leagues.

Touching forraigne leagues. Among those made for certaine yeares, Pope *Sixtus* in the yeare 1478 made league with the *Sweitzers*, and gaue them large spirituall indulgences. Likewise at the end of the *Sweitzers* league with the king of *Fraunce Lewis* the twelfth, in the yeare 1509, Pope *Iulius* the second in the yeare 1510 made league with the *Sweitzers*, but the soldiers leuiued vnder the pay of Pope *Iulius*, perceiving that he delt not directly and truly with them, imploying them to expell the king of *Fraunce* out of *Milan*, whome he had hired vnder pretence to defend the Church against the Duke of *Ferrara*, they could not containe themselves from returning suddenly into their country, and being dismissed without pay, they cealed not with many threatnings to storm against the Pope. Yet in the yeare 1511 the same Pope *Iulius* being overcome by the French, he called the *Sweitzers* again to his aide, who sent him an Army of 20000 foote, at which time the *Sweitzers* being offended with the French, cast them out of *Milan*, wherupon Pope *Iulius* gaue to this commonwealth the title of the Defender of the Church, & diuers Banners charged with diuers Images, and a Cap for signe of liberty, with a sword. Also *Maximilianus Sfortia* by their aide being then put into the possession of the Dukedome of *Milan*, made league with the *Sweitzers*, and gaue them the foresaide Gouvernments in *Italy*. Also Pope *Leo* the tenth in the yeare 1515, ioyned himselfe to the league, made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Sfortia* Duke of *Milan*, and the *Sweitzers*, against the King of *France*. Lastly, Pope *Clement* the eight, sitting in the chaire of *Rome* when I passed through *Italy*, had also league with the *Sweitzers*.

But I must come to the hereditary forraigne leagues, which onely, and no other, can truly be called part of the Commonwealth.

Forraigne
hereditary
leagues, as
that of *Mi-
lan*.

Among the cheefe of them, is that of *Milan*: And not to speake of the ancient leagues, which some of the Cantons had with the *Insubres*, old inhabitants of *Lombardy*, *Galeacius* Duke of *Milan* in the yeare 1466, made a league with eight Cantons, (wherein mention is made of the said leagues with the *Insubres*), and he granted to the *Vrij*, that they should possesse the *Lepontian* Valley, for which they were to send vnto the Duke yeerely foure Hawkes and a Crosse-bow: Moreover he granted to the eight Cantons, that in his Dukedome they should bee free from all impositions and taxes. Afterwards these and other heads of that league, were confirmed and renewed

newed by the Duke his successours: And *Ferdinand Gonzaga* in the name of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, confirmed the same in the yeere 1551. And among other heads of that league, it is couenanted, that it shall be free for the Sweitzers to buy corne, yet in time of dearth, they may carry none out of the Dukedome; onely some 200 bushels shall in that case be sold to them, as friends. Also cautions are inserted about the buying and carrying of salt, and that they shall freely passe to and fro without safe conduct, excepting those times in which *Sweitzerland* shall be infected with the plague, and that they shall be free from impositions in all places, excepting the city of *Milan*; where they shall pay custome at the gates. Lastly, that the Sweitzers thus priuiledged, shall not take any others to be partners in trafficke with them, to the prejudice of the Dukedome; and that all such shall be excluded from these priuiledges, as haue fled out of the Dukedome, whether they liue in *Sweitzerland* or else where: And this league was made to continue foure yeers after the death of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and this time expired, howsoeuer the league was not for a time renewed, yet the Sweitzers enioied all these priuiledges. This hereditary league descends to the Kings of *Spaine*, who succeed *Charles* the fifth in the said Dutchy of *Milan*, and all his possessions in *Italy*.

The Sweitzers haue had sharpe warres with the House of *Burgundy*, and long continuing warres with the House of *Austria*, which at last were ended in league and friendship. The first warre of *Burgundy* began in the yeere 1474, the House of *Austria* vsing the pride & ambition of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, to keepe downe the Sweitzers, with whom themselves had often fought with no good successe: For the cause of the warre sprang from certaine Countries, to this end ingaged by *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, whence the desired & expected ielousies grew between them, which *Lewis* the 11 King of *France* did nourish, bearing a spleene to Duke *Charles*, and for that cause did furnish the Sweitzers with money to make that warre: And *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria* more to incourage the Sweitzers, made league with them against the Duke of *Burgundy*. Also the Emperour *Frederick* of the House of *Austria*, leading an Army against the said Duke, did stirre vp the Sweitzers to assaile him. But when they had with good successe pierced into *Burgundy*, the Emperour made peace with the said Duke, wherein the *Sweitzers* were not contained, so as the Duke turned all his Forces vpon them, and not to speake of light skirmishes and fights, the maine busines was tried betweene them in three battels, wherein the Duke himselfe was in person. First at the town *Granson*, where the *Sweitzers* had the victory, but they hauing no horse, (which could not so soone be sent to them from their confederates), and the horse of the Duke defending the foot in their flight, few of the *Burgundians* were killed there. Secondly, they fought at *Morat*; where they write that 26000 of the *Burgundians* were slaine. And to this day huge heapes of dead bones lie in that place, to witnes that great ouerthrow. The third battel was at *Nancy*, a City of *Loraine*; where *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* besieged *Renatus* Duke of *Lorraine*, confederate with the *Sweitzers*, and then 8000 *Sweitzers* & 3000 of their confederates sent to helpe them, ouercame the Duke of *Burgundy*, and himselfe being killed in flight, his death gaue an end to that warre in the yeere 1477.

The Burgundian and Austrian league.

After the house of *Austria* had made many wars & leagues for yeers with the *Sweitzers*, at last *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, before the *Burgundian* warre, made an hereditary league with them, *Lewis* the French King mediating the same, that hee might draw the *Sweitzers* to make warre with *Charles* the proud Duke of *Burgundy*. By this league it was agreed, that any controuersies falling, they should be put to Arbiters, both parts binding themselves to stand to their iudgemēt. That al old leagues alwaies preserved, they should serue the Duke of *Austria* in his wars, vpon the same pay they haue at home seruing the State. On the other side, that the possessors should hold all places, without calling into question for them. That neither part shold ioine in league the subiects of the other, or make them free of their Cities. That neither part should burthen the other with customes or impositions. At this time in the yeere 1474, many neighbour Princes, Cities, and Bishops, did ioine themselves in league for yeeres: but the foresaid league with the house of *Austria*, ceased in the time of the Emperour

Maximilian

Maximilian the first, who made League with the Princes and cities of *Germany*, against the Sweitzers (called the great League of *Suevia*.)

The Ger-
man Empe-
rors renew
the League
of *Austria*.

Phillip
King of
Spain re-
news the
Leagues of
Burgundy
and *Milan*.

That warre ended, *Maximilian* in the yeere 1511, renewed the former League, ioyning therein the house of *Burgundy*, and his grand-child *Charles* (after made Emperour the fifth of that name), so vniting all the thirteene Cantons with both those houses, and he promised in the name of *Charles*, that he should yeerely pay in the Towne of *Zurech* two hundred gold crownes to each Canton, for a testimony of loue, and for the Abbot of *Saint Gallus*, and the Towne, and besides for *Apenzell*, he should yeerely giue each of them one hundred Crownes, and that he should confirme this league. This was done in the yeere 1543, wherein *Charles* the Emperour renewed the League of *Burgundy*, and his brother *Ferdinand* succeeding him in the Empire, renewed the League of the House of *Austria*.

At this time whereof I write, the Ambassadour of the King of *Spain* resided at *Friburg*, and *Philip* King of *Spain*, sonne to *Charles*, had (as I vnderstood by Sweitzers of good credit) renewed the Leagues of *Burgundy* and *Milan*, with the Cantons of the Roman religion, to last five yeres after his death; and this was done in the Church of *Milan*, where the Ambassadors are said to haue hung vp their Shields in memory therof, and to haue giuen a thousand gold crownes to the beautifying of the Church, at whichtime the King of *Spain* diuided twelue thousand gold crownes betweene the Ambassadors, besides the charges, passing three thousand crownes. But the Ambassadors of *Solothurn*, with-drew themselues from this League, because the King of *France* was indebted to them, which debt the King of *Spain* refused to pay. By this League they are mutually bound to aide each other with one thousand two hundred foote: and the King of *Spain* promised yeerely Pensions in generall to the Cantons, and in particular to diuers chiefe men and Captaines. For the Sweitzers vse to make no League without profit, since the Neighbour Princes grew of opinion, that they could not make warre, except their Armies were strengthened with a firme body of Sweitzers. Not onely *Solothurn* renounced the said League, but also the Cantons of the reformed religion, partly not to do any thing against their League with *France*, partly lest they should take part with a King, whom they iudged most ambitious, and a great enemy to the Reformed Religion, howsoeuer he couered that hatred; and partly lest they should aduance the House of *Austria*, iustly suspected by them, whose victories might turne to their ruine. And at the same time the Cantons and Fellowes in League, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of *Caluine*, made a League for defence of religion among themselues, and with *Strasburg*, a neighbour free city of *Germany*, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of *Luther*.

The League
of *Sauoy*.

The Duke of *Sauoy* had his Ambassadour residing at *Lucerna*, (where the Popes Ambassadors also reside, of whose Leagues for yeeres we formerly spake.) The old *Allobroges*, now called *Sauoyans*, had old Leagues with the Cantons of *Bern*, *Friburg*, and *Solothurn*: but *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy* in the yeere 1512, made a League for twenty five yeeres with all the Cantons, by which, among other things, it was couenanted, that the Duke should aide the Sweitzers with sixe hundred or more horse at his owne charge, so hee were not distracted with warres at home, and that the Sweitzers should aide the Duke with sixe thousand foot for any warre in his owne Countrie, to whom the Duke should pay each man sixe Frankes by the moneth. But hee should not imploy them to fight at sea, nor leade them beyond the sea, but onely to defend his owne Countrie, and the confines thereof. And it was couenanted, that during this League the Duke should yeerely pay at *Bern* two hundred gold crownes to each Canton. When this League was expired, Duke *Charles* put out of his Dukedome by the French King *Francis* the first, followed the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and the renewing of this League was intermitted. But the King of *France* restoring *Philebert* his sonne to the Dukedome, this Duke in the yeere 1560 made a new and perpetuall League with sixe Cantons, namely, *Lucerna*, *Suitia*, *Vria*, *Vnderualdia*, *Zug*, and *Solothurne*. And after, the rest of the Cantons vpon like conditions, renewed the old

old league with this Duke, onely in this last league no mention is made of mutuall aides couenanted by the former league.

The French Ambassadour resided at *Solothurn*, (who of old vsed to reside at *Bazil*) *The French League.* and the league of the French Kings with the Sweitzers, is of farre greater moment then any of the rest. The first of the French that made warre with the Sweitzers, was *Lewis* the French Kings sonne (after the eleuenth King of that name) who leading an Army to assist Pope *Eugenius* in dissolving the Councell at *Bazil*, was perswaded by the Emperour *Fredericke* to assaile the Sweitzers, but a small number of them possessing straight passages, did so annoy his Army, as he soone retired. He made peace with the Sweitzers in the yeere 1450, and hauing tried their strength, made league with them for ten yeeres. His son *Charles* the eighth in the yeere 1483, renewed this league, and vsed the Sweitzers in his warres with the Duke of *Britany*, and for the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Lewis* the twelfth, after the league for yeers was expired, renounced the payment of all publike or priuate pensions, wherwith the Sweitzers were so greatly offended, as after they refused to renew that league with him, and ioined in league with the Pope and the Duke of *Milan* against him, so as by their aide he was in the yeere 1512, cast out of the Dukedome of *Milan*. The French King *Francis* the first, fought with the Sweitzers, ioined against him in league with the Emperour *Maximilian*, Pope *Leo* the tenth, and *Sfortia* Duke of *Milan*. For howsoeuer the Sweitzers suspected the proceeding of their confederates, and purposed to returne home; yet the *Pretorian Sweitzers* of the Duke of *Milan*, assailing the French, the rest of the Sweitzers, though called home, yet lest they should seeme to forsake their companions, ioined with the *Pretorian Sweitzers*, and so by art and cunning drawne to fight, gaue the French a notable ouerthrow, at which time the Sweitzers had the greatest Army they euer brought in to the field, being 31000 foot: but the French King *Francis*, the next day fighting again with the Sweitzers, ouerthrew them, yet so as the retreat (as they write) was nothing like a flight: And so the King casting *Sfortia* out of the Dukedome of *Milan*, recovered the same.

After this prosperous successe, the French King sought nothing more then to be reconciled and ioined in league with the Sweitzers hee had overcome, which hee did, the league consisting of 13 heads. 1. They couenanted for taking away all iniuries & controuerfies. 2. For freeing of captiues. 3. How the Sweitzers may plead any cause in iudgement against the King. 4. That al should enioy the benefit therof, being borne within the confines of *Sweitzerland*, & speaking the Dutch tongue. 5. Priuiledges are confirmed to the Merchants of *Sweitzerland*. 6. For charges in the siege of *Dyune* and in *Italy*, the King couenants to pay them a great sum of mony by yeerly portions. 7. It is agreed that all controuerfies shall be determined by courtes there set downe, not by warre. 8. That neither part shall giue passage to the enemies of the other. 9. That Merchants & all subiects on both parts, shall freely passe, not offended with reproches, or oppressed with impositions. 10. That the King shall yeerly pay to each Canton 2000 Franks, and to the Abbot of *S. Gallus* and his subiects, and to those of *Toggenburg* 600 Franks, and to the Citv of *S. Gallus* 400, to the *Mulhusians* 400, to the *Gruerians* 600, to the *Valesians* 2000, and to the *Grisons* the pensions giuen by *Lewis* the 12: and moreouer yeerly 2000 Franks (but howsoeuer the *Rhetians* or *Grisons* by this league serue the King in his warres with the Sweitzers: yet *Semler* witnesseth, that they serue seuerally vnder their owne Captaines). In the 11 Article all immunities in the Dukedome of *Milan* are confirmed to the *Bilitionenses*, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, the *Luganenses*, & the *Locarnenses*. 12. Choice is giuen to the Sweitzers to retaine the Castles they had, or to take mony for them: Lastly, it is agreed & couenanted, that the league shall be perpetuall, & not be broken vpon any fraudulent pretence. In this league the King excepts all his confederates, & the Sweitzers except Pope *Leo* the 10. the Emperour *Maximilian*, the Empire, and the House of *Austria*, and all old leagues: so as if the King should make war vpon any of these in their own countries, it may be free to the Sweitzers to obserue their leagues with them, but if any of them assaile the King in his own Kingdome, the Sweitzers shal not permit any of their subiects to serue them;

but shall call them home. This League was made at *Friburg*, in the yeere 1516, the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the day of Saint *Andrew*.

And the King rested not, till after fūe yeeres since this Peace was made, he leagued himselfe more strictly at *Lucerna* with all the Cantons (that of *Zurech* only excepted) and with all their fellowes in league; of which league I will briefly relate some heads added to the former: namely, that if any man should make warre vpon the King in *France*, or in the Dukedome of *Milan*, the King at his pleasure might leaue in *Sweitzerland* an Army of sixe thousand at the least, or sixteene thousand foote at the most (except the Senate should grant a greater number.) That the King might chuse the Captaines, and the Senate without delay should permit them to march within tenne dayes, and not recall them till the warre should bee ended, if the King shall please so long to vse them. That by the same right, and vnder the same conditions, the King making warre vpon any, may freely leaue souldiers, but with this caution, that the *Sweitzers* troubled with warre at home, should be free from these couenants. It was further cautioned, that the King should not diuide the Army of the *Sweitzers* into diuers places or Forts, but should keepe it vnited in one body. That he should not vse it for any fight at Sea. That they should receiue pay the same day they should march out of their country, and were they neuer so soone sent backe, yet three months pay, should be presently due vnto them, and that the first moneths pay should be giuen them within the confines of *Sweitzerland*. That the King to aide the *Sweitzers* hauiug any warre, should send them two hundred armed horse, and twelue great pieces of Ordinance with all furniture (namely, six battering pieces, and sixe middle pieces) and besides towards the charge of their warre, should each three moneths pay a certaine summe of mony at Lyons, and if the *Sweitzers* shall chuse rather to haue mony in stead of the armed horse, the King should further pay them two thousand crownes each three moneths. That if in time of warre, the *Sweitzers* shall be forbidden to buy Salt in other places, they may buy and bring Salt out of *France*. That neither part shall make the subiects of the other free of their Cities, or receiue them into patronage. That the King, to declare his good will towards the *Sweitzers*, shall besides the two thousand Franckes promised by the former League to each Canton, pay yeerely one thousand Franckes more to each of them during this League; and moreouer shal besides the former Pensions, giue to their Confederates yeerely halfe as much more. In this League the King excepts Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Emperour, the Kings of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmark*, with other Princes; and the *Sweitzers* except the Pope, the Emperour, the House of *Austria*, the house of *Medici*, the D. of *Sauoy*, and some others. But if these so excepted should make war vpon either part, within their territories, that aides should be sent mutually without any respect. This League was made to last three yeeres after the death of the French King *Francis* the first, and was renewed by his son *Henrie* the second at *Solothurn*, in the yeere 1549, & by all the Cantons (excepting *Zurech* and *Bern*), and was after renewed by *Charles* the ninth, and the succeeding Kings. But in the leagues made with the successors of *Francis* the first, caution is inserted, that the *Sweitzers* shal not serue the King in any warre for the recouery of any part of the Dukedome of *Milan*: but if the King shall recouer it with any other Army, then they shall aide him to defend his possession, as formerly.

And whereas the Cantons of *Zurech* and *Bern* refused to ioine in the Leagues made with *Francis* the first, and *Henrie* the second, these reasons thereof were then alleaged. First, because the Canton of *Zurech* was then alienated from the French by the Cardinall of *Sedun*. Secondly, because *Zwinglius* a notable Preacher of the Reformed Religion, did in many Sermons sharply inueigh against mercenary warfare. Thirdly, because this League much displeased the military men of *Sweitzerland*, in that the Senate had no liberty to looke into the cause of the warre; in that the Souldiers and Captaines were not to be chosen by the *Sweitzers*, but by the King at his pleasure; in that the large profits of the League redounded to few; in that the armed horse to bee sent by the King, were of no vse to the *Sweitzers* warres, commonly made in mountainous places and craggy passages. Lastly, because it seemed a point of great inconsistency,

stancy, that the Sweitzers, who lately when the French King *Francis*, and *Charles* the deceased Emperors grandchild, were competitors for the Empire, had written to the Electors, that they would yeild no obedience to the French King, in case he were chosen, should so suddenly change their minds, and make a more strict league with the French: but the greater part was of a contrary iudgement, because Souldiers were not bound curiously to enquire after the causes of warre, for which onely the King in his conscience was bound to giue accompt. And because their barren Countrey being also populous, was most fit for a mercenary warre, and that military experience was thereby to be retained and gained; by which and like reasons, they perswaded the necessity of this league.

Thus haue I (according to the discription of *Semler*) briefly shewed, that the Sweitzers Common-wealth consists of three parts at home, (not to speake of the forraigne leagues), namely of the Cantons, of the Fellowes in league; and of the stipendiary cities and prefectures or governments. Each community is vulgarly called Ort, and the Italians call them Cantons; whereof (I haue said) that there be thirteene in number, namely, *Suitia*, (vulgarly *Schweis*, whereof the rest haue the name of *Sweitzers*), *Vria*, *Vnderwaldia*, *Lucerna*, *Tigurum*, (vulgarly *Zurech*), *Glarona*, *Tugium*, (vulgarly *Zug*) *Berna*, *Friburgum*, *Solodorum*, (vulgarly *Solothurn*), *Basilea* (vulgarly *Bazill*), *Scaphusium*, (vulgarly *Schafhusen*), and *Abbatiscella* (vulgarly *Apenzill*). I haue said that the Fellowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of *Saint Gallus*, the *Rhetians* or *Grisons*, the Bishop of *Sedun*, the *Valesians*, and the Townes *Rotauile*, *Mulhusum*, and *Bipenne*: And the governments are *Turgea*, that of *Baden*, of the *Rhegusci*, of the *Sarunetes*, of the free Prouince, the *Lugani*, the *Locarnenses*, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley; and the *Bilitionenses*. That of *Turgea* is subiect to the seuen old Cantons, yet *Bern*, *Friburg*, and *Solothurn*, haue also their rights in capitall causes. That of *Baden*, the *Sarunetes*, the *Rhegusci*, and the free Prouince, are subiect likewise to the seuen old Cantons, onely *Bern* hath beene admitted partner in that of *Baden*, and *Apenzill* in that of the *Rhegusci*. The foure Italian governments are equally subiect to all the cantons, excepting *Apenzill*: and the *Bilitionenses* are subiect to the three old Cantons. All these ioined, haue these Cities and Townes, *Zurech*, *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Zug*, *Bazill*, *Friburg*, *Solothurn*, *Schafhusen*, the Towne of *S. Gallus*, *Chur* of the *Grisons*, *Sedun* of the *Valesians*, *Rotauil*, *Mulhuse*, & *Bipenne*, all the rest dwell in Villages. Among the cantons, *Bazill* of the *Rauraci*, *Schafhusen* of *Germany*, *Glarona* in part of the *Grisons*, *Vria* in part of the *Lepontij*, are seated out of the old confines of *Sweitzerland*; and so are all the fellowes in league, excepting the Abbot, and Towne of *S. Gallus*, and the Towne *Bipenne*. Among these, the old Nation of the *Rhetians*, now called *Grisons*, were of old called *Valesiani*, *Viberi*, *Seduni*, and *Veragri*: And *Rotauile* is a city of *Germany*, and *Mulhuse* of the *Sequanii* in *France*. Among the governments, the *Rhegusci* and the *Sarunetes*, are of the old *Rhetians*, and the *Luganenses*, the *Locarnenses*, the *Mendrisij*, and the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, and the *Bilitionij*, are of the *Lepontij*, an Italian Nation, which tongue they speake. Many doubt to number these confederates among common-wealths, since each of them is no otherwise tied to the decrees of the other, then by free consent, as all priuate societies are, whereas in a common-wealth the greater part binds all: yet because they haue one common councill; and most of the Prouinces are ruled thereby, because warre and peace is made by common consent, and they liue almost vnder the same lawes and customes, and are vnited strictly in perpetuall league, *Semler* concludes, that this society comes neereſt to the forme of a common-wealth: for whereas some hating the nation, obieſt Anarchy to them, and say they got freedom by killing the Gentlemen; and others interpreting it more mildly, and confessing the oppression of the Gentlemen, yet iudge the reuenge to haue exceeded all measure, the truth thereof will appeare by the History of *Semler* and others, shewing that great part of the Gentry was extinguished by the House of *Austria*. Therefore it must be a mixt common-wealth, (if such it may be called) being neither a Monarchy (of one iust King) *Aristocracy* (of iust great men) nor *Democracy* (a popular state) much lesse any of the corrupt common-wealths, called *Tyranny*, *Oligarchy*, and *Anarchy*, (that is, the tyranny of a King, or of noble men, or a confused State), the equity of the government

shewing that it much differs from them. The *Vrj, Suitj, Vnderualdj*, the *Glaroneses* dwelling scattered, and *Zug*, (though it be a Towne), gouerne all with the consent of the people. *Zurech, Bern, Lucern, Bazill, Friburg, Solothurn*, and *Schafhusen*, are gouerned by the cheefe men; but since the Magistrates are chosen by the people, some of these Cities are more, some lesse Aristocraticall, or popular. The Ambassadors sent to publike meetings haue Aristocraticall forme, but since they are chosen by the people with limited power, it may seeme popular: And it is not vnequall that the people hauing settled freedome with their danger, should be partners of their gouernement: but in the meane time the Sweitzers auoide as much as they can, the discommodities of a popular State, while none but the best and most wise are sent to the meetings, and howsoeuer their power is limited, yet when they returne, they so relate all things to the people, as they easily vnderstand them, and giue consent thereunto.

But to make the strict vnion of these confederates more apparant, it will not be amisse to peruse some of the heads of the league between the eight old Cantons. Therein first is cautioned, of sending mutuall aides, so as first in publike counsell the iustnes of the warre may be examined. Then the aides are not to be required of all, but of each particular Canton, according to their mutuall leagues. *Zurech* by old league hath right to require aides of the first six Cantons, and by a new league also of *Bern*. And *Bern* requires aide of the three first Cantons, and they of *Bern*. *Lucerna* requires aide of five Cantons. The three first Cantons require mutuall aides of one another, and of all the rest. *Zug* and *Lucerna* are bound to aide the five Cantons. *Glarona* requires aide of the three old cantons, and *Zurech*. Thus while one Canton calls the next ioined to it in league, howsoeuer each one cannot require aid of all or each one by right of league, yet in any common danger, all the Cantons bring their forces, being called of some one or more Cantons in league with them: besides, that they haue wisely decreed, that in sudden dangers, all shall bring succours, whether they be called or no. They which are called to giue aide by vertue of any league, serue at their owne cost, without any pay. Between *Bern* and the three old Cantons it is decreed, that if the aides be sent beyond certaine bounds, then they which called them shall giue them pay, and in like sort certaine bounds of sending aides are limited between all the rest of the Cantons, in their seuerall leagues, with all conditions expresse. In any siege, the Canton which causeth it, is bound to find many necessities, but if the cause be publike, all provisions are made at the publike charge. The foure old cantons and *Glarona*, cannot make any new league, which is free to the rest, alwayes preserving the old league, which they also may encrease or diminish by common consent. It is decreed, that euery five or ten yeeres, this league shall be renewed by word or writing, or (if need be) by oath. *Zurech, Bern, Vria, Suitia*, and *Vnderualdia*, in this league except the rights of the Roman Empire. *Lucerna* and *Zug* the rights of the Dukes of *Austria*, *Glarona* the rights of their lawfull Magistrates, and each Canton the rights of old leagues.

When the said eight Cantons receiued the other five into their number, besides the foresaid heads, it was decreed among other things in their league, that the five last cantons howsoeuer wronged, should make no warre without the consent of the eight old Cantons, and in like sort that they should make no league without their consent, neither in time of warre should refuse good conditions of peace. And lastly it was decreed, that without great cause, no warre should be made in places out of the mountaines and difficult passages of that Prouince, where they could not fight with advantage.

The thirteene Cantons haue that priuiledge, that they deliberate and determine the affaires of the commonwealth in publike meetings, by voices, and gouerne by equall right the governments gotten iointly by them, and haue equal part in all booties. The greatest Senate is when all the Ambassadors (that is, chosen Burgesses of the cantons, and Fellowes in league) are called together, which is seldom done, but in the causes of making warre or peace, onely the Ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons being commonly called to counsell: All Ambassadors haue equal right in giuing voices, but two or more being sent from one Canton, haue but one voice. In causes concerning the
gouerne-

gouvernements belonging to seven or eight or 12 Cantons, onely the Ambassadors (or Burgeses, or States) of those Cantons meet, to whom the gouvernement belongs; and so the Burgeses of all other severally for things belonging to themselves: but where the cause concerns the publike State, the full Senate of all the Cantons is called to the meeting. Since the late differences of Religion, new and particular meetings have beene instituted. The Cantons of the Roman Religion, *Vria, Suitia, Vnderwaldia, Lucerna*, and *Zug*, joined in a more strict league; doe often meete together, & when any man names the five Cantons simply, they meane them, not the five old cantons; howsoever naming the three, seven, or eight Cantons, they are taken according to the time of their entring into league. And sometimes the Cantons of *Friburg* and *Solothurn*, being also of the Roman Religion, come to the meetings of the said five Cantons: Greatest part of the Citizens of *Glarona* and *Apenzell*, are of the reformed Religion, and the four Cities chiefe of the Cantons, namely *Zurech, Bern, Bazil, & Schaffhusen*, have altogether cast off the Roman Religion, & have particular meetings, but not often: yet when I passed through this Prouince, I vnderstood that *Glarona* was altogether of the reformed Religion, and that *Apenzell* was numbred among the Cantons of the Roman Religion. The great Senate determines of warre, peace, & leagues, (each hauing freedom to refuse any league), likewise of making Lawes, of sending, receiuing, & answering Ambassadors, of governments, of distributing gainefull Offices, of difficult causes referred to the Senate by Gouvernors, & of appeales made from Gouvernours to the Senate. Ambassadors (or Burgeses in place of Iudges are sent about the moneth of Iune, to heare the causes of the Italian governments, from whom they may appeale to the Senate, and these appeales (as all other) are determined by the Senate in the meetings at *Baden*, where also they deliberate of customes & impositions, & the reuenues, and if need be of punishing the Gouvernours, or displacing them, (in which case the Canton which sent that Gouverneur, appoints another.) The City *Zurech* chiefe of the Cantons, hath the first place, not by antiquity, but dignity, and of old custome hath the highest authority to call the Senate together, signifying to each canton by letters the cause & the time of each meeting: yet if any canton thinke it for the publike good, to haue an extraordinary meeting, they write to *Zurech* to appoint the same, or if the cause admit no delay, they meet vncalled. Most commonly the generall meetings are at *Lucern, Zurech, Bremogart*, and *Baden*; but more commonly in these daies & almost continually they are at *Baden*, in respect of the commodity of the houses and Innes, the pleasant situation & famous medicinall Baths; and because it is seated in the center of *Sweitzerland*, and is subiect to the 8 old cantons. The cantons of the Roman religion, commonly haue their particular meetings at *Lucerna*, sometimes at *Bockenried* of the *Vrij*, or *Brame* of the *Suitij*, & are called together by the canton of *Lucern*: and the cantons of the reformed religion haue their particular meetings commonly at *Arowike* vnder *Bern*, sometimes at *Bazil*, & are called together by the canton of *Zurech*. Forrain Ambassadors require of *Zurech* to haue audience in the Senate: but the peculiar meetings for French causes are called by the French Ambassador as often as he wil at *Solothurn* where he resideth, or at *Lucern*: & other Ambassadors shold not be denied extraordinary meetings, so they pay the expences, as the French Ambassador doth. The full Senate yearly meets about *September* at *Baden*, about which time I said that Burgeses in place of Iudges are sent to heare the causes of the Italian governments: And in this first meeting, the greatest causes are not determined, either because the Ambassadors (or Burgeses, or States), haue not full power, or for other causes, but another meeting is there appointed, and howsoever this Senate is onely called for publike causes, yet those being ended, they vse to heare priuate causes also. As soone as the said Burgeses or States at the appointed day come to the City, the Burgesse of *Zurech* sends the Vice-gouvernor of *Baden* to salute them, & to acquaint them with the time of meeting. Then they sit downe in the Court, first the Burgeses of *Zurech* in a place raised higher then the rest: 2. Those of *Bern*: Thirdly, Those of *Lucerna*, as chief, though not in antiquity, yet in dignity; and after the rest; according to the antiquity of their Cantons. The Burgesse of *Zurech* first makes an Oration, and propounds the causes vpon which they are to consult, adding what his Canton hath commanded

commanded him in each particular, and then the rest speake in order, according to the directions giuen them at home. The vnder Gouvernour of *Baden*, of what Canton soeuer he be, askes and numbers the voices. The peculiar meetings of particular Cantons, and those for French affaires, haue no set times.

The Tributes.

Each Canton hath publike Magistrates, vulgarly called *Vmbgelten*, who administer the Impositions vpon wine and corne, and gather them by their deputies. They pay tribute only for that wine which is sold in *Tauerns*, and for that corne which is exported or vsed by Bakers, for otherwise the Citizens pay not for wine and corne brought into their private houses, and spent therein. And I haue obserued that they pay in some places the value of 24 measures tribute, for a vessell of wine containing ninety six measures: The salt which is brought in, is onely sold by the Senate of each Citie or Canton: and I vnderstood by discourse, that the Citizens may not buy salt, or take it of gift out of the Citie. Particularly at *Schaffhusen* the Customes are great, especially for salt, in respect that the water of the *Rheine* hath a great fall from a rocke, so as all ships must be vnladed before they can passe by that Citie. In generall, the Sweitzers especially want wine, corne, and salt, as may appeare by the covenants of their forraigne leagues, and otherwise the tributes are small, which can bee imposed vpon such a free Nation.

The Lawes.

Concerning their Lawes, I haue formerly said that the sencerall Cantons are not bound one to the decrees of the other, except they freely consent thereunto; yet that they all haue one Common Councell, and almost all haue the same common Lawes and customes, which they inuiolably keepe. They long suffered the Gouvernours of the Empire to bee ouer them in capitall causes, though with preiudice to their freedom, till at last in the Sueuian warre, about the yeere 1499, the iudgement of capitall causes was granted to them by the Emperor, among the conditions of peace. Whereupon the ten oldest Cantons who made this warre, haue equal right of capitall iudgements in the stipendiary Cities and governments, with the Cantons to whom they are subiect, though gotten before they entred into the common league, howsoeuer they haue no right in the Ciuill causes, nor any other commaund ouer them. In the old leagues, besides the Articles concerning vnion, many Lawes for the publike good are contained and established. Such is that of the old league between the eight first Cantons, wherein they set downe cautions for peaceable determining of publike controuersies between the Cantons, and thereby, two Cantons being at strife, are to chuse two honest men, who giue their othes, to make an equall composition between them; and the rest of the Cantons are to adde one Arbitrator to them; and in case one of the Cantons consenteth, the other refuseth to stand to their iudgement, all the rest are to helpe the Canton consenting thereunto. And in the league of the five last Cantons, as in al other, they iustly giue curious cautions for taking away all controuersies, and especially labour to effect, that they breake not out into Ciuill war, in which case they should be diuersly distracted, according to their diuers combinations and leagues among themselues. Therefore of old, when the Abbot of *Saint Gallus* attempted to remoue the trade of clothing, and the holy reliques (the superstitious worship whereof brought great profit) from *Apenzell*, to *Rosake* (where the Abbot had absolute commaund) and this matter drew them to Armes, wherein the Abbot called the foure Cantons his confederates, and *Apenzell* the six Cantons with whome it had league, to giue them aide, according to their mutuall leagues, the saide Cantons thus called to aide both parts, earnestly endeouored to make peace, whereby they preserued the common-welth. For if they should not alwaies carefully so doe in like occasions, many times the dissention of one or two Cantons, might draw all the rest into a pernicious Ciuill warre. In the foresaid league betweene the eight oldest Cantons, and in the *Stantian Transaction* in the yeere 1481 Lawes were established. That he who killed any confederate (vulgarly called *Eidgenossen*, that is inioiers of the oath) should be beheaded, except he had sufficient witnesses that he did it to saue his life; and in case of flight, he being banished by one Canton, should also be banished by all the rest, and that he should be iudged guilty of the crime, who should helpe him; and that sen-

entence should be giuen vpon him in the Canton where the crime was committed. That there should be no generall meetings of the people without consent of the Magistrate. That none of the Cantons should support any disobedient subiect of another Canton, but should force them to obedience. That a lay person shall not vse the helpe of an Ecclesiasticall Iudge, but in causes of matrimony and manifest vsury, which are referred to Ecclesiasticall iudgement. That pledges or gages be not taken at priuate mens pleasures, but with consent of the Iudge. That causes be iudged in the Canton, wherein the act was done, and sentence be giuen without fraud or deceit, and that euery man bee content and rest satisfied in the Iudgements, Lawes and customes of another Canton. That all booties in warre be diuided among the Cantons, according to the number of Souldiers which each of them sent, but that Townes, Tributes, and like things gained by warre, shal be vnder the common command of all the Cantons, of which commodities, the subiects of stipendary Cities and fellowes in league, shall haue no part, though their Forces be ioined in the same warre with the Forces of the Cantons, howsoeuer they are to haue part in the deuision of all other booties.

In like sort the league of *Schaffhausen* with the Cantons of the Sweitzers, determineth how debts are to be recouered, and what law is to be vsed in such suites, and that no leagues be made by one without the priuity and against the will of the rest, and that the oldest leagues be euer most respected.

The Common-wealth is administred with great equity, yet with no lesse seuerity of Iustice, then the Germans vse: And howsoeuer all the Country lies within mountaines & woods, yet the high way for passengers is no where more safe from theeues, so as it is there prouerbially said, that you may carry gold in the palmes of your hands: For all crimes are seuerely punished without all respect of persons. The scope and butt whereat all their leagues aime, is that euery man may peaceably enioy his owne, and that the best men among them, may in publike counsell examine the causes of warre, that they be iust and lawfull, to the end they may neuer rashly make warre vpon any: And because the common people being burthened with debt, is more prone to seditions, curious orders are set downe in their leagues, for the manner of exacting debts, and taking pledges, neither giuing liberty of oppression to the creditors, nor permitting fraud to the debtors.

Also because military men, and such as drinke in excesse, are prone to brawling and blowes, most heauy penalties are thereby inflicted vpon such as are Authours of iniuries, and the leagues make not more frequent mention of any other thing, then of reproaches, for which they prescribe such good remedies and reall satisfactions, not passing ouer the least iniury of the poorest man, as among the very Souldiers, yea, halfe drunken, there very seldome hapneth any murther: Wherein I could wish that our inferiour Magistrates would apply themselues, and our Lawes were accommodated to the Sweitzers gouernement. For the English being most impatient of reproches, and the law giuing ridiculous satisfactions for iniuries by word, and all wrongs, excepting maimes, it hath bene accounted a disgracefull course to seeke remedy that way, and most iniuries haue commonly bene reuenged by the Sword in single combat: But in *Sweitzerland* all standers by are bound to keepe the peace, and compose the strife, and if they who strue, being remembred of the Lawes, doe not obey, they vse to punish them most seuerely; and if any kill another, he is sure to be beheaded, except he escape by flight, (in which case he shall be banished by his owne and all other Cantons) or except he can proue by witnes that he killed him in defence of himselfe.

And such is the fame of the Sweitzers sincere Iustice, as many strangers their neighbours, desire to haue their controuersies ended after the manner of the *Sweitzers*, and by them: When causes are to be pleaded before the Senate, most men pleade their owne cause; some vse Lawyers, brought by them from home, or found there by chance, and the causes are not determined after the ciuill, but after the prouinciall law, or according to that which seemes good and equall, and by the statutes and customes of each Canton: They haue no quirkes or obscurities to protract iudgement, and they thinke it better sometimes to erre in a doubtfull cause, then to follow the Lawyers,

yers, iudging according to Law, not equity, and so making the suites perpetuall. In the Gouvernements, all controuersies are determined by the Gouvernours and Iudges of the place, yet so, as appeale is granted from them to the common Senate. In priuate Cantons, causes are iudged by the Senatours and Iudges of each Canton, yet they haue some publike Iudgements, namely, when the Cantons haue any controuersie one with another, or a priuate man with a Canton, for which cases they haue many cautions in their Leagues; and at this day they are determined after this manner. Each part chuseth two Iudges of his owne Citizens, who are absolved in that case from their oath giuen to their owne Canton, and then they are sworne, that they will consider of the controuersie, according to that which seemes good and equall, and that they will faithfully indeuour to compose it, at least so as it shall bee decided by Law, not by Armes. And in the old leagues certaine places are appointed, in which these Iudgements are handled. The 7 Cantons commonly meete for them in the Monastery of the Heremites within their owne confines, and so other leagues in other appointed places. The Iudges and Burgeses of those Cantons, with which those that haue controuersies haue more strict league, determine these causes, if the first arbiters cannot compose them, and both parts are bound to rest in the iudgement of the greater parr; and if the Voices be equall on each part, as many times it falleth out, a new Iudge or Arbiter is chosen, who doth not giue a new Iudgement of his owne, but approueth one of the Iudgements giuen by the equall Voices of the said Burgeses. And this Arbiter is chosen by those Burgeses, and so he be a Citizen of any one Canton, it is not required, that he should be of either of the Cantons, to whom the cause belongeth. Thus if *Bern* be plaintiffe against the 3 Cantons, 16 men are chosen by the Cantons, out of which *Bern* chuseth one to be Arbiter: but if the Cantons be plaintiffes against *Bern*, they chuse an Arbiter out of the lesser Senate of *Bern*. Likewise in controuersies betweene *Zurech*, and *Bern*, the plaintiffe chuseth an Arbiter out of the Senate of the other Citie. To conclude, in all Iudgements publike and priuate, they vse such integrity, as this simplicitie of their Iudgements, disallowed by subvill polititians, happily succeeds in all occasions, and so they retaine their old vertue, is like euer so to succede. In most of the Cantons, namely, at *Zurech*, *Basil*, and *Schaffhusen*, no Bastard may beare publike office, nor be a Senator, or Iudge, which Law is common to the Sweitzers with the Germans, first instituted to restraine fornication, and to preferue the dignity of marriage. In some places, he must haue been a Citizen ten yeres, in other places twenty yeres, who is chosen to be of the common Counsell; and at *Zurech* no stranger is euer chosen to be a Senator or Iudge; and by Common law, no Homicide, Adulterer or infamous person for any crime, may be of the Senate.

Leues.

In all the Cantons, they are no lesse carefull to preuent damages by fier, then to keepe out their enemies; for which cause they hire watchmen to walke the streetes by night, and Belmen to tell the howers, and in some places, as the Towne of Saint *Gallus*, they haue nightly thirty two Watchmen, and chuse Citizens to visit the chimnies and ouens, that they be free from danger of fier. In other Cantons they haue publike Officers, who in any such chance, see that all things be done in order, and that no tumult be raised vpon such occasions, to which end they appoint some to quench the fier, and draw others in armes to defend the walles and the gates. And at *Zurech* able young men are yeerely chosen, to be ready for the quenching of any such casuall fier.

In *Lucerna* the Law of Retribution (an arme for an arme, a leg for a leg) is in many cases obserued, where he that kills a Citizen, bee the cause neuer so iust, as repelling force by force, shal die if he be taken, or be perpetually banished, if he escape by flight, yet when he hath satisfied the Kinsmen of him hee killed, hee is permitted to returne from banishment. And in all the Cantons where they dwell in Villages, he that kills a man in his defence, shal be banished, and his owne Senate cannot permit his returne, which can onely be obtained from the great and publike Senate. And in the same Cantons, no lands may be ingaged to any stranger, neither may any stranger buy any possessions,

possessions, but onely a house and a Garden for herbes.

And if any man often offend in Drunkennes, he is imprisoned, and may drink no Wine for a yere, till he haue procured pardon of the publike Senate (which me thinks should easily be granted him, by Iudges guilty of the same fault, except they meane quarrels and like offences, not simple drinking, which I thinke probable, because generally the Sweitzers drinke as stiffely, as those of the vpper part of *Germany*).

In the same Cantons, Matrimoniall causes are referred to the Consistory of the Bishop of *Costnetz*: but all adulteries are punished by the Senate at home, commonly with the losse of goods, sometimes with a fine of ten pounds, that is ten Dollers with them.

The publike Edicts are yeerely in these Cantons confirmed or abrogated by the Voices of the common people. And in the Towne of *Friburg* and the Territory, if a debter pay not his debt, the Creditor sends certaine seruants and horses to the publike Inne, the charge whereof is paid by the debter, till he satisfie his Creditor. Besides in any controuersie, if sureties be thrise demanded of any man, and he bring not in surety (or caution), he is punished with banishment, and the same punishment is inflicted on them, who violate the command of keeping the peace, and who without iust cause take part with either of them that are at variance. In generall, for the Gentry of the whole Prouince, mention hath been, and is after to be made, that the same is extinguished, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Knightly order among these men, who howsoeuer they be military men, yet vniuersally are Cittizens, or of common Plebeian ranck. They take to themselues coates of Armes deuised by themselues, and tricked after their owne fancies, yet not with open Helmets, as Gentlemen beare them, but with closed Helmets, after the manner vsed by the Cittizens in *Germany*. And their Lawes of inheritance and the dowries of wiues, doe come neere to those of *Germany*, the Ciuill law, (if I be not deceiued) passing with them into Prouinciall lawes and customes (by which they are gouerned) vpon the old and long continued vse of them. In one particular example I obserued, that the younger brother, in the diuision of his fathers inheritance, first chose his part, and had libertie to buy the parts of his brethren if he would, and not otherwise. But I shall haue occasion to speake of the common lawes more at large in the discourse of the seuerall Common-wealths among them.

The leagues which the Sweitzers haue with forraine Princes, doe manifestly shew *Their War- fare.* that they professe Mercenary Armes, no lesse, yea much more, then the Germans: For whereas the Germans are hired for present seruice in time of warre, these men besides that pay, must haue ample pensions in time of peace, as their league with *France* especially sheweth. In this they differ, that the Sweitzers onely send aides of foote, but the Germans are hired both horse and foote. And both these Nations haue one commendable property, that after their seruice one or more yeeres in the warres, peace being made, they returne home nothing corrupted with military licentiousnesse, and roundly fall to the Plough, or any other their trade of life. By the same leagues it appeares, that they will not serue in any sea-fights, nor in the defence or taking of forts, neither will haue their forces diuided, as if they reputed the strong bodies of their bands only fit to fight in a pitched field, and to defend the great Ordinance and carriage. Neither vse they to fortifie their owne Cities (excepting few which of old were fortified, and after receiued into the number of the Cantons), bragging with the Lacedemonians, that valiant breasts are brazen walles. In the time of *Iulius Caesar*, we reade, that this Nation being populous, and weary of the barren soile wherein they dwelt, resolved to seeke a new seate: but were soone restrained and kept at home by the Armes of *Caesar*. From that time wee reade of no great warlike exploit done by them, till they laid the first foundation of their Commonwealth by mutuall leagues. The first perpetuall league made betweene the three first Cantons, was in the yeere 1315 from which time the rest of the Sweitzers, hauing long been subiect to the house of *Austria*, began by parts to rebell against that house, and to winne their liberty by the sword. But all their warre was at home, long continued against the said house, and

and at last breaking out against the Duke of *Burgundy* vpon their confines, till the yeere 1477, when in the third battaile the Duke of *Burgundy* was slaine, and so that warre ended. At which time only eight Cantons were vnited in perpetuall league, the other five Cantons being after vnited at seuerall times, from the yeere 1481 to the yeere 1513, when the 13 and last Canton was vnited to the rest in perpetuall league.

Touching their forraigne warres, the first league they made for yeeres, was in the yeere 1478, and the second in the yeere 1510, with two Popes. The first perpetuall forraigne league they made, was with the Duke of *Milan*, in the yeere 1466; wherein mention is made of former leagues with the *Insabres*; but we reade no effects of warre produced by them. And the first perpetuall league they had with *France* was in the yeere 1483, when *Charles* the eighth made warre in *Italy* for the kingdome of *Naples*, about which time the *Sweitzers* Armes began to be knowne in forraigne parts. *Guicciardine* the famous writer of those Italian warres, among the Actions of the yeere 1500, saith, that the *Sweitzers* hired by *Lodwick Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, fought wel on his side at the taking of *Nouara*; but after, that their Captaines were corrupted to betray him, by the Captaines of other *Sweitzers* seruing the French king, whereupon they prouoked the multitude to Mutiny for pay; but the Duke appeasing them by louing words, by present pay in good part, and promise of the rest vpon the coming of mony from *Milan* dayly expected; that the Captaines of the Dukes *Sweitzers* conspired with the *Sweitzers* of the French king, to make the French presently draw to *Nouaria*, which done, the Duke prepared to fight, but the Captains of his *Sweitzers* answered him, that without speciall authority from their Magistrates, they would not fight against their Kinsmen and Countymen on the French side, and that so the *Sweitzers* seruing the Duke, vpon their Captains instigation, mingled themselues with the *Switzers* on the French side, as if they had been both of one Army, saying they would depart home. And that the Duke could with no praiers nor promises moue their barbarous treachery, to stand with him in this distresse, nor so much as to conduct him to a safe place, onely granting him to march in their bands on foote disguised like a *Sweitzer*, in which disguise taken of force, he with some of his chiefe friends were taken by the French, mouing compassion of all men towards him, and detestation of their treachery. And this Author leaues it in doubt, whether they were found out in this disguise by the French spies, or rather vilely betrayed. *Semler* a famous writer of the *Sweitzers* Nation, thinks that souldiers in generall might be excused, who being in a towne vnfortified, and hauing other iust causes (as disability to withstand the Enemy) should make peace and returne home, but granting this fact to be vnexcusable; yet whether it were done by the Captaines, or by the common souldiers, or by both, and that on both sides, hee thinks it a great wrong to impute the same to the whole nation, especially those Soldiers being leuied secretly, and without leaue of the Magistrates.

The foresaid Author *Guicciardine* in the Actions of the yeere 1511, writes of the *Sweitzers* to this effect; The *Sweitzers* of old called *Heluetians*, inhabit the high places of the Mountaine *Iura*, men fierce by nature, clownes, and by reason of the barren soile, rather Grasers then Ploughmen. Of old they were subiect to the Princes of *Austria*, but casting off their yoke, haue long been free, liuing after their owne Lawes, and yeelding no signe of obedience to the Emperours or any other Princes, diuided into thirteen Cantons, wherof each is gouerned by their owne Magistrates, Lawes & customes. The name of this so wilde and vnciuill Nation, hath gotten honour by concord and the glory of Armes. For being fierce by nature, and trained in warlike discipline, and keeping their Orders (or ranks) they haue not only with valour defended their Country, but in forraigne parts haue exercised Armes with high praise, which no doubt had beene greater, if they had fought to enlarge their owne Empire, & not for wages to enlarge the Empire of others; & if nobly they had propounded to themselues other ends then the gaine of mony, by the loue wherof being made abiect, they haue lost the occasion to become fearefull to all *Italy*: for since they neuer come out of their confines, but as mercenary men, they haue had no publike fruit of their victory

Story but by couetousnesse haue become intollerable in exactions where they overcome, and in demands with other men; yea, at home froward and obstinat in traffick, and in following their Cōmands, vnder whose pay they serue in war. Their chiefe men haue pensions of Princes to fauour them in their publike meetings, and so publike Counsels being referred to priuate profit, they are apt to be corrupted, and by degrees fall at discord among themselues, with great lessning of the reputation they had gotten among strangers. He addes, that the Sweitzers, at the Popes instigation, armed against the French in *Milan*, as if it were onely the act of *Snitia* and *Friburg*, who pretended offence against the French, for a messenger of theirs killed by them. And that the French King for sparing a small addition to their Pensions, neglected to reconcile himselfe to them, and so lost their friendship, which after hee would haue redeemed with great treasure, hoping that either they would not arme against him, or if they did, that hauing no horse nor artillery, they could do him small hurt.

The same *Gucciardine* in the actions of the yere 1513 witnesseth, that the Sweitzers had then gotten great reputation by the terrour of their Armes, and that it seemed then, that their States or Burgesses, and souldiers, began to carry themselues no more as grafers or mercenary men, but as Senatours and subiects of a well ordered Commonwealth, and that they now swaied all affaires, almost al Christian Princes hauing their Ambassadours with them, by pensions and great rewards seeking to haue league with them, and to be serued by them in their warres. But that hereupon they grew proud, and remembring that by their Armes the French King *Charles* the eighth had got the Kingdome of *Naples*, and *Lewis* the twelfth the Dukedome of *Milan*, with the City and State of *Genoa*, and victorie against the Venetians, they began to proceede insolently in the affaires with Princes; that the French King *Francis* the first then wooed them, and to haue audience, gaue them the Forts of *Lugana* and of *Lugarna* (with such indignitie did Princes then seeke their friendship.) Yet that hee could not obtaine his demaunds, but that they rather chose, vpon ample conditions of profit, to assist the Duke of *Milan*.

Also in the actions of the yeere 1516, when the Emperour ioyned with other Princes in League against the King of *France*, he writes, that the Sweitzers, according to their Leagues, serued both on the Emperours, and the French Kings side. And that the Emperour knowing the hatred that Nation bore to the House of *Austria*, feared lest the Sweitzers on his owne part, should serue him, as they serued the Duke of *Milan* at *Nouara*, thinking it more probable; in that he wanted money to content them, whereof the French King had plenty. And that hee feared this the more, because their generall Captaine had with much insolency demanded pay for them. And that hereupon the Emperour retired with his Army, the Sweitzers not following him, but staying at *Lodi*, which after they sacked, and so returned home. Of the other side hee writes, that onely some few of the Sweitzers were at first come to the French party, who professed to bee ready to defend *Milan*, but that they would in no wise fight against their Countymen on the other side. That the French complained of the slow comming of the rest, and at first doubted lest they should not come, and when they came, feared no less, lest they should conspire with their countymen seruing the Emperour, or lest vpon pretence of their Magistrates command, they should suddenly leaue thē and returne home. That the French iustly complained thus of their slow coming, purposely vsed to be affected by them, and continued to doubt of their faith, especially because they had alwaies said, that they would not fight with their country men, and to feare as before, lest the Cantons should recall their men from seruing the French, which feare after increased, when they saw two thousand of them already returned home, and doubted that the rest would follow.

Also in the actions of the yeere 1526, he writes, that the French King made request to haue a great leauy of Sweitzers, hoping they would readily serue him, the rather to blot out their ignominy in the battell of *Paui*: but that this Nation which not long before by their fierce nature had opportunity much to increase their State, had now no more either desire of glory, or care of the Commonwealth, but with incredible

couetous-

couetousnesse, made it their last end to returne home laded with money, managing the warre like Merchants, and vsing the necessitie of Princes to their profit, like mercenary corrupt men doing all things to that end in their publike meetings. And that the priuate Captaines, according to the necessity of Princes, stood vpon high termes, making most impudent and intollerable demaunds. That the French King requiring aides of them, according to his league, they after their accustomed manner made long consultations, and in the ende answered, that they would send no aides, except the King first paid them all pensions due in areare, being a great summe, and not suddenly to bee provided, which their delay was very hurtfull to the King, making his Army long time lie idle.

By the premises we may gather, that the Sweitzers Armes were first made knowne to forraine parts about the yere 1483; that they increased in reputation to the yere 1513; when they attained to the height of their glory, which fel in few yeres; by the foresaid iecalousies, and couetous practises. And no maruell; for their leagues and leuies are made with huge expences. Their Bands are great consumers of victuals, and wasters of the Countries they passe. They make frequent and great mutinies for pay. They haue league with the Emperour, as possessing the Arch-Dukedome of *Austria*; with the Kings of *Spaine* as Arch-Dukes of *Austria* by title, as heires to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and Conquerors of the Dukedome of *Milan*, and with the Kings of *France* vpon ample Pensions. Now all the warres of those times hauing been managed by these Princes, and the Sweitzers by league seruing on all sides, since they will not fight against their Countrimen, small trust can be placed in their auxiliary Bands. If any man speake of the King of *England*, he did not in those times leade any army into the continent, but associated with one of the Kings of *Spaine* or *France*, or with the Emperour, in which case the Sweitzers serued vpon the same condition on both sides. And if any of their confederates should make warre with the King of *England* at home, they shall haue no vse of Sweitzers, who condition in their leagues not to bee sent beyond the Seas, nor to be imploied in Nauall fights. If any man speake of the warres in *Netherland*, the Sweitzers will be found no lesse vnprofitable to their confederates, those wars consisting in taking and defending strong places, and the Sweitzers couenancing in their leagues, not to haue their bodies diuided, nor to serue in that kind. And in truth since all the rage of late warres commonly lies in defending and assailing Forts, and set battels are rarely fought, it may seeme strange they should thus diuide themselves from the common dangers of the Armies in which they serue. And all these things considered, I find not what vse their confederates can make of them, but only in ciuill warres against their owne subiects; with whom the Sweitzers haue no league. For the rest, as we reade of some Indians, who light one candle to the Diuell, lest hee should hurt them, and another to God that he may doe them good; so I thinke Princes still intertaine their expensue leagues, rather lest their enemies should be strengthened by their entire aides, then for any profit themselves can reape thereby.

The Sweitzers haue no horse, which are of no vse in the Mountaines and craggie places of their Country: but when they make their owne warre out of their owne confines, their confederates are by league bound to supply them therewith; and if the warre be not their owne, their confederates only expect auxiliary Bands of foot from them. The Roman *Boletius* writes, that in his iudgement the Sweitzers can make six score thousand foote for the defence of their owne Country. No doubt that Nation is very populous: but the greatest Army we euer reade them to haue carried out of Sweitzerland, was that of thirty one thousand, when they ioyned with the Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Sfortia* Duke of *Milan*, being confederates against the King of *France*. Nature and necessity haue framed them to the warre; for a Mountanous Region, and Woody (as of old it was, being stil somewhat barren and labourious to the Husbandman) breeds a rude people, patient of hardnesse, and of warlike disposition, and as taller trees and larger cattle, so stronger bodies of men; so as they seeme to be borne souldiers. Necessity likewise forced them to Armes, when the Gentlemen and Princes oppressed them, and they had no meanes of liberty, but

Armes;

Armes, wherein long vse hath made them expert. And their very lawes and customes are fitted to the warres. All Citizens and Plebeians vse and are commanded continually to weare their swords. All their severall exercises haue a reference to the war; as shooting with muskets at Butts (which they practise for wagers both in Cities and Villages), leaping, casting of stones, wrastring, fencing, swimming, continuall hunting, wherein they pursue Beares, wild Boares, and Linces (a kind of Wolfe), the shooting of the boyes in bowes, the vse of Drummes in stead of musick, euen at feasts of marriages, where the Bridegroom is thought most honoured, who is met by his friends with most shot and Pikes. All priuate men are bound to haue their Armes fit for war, and therewith are commonly armed, though many times the worst furnished are supplied out of the Armories of the Cities. Their kinds of Armes are muskets, calievers, ashen pikes 18 foote long, halbards, long two-handed swords (which they carry on their shoulders, and with them they defeated the Burgundians comming to hand strokes with them), and another long sword girt to their side, with a dagger very heauy, the hastes of siluer or gilded, and armor of solid Steele for brest and backe: but the poorer sort haue only helmets of iron, and thick leather pelts in stead of armor; and some in stead of armor, weare coats of quilted taffety, wrought with aglet-holes. They who will appeare brauer then the rest, carry feathers, white, or of some other colour, commonly neere the colour of their owne Banner. Each weare a right cornerd crosse vpon his Armes, which is the military badge of the Sweitzers. All follow the Colors and Banners of their owne Canton, & vse drums, trumpets and bagpipes, & a man can hardly distinguish betweene the beating of the drums of the Sweitzers, and Germans, saue that the former march is more graue and slow, and not so tumultuous as that of the Germans. The *Vrij* blow a horne of a wild Hart, which they call the Bul. The *Vnderualdij* haue the like, but those of *Lucerna* vse a horne of brasse. No man that can weare Armes, is excused from warre at home, and no doubt their foot are of great force to fight within their mountaines, and keepe themselves from tyranny of strangers, howloeu they haue not so much strength, when with the snail they come out of their house. Men chosen in peace are trained for the warres, but in forraigne expeditions one man chuseth another, that being acquainted and friends, they may sticke closer together, and when they are to march, the Law commands them to lay aside all priuate quarrels, so as they may more truly be called brothers, then the Landtznechts or foot of *Germany*, who calling themselves brothers, yet bring home more wounds and scarres from their priuate quarrels, then from the Enemy. It is a capitall crime with the Sweitzers, to fall to the spoile, before the Enemy be fully overcome. The publike spoile, as Artillery, Castles, Countries, and tributes, or any reuenues, belong equally to all the Cantons, though some of them set forth fife times more men then others, yet extraordinarie rewards are giuen to the best deseruing Cantons and priuate men. They iustly giue all protection to those that bring victuals to the Campe. They haue an old Law alwaies to spare holy places, and the sex of women, excepting such women as giue weapons to their Enemy, or by casting downe stones, and like helps, doe hurt vnto their Army. They boast that their fouresquared body of foote, is the best forme of battel to resist horsemen, & that thereby they hauing no horse, did overthrow the French horse at *Nouaria*; and when for want of artillery, and by the great number of the French, they were beaten by them at *Marignano*, yet that they retired in a close body & good array to *Milan*, so as they could not be iustly said to flie.

It remaines to speak something, but briefly of the gouernment of the particular Cantons, because they haue absolut power within themselves. Among them such as haue no townes, but dwel in villages, cal the heads of their Counsels Ammans, & the chiefe power is in the common people. Such are *Vrania*, *Suitia*, *Vnderualdia*, *Tugium*, *Glarona*, *Abatiscella*. Again, some haue townes or Cities which command the Cantons, and the same, especially those that were built by Princes, or were subiect to them, are gouerned Aristocratically by chief men (namely, a Senat chosen out of al the citisens) & cal their chiefe Magistrate *Sculter*, (vulgarly *Schulde Hessen*) such are *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Friburg*, *Solothurn*. Thirdly, other townes or cities are diuided into tribes or companies, and the Senators are chosen out of these Tribes by the voices of the people, wherof the chiefe

Particular
Common-
wealths.
13 Cantons
in three
formes.

The fixe
Townes and
Villages of
the first
forme.

is called *Burgomeister*. Such are *Zurech*, *Basill*, and *Schafhusen*,

Among those of the first forme dwelling in Villages, I named *Glarona*, *Abatiscella*, (vulgarly *Apenzill*) and *Tugium* (vulgarly *Zug*), for howsoever they haue Townes, yet the territory or Canton is not commanded by the Townes, hauing onely equall right with all the Inhabitants of the Country. All Townes and Villages of this forme (whereof I named fixe) haue a President of their Counsels, called *Amman*, that is, *Amptman*, signifying a man of Office. The *Vrij* are deuided into ten parts, called Tenthis by the vulgar name. The *Suitij* are deuided into foure parts, called quarters. The *Vnderualdij* are parted with a wood of Oakes, and thereby are deuided into the vpper and lower, and the whole canton hath the name of the lower, as dwelling vnder the wood, and *Stantium* is their chiefe Village. *Zug* for the Towne consists of two, and for the county, of three, conuents or meetings. *Glarona* consists of fiftene Tagwans (signifying a daies tillage) *Apenzill* as well towne as countrey, consists of twelue Roden, whereof the fixe inward were of old vnder the Abbott, and the fixe outward were out of his territory, either free, or subiect to priuate Gentlemen. Out of each of these conuents or parts, the Senators of the whole canton are chosen in equall number, being in most of them threescore in number, besides those who hauing had publike honours, remaine perpetuall Senators. *Zug* hath forty fise Senators, that is, nine of each conuent, the towne being taken for two conuents. *Apenzill* hath 144 Senators, namely twelue for each conuent. In weighty affaires, for which it seemes not good to call the people together, the Counsels of Senators in most places are doubled or trebled, each Senator chusing one or two Assessors: But onely citizens are capable of this dignity, and it is much more difficult to obtaine freedome of being a citizen with these cantons, then with the cities. The highest power is in the generall meeting of the people, to which all are admitted of foureteene or fixteene yeeres age, and they meete in the middest of the territory, or in the chiefe Village of the canton, and there is first chosen the Amman, in most places for two yeeres, and out of all the people, of what part or conuent soeuer he be: but at *Apenzill* he must remoue his dwelling to the Towne, where publike counsels vse to be held, and there abide during his office. And at *Zug* he is chosen out of the conuents by order & course, and for the time of his Office must dwell in the city. Next to the Amman, they chuse his Deputy called *Statthalter*, then the Treasurer called *Seckelmeister*, that is, Master of the Purse, then the Scribes or Clarkes, and other Officers in order: And this is peculiar to these Cantons, in the seeking of any publike Office, that they who seeke it, are themselves present at the giuing of voices, and themselves, their Parents and children, giue voices in their election, which are giuen by lifting vp the hand from an high place, and in case of doubt, are numbered by the Pole. The Senators are not chosen by the whole Assembly, but each by the Inhabitants of his owne conuent or part: Besides this publike meeting, other meetings vse to be appointed vpon extraordinary occasions, namely, when Ambassadors are to be sent, or any decree is to be made of league, peace, or warre: Besides the two counsels, of all the people, and of chosen Senators, most of the cantons haue a priuy counsell of few men: Thus the *Suitij* haue a priuy counsell of one Senator, and one Amman chosen of each conuent or part, and this counsel gouernes the publike rents and expences. They haue two courts of Iudgment, one of nine men, in which the Amman is President, and that determines the weighty causes of inheritance, of defamation, and iniuries. The other of seven men, in which the Ammans Deputy is President, and that determines ciuill causes of debts and contracts. The *Vrij* (or canton of *Vrania*) haue the same course, where the Court of fiftene men, in which the Amman is President, determines ciuill controuersies of greatest moment, and the court of seven men, in which the Ammans Deputy is President, iudgeth of debts vnder the value of threescore pound. The *Vnderualdij* haue one court of iudgement at *Stantium*, and another at *Sarna*, and each hath an Amman for President. The towne or city of *Zug*, besides the publike counsels of the Canton, hath his proper Senate and Magistrates or Iudges. In the canton of *Glarona*, the iudiciall court of nine men, determines of inheritance, defamation, and iniuries: And that of fise men iudgeth debts, but onely in the two moneths of May
and

and September, Iudgements are exercised by the Iudges yeerely chosen at the generall meeting of the Canton. The Canton of *Apenzell* hath two Courts of Iudgement, one of twenty foure men (two of each conuent or part), wherein fines are imposed; and defamations and iniuries are iudged. The other of twelue men called the sworne Court of Iudgement, because it iudgeth of doubtfull controuersies, and such as are tried vpon oath, and this also obserues the breaches of Statutes; and determine what causes are to be propounded before the Senate, and this Office is perpetuall. Of Consistories, and Matrimoniall, and Spirituall causes, handled in other Courts, I shall speake hereafter in the Chapter of Religion. Capitall causes almost in all these Cantons are iudged by the Senate, or publike Counsell, and that commonly doubled, the Amman of the Canton, or his Deputy being President. At *Zug* Assessors out of each Conuent or part are associated to the Senate, and they sit in a publike place, where all men may behold the Iudges, and heare their sentences: For the Courts of Iudgements in the prefectures or gouernements, commonly a Deputy Gouernor, and Assessors, are chosen of the Inhabitants, to ioyne with the Gouernour, and they determine as well of ciuill as criminall causes, and these Gouernours in some places are chosen for three yeeres. Some Villages haue municipall rights vnder the Cantons, and there they chuse Magistrates out of their owne Village, yet they yerely craue this priuiledge at the publike meeting, and it is granted them as a singular fauour. And some of these Villages haue also their peculiar Banners and Ensignes; but they beare them not where the great and common Banner of the Canton is displaied.

In the second place are the Cantons (as formerly is shewed) ouer which the Townes commaund not diuided into Tribes or Companies, namely, *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Friburg* and *Solothurn*, in which it is forbidden by the Law that they should be diuided into Tribes. But the Artisans haue their Colledges (or Halles) not for the chusing of Magistrates, but for orders of the Art, and these they call *Geselschaften*, that is, Societies or Fellowships, not Tribes or Companies, which are vulgarly called *Zunfften*. In these Cantons the chiefe Magistrate is vulgarly called *Schultheissen*, that is set ouer debts, whom I may call Consull, and they haue two Counsels, the greater and the lesse. The greater at *Bern* hath the name of two hundred, though they be more in number, and the lesser is of twenty sixe men. At *Lucern* the greater is of one hundred men, and each halfe yeere eightene gouerne the Common-wealth by courses. At *Bern* when they chuse the Senate, the foure Ensignes of the Citie take to them sixteene out of all the Citizens, and these twenty men with the Consull, chuse the greater Senate. First, they inquire after those two hundred that were of the Senate, and if any of them hath disgraced his dignity by any ill act, they put him out of his place, and towards Easter they chuse new Senators into the places of them, and of such as are dead, and the Sericants make this election knowie to them that are chosen. All the Magistrates are chosen, and then all the Citizens haue feasts in their seuerall Colledges or Halles, and after dinner they passe the time in games and diuers exercises. Then the Consul with the twenty men called the Electors, doe meete againe, and chuse the Senatours of the lesser Counsell, who the day following are approued by the greater Counsell. At *Lucern* twice each yeere they make election of Senators into the greater or lesser Counsell, if any places be voide, namely, about each Solstice of the yeere. And the Senators are chosen by those of the greater Counsell, who gouerned the last halfe yeere. The Consuls are chosen by the common voices of both the Counsels, and these Consuls are chosen for a yeere at *Lucern*, for two yeeres at *Bern*, (though for forme yeerely Voyces be giuen, and so they may seeme to be newly chosen.)

At *Bern* the chiefe authoritie next to the Consuls, is giuen to the foure Ensignes vulgarly called *Venner*, which are chosen of the foure Colledges or Hals of the Smiths Shoomakers, Bakers, and Butchers, and the City is diuided into foure parts, each part committed to one of the Ensignes, to visit their Armes, and ouer-see all military duties, and they execute this place foure yeeres, though for forme they yeerely resigne their Banners vp to the Senate; and if in the meane time any one of them die, another is set in his place, to fulfill the rest of the yeeres, as deputy to his Predecessor

Foure Townes of the second forme.

and then exercise the place foure yeeres more for him selfe.

In all the Cities of *Sweitzerland*, the Treasurers or Tribunes of the Exchequer, are of great reputation, who exercise that Office not for any set time, but so long as the Senate will, and themselves like. At *Bern* the Consuls, the Ensignes, and the Treasurers, adding one Senator of the Counsell of 200, make the Priuy Counsell, to which all secrets are first brought. In these Cantons (as I said) the Magistrates are chosen by publicke voices, and so are the officers, but the places of lesse dignity, as Serieants & watchmen, are bestowed by the lesser counsell. It is peculiar to those of *Bern*, that they admit no man into the lesser counsell, who was not borne in the City, and of old they admitted not the very sonnes of Senators into that Counsell, if they were borne out of the City: but in these daies for the publicke good, the Sonnes of the absent are as if they were borne in the City: but into the greater Counsell they admit those that are borne out of the City, so they be the children of Sweitzers or any confederates, for strangers are also excluded from being of the Senate of 200. All bastards or infamous persons are excluded from being of any Senate at all.

The Canton of *Bern* hath three Courts of Iudgement, the Iudges of them being chosen by the Ensignes and Treasurers, and confirmed by the lesser counsell. The first is called the outward Court, in which the Consull is President, but almost continually the chiefe Appariter or Sergeant supplies his place, and he hath twelue Assessors or Assistants, whereof one is the last chosen Ensigne, and another is chosen of the lesser Counsell, the rest being ten, are chosen out of the greater counsell, or Senate, and to them be added one Clarke and two Appariters. This Court iudgeth of debts, of lesser iniuries, as ill words and light blowes, and appeale is granted from it to the lesser Senate, from that to the sixty men, (being Senators chosen out of both the Senates), and from them to the great Counsell, and these Iudges meete daily, Tuesday only excepted, on which they haue a market. The second Court of Iudgement heares the appeales made from those of the Canton which dwell in the territory of *Sauoy*, whereupon it is called *Das Weltlich gericht*, that is, the Strangers Iustice, in which the Treasurer of the French reuenues is President, and he hath ten Assessors, but onely *Losanna*, though of the same territory, is exempted from this Iudgement, whither once euery two yeeres, a Iudge is sent, with certaine Assessors, to heare their appeales. A third court of Iudgement called the Consistory, belongs to the discourse of Religion.

The Canton of *Lucerna* hath two Courts of Iudgement, one called *Das Wuchengericht*, that is, the weekly Iustice, which determines of debts and contracts: The other of nine men, in which iniuries and reproches are punished. In the Cantons of *Bern* & *Lucern*, capitall crimes are not tried by any speciall Iudges, but both the Senates sit, & giue sentence vpon them.

At *Bern* after sentence is giuen in the Senate, the Consull sits in the publicke tribunall, where the Clerke reades in writing the prisoners confession, and the sentence of the Senate, which done, the Consull commands the hangman to doe execution, and the Prisoner to be deliuered to his hands. And at *Lucerna* the Senate iudgeth all capitall crimes, not only for the Canton, but also for the Prefectures or Gouvernements, and all executions are done within the City, whereas *Bern* appoints speciall Iudges for capitall crimes in the gouernements, the Gouvernour being President, but their sentence there giuen may bee changed, or mitigated by the Senate of *Bern*, which commandeth ouer larger gouernements, then any other Canton.

At *Friburg* the greater Senate consists of two hundred Senators, which manageth all publicke affaires, and things of greatest moment. The lesser Counsell or Senate is of twenty foure men, and iudgeth of Citizens causes, and appeales made by the subjects, and the Consull is President of both Senates, who is chosen by all the people for 3 yeres, vpon the day of *S. Iohn Baptist*, as the choises of Senators is yerely made vpon the Sunday next before that feast. The foure Ensignes are next to the Consull, and are set ouer the 4 parts of the city, and howsoeuer they are not Senators of the lesser Senate, yet they are alwaies present at their meetings, in the name of the people, & they performe

performe this office for three yeeres, being chosen by both the Senates, as most of the Magistrates are likewise chosen by them. The Treasurer is next in dignity, who oversees the treasure and the buildings, and holds his office for three yeeres, but yeelds account twice every yeere to the Senate. They have foure chiefe Clarkes or Secretaries, and the Office of the chiefe Apparater, exercised by one man for three yeeres, is honourable here, as at *Bern*, for commonly he assists the Consull, and when the Senate meetes, stands at the doore, takes the Senators voices, and hath the care of captives. At *Friburg* they have a Court of Iustice, called the Cities Court, which iudgeth the citizens causes, takes the examination of captives, and puts the accused to the racke or torment, but after, referres all to the Senate. They have another Court of Iustice for the countrey, wherein the causes of subiects dwelling out of the city are determined. In both Courts are two of the lesser Senate, and eight Iudges of the greater Senate, chosen for three yeeres, and they meete thrice every weeke, and appeale is admitted from them to the lesser Senate. Also twelue Iudges chosen out of both the Senates, determine the appeales of the prefectures or gouernements; meeting once every moneth for that purpose, and from them there is no appeale. The Gouvernours are chosen by both the Senates, and hold that Office for five yeeres, but giue accompt yeerely before the lesser Senate, and they iudge capitall crimes in their gouernements; but the Senate hath power to change, mitigate, or approue their sentence, as they Iudge meete.

In the third place it remaines to speake of the third forme of gouernement in the ^{Three Ci-} three Cities distributed into tribes or companies, namely *Zurech*, *Bazill*, & *Schafhusen*, ^{ties of the} wherein the state is diuided into two Orders of the noble and plebeian. They haue a ^{third forme} peculiar society of those called noble (which is vulgarly called *Ein geselschafft*, and at *Zurech*, *Ein Constaffell*): but *Bazill* for the great number of them, had two societies, which had the chiefe authority, the Consull being chosen of one, and the tribune (next in digniry) chosen of the other, till the nobility was remoued from gouernement, or rather freely gaue it ouer: For these Gentlemen first ioined with the House of *Austria*, and were after banished with them, till the yeere 1501, a perpetuall league was made with the House of *Austria*, and the Gentlemen returned from banishment, but hating the common people, left the City to dwell in their Castles, whereupon their authority was much diminished; and that which remained they vtterly lost in the yeere 1529, when they left the City, and opposed themselves to the reformation of religion decreed by the Senate: yet the said two societies in name, and their publike houses of the societies, and the priuate houses in their possession, remaine to them at this day, but none of the Gentlemen are chosen into the Senate, being excluded by the common consent of the Citizens from the gouernement of the Commonwealth, which they willingly forsooke; so as the gentlemen haue really no peculiar society, only some few of them dwelling continually in the City, are numbered in the foure chiefe Tribes or companies of the Citizens, and in them are chosen into the Senate, as Citizens, and these foure companies are called the companies of the Lords or Gentlemen. At *Zurech* they haue a peculiar society of Gentlemen, which hath this priuiledge, that halfe as many more are chosen into the Senate out of it, as out of any other tribe. And in this very society of Gentlemen, there is difference among themselves, for the old Families haue a peculiar society, and a priuate stoane wherein they onely meete, and many Citizens are ioined to the whole society, who neither exercise any art nor trade of Merchandize; and because Porters and the baser sort must be numbered in some tribe or company, all these for occasions of warre, are numbered in this society of the Gentlemen, called *Constaffel*, and vnder the same they serue in the warres, yea, and giue their voices in the choice of the Master of the society, who is one of the Senate. Also at *Schafhusen*, the Gentlemen haue a peculiar society: but in all these Cities, the people is diuided into tribes or companies (vulgarly called *Zunft*, whereas the Gentlemens society is called *Geselschafft* or *Constaffell*).

At *Bazill* there be 15 Tribes, (whereof 4 are called the tribes of the Lords or Gentlemen) namely of the Merchants, of the Goldsmiths, of the Vintners, of the Apoticaries

Handwritten signature or mark.

and Silkemen (the most populous of all other), and the other eleven are Plebeian Tribes of all kinds of Artisans. *Zurech* hath twelve Tribes (for the Weavers of wollen cloth being few, are numbred among the Dyers.) *Schaffhusen* hath but eleven Tribes, wherein sometimes Artisans of diuers Arts are ioyned in one Tribe: but each Art hath his peculiar Hall, and these are called the diuided Tribes, and they meete in their peculiar Halles, when they consult of any thing concerning their priuate Art: but they meete in the common Hall of the Tribe for causes touching the Common-wealth, as the choise of Senators, or Masters of each Tribe.

In the said Cities are two Counsels, the greater when many meete in the name of the people to consult of weighty causes belonging to the Commonwealth, and the lesser, which daily sits in iudgement. At *Zurech* the greater Counsell or Senate is of 200 men, and the lesser of 50. At *Basil* the greater is of 244, the lesser of 54. At *Schaffhusen* the greater is of 86, the lesser of 26 Senators. To these ad two Consuls, the Heads or Presidents of publike Counsels in each of these Cities. And this is common to all these Cities, that each Tribe hath two Masters, chosen for half or a whole yeere, which time ended, others succede in that place, yet commonly he that was Master the last halfe yeere is chosen againe, except there be some impediment. The lesser Senate is diuided into new and old, and that is called the old, whereof the Senators haue serued halfe a yeere, and these are not alwaies called to the meetings, for some businesse only belongs to the new Senate. At *Zurech* the two Senates are changed each halfe yeere, and the old Senate at the halfe yeeres end chuseth the new. But at *Basil* and *Schaffhusen*, they remaine in Office a whole yeere. And the Masters of the Tribes are chosen by their owne Tribes, and confirmed by the greater Senate, but they are confirmed by the old Senate at *Basil*. The voices are openly taken at *Zurech*, but secretly at *Schaffhusen* (for certaine men are set ouer the elections, in whose eares they giue their Voyces softly whispering.) The lesser Counsell or Senate meetes commonly thrice or foure times each weeke. The Consull is President of both Senates, and is chosen by the greater Senate for halfe a yeere, and in some places for a yeere. The Tribunes are ioyned with the Consuls for Heads and Presidents of the Senates; and at *Basil* nine other are ioyned to them, who make the Counsell of thirteene, to whom the more weighty affaires are referred, to consider of them before they be propounded to the whole Senate. *Zurech* hath a peculiar Counsell, which may be called the Exchequer Court, consisting of eight men, chosen foure out of each Senate, and to them all Exchequer accounts are referred. Two Clerkes or Secretaries are present at publike Counsels, with assistants ioyned to them if neede require; and the Office of these Secretaries, especially of the chiefe, is honourable and gainefull, and not easily conferred on any but a Patritian, because they must haue full knowledge of the Lawes, Customs, Priuiledges, and all secrets of the Common-wealth.

Zurech hath two publike Courts of Iudgement or Iustice, one of eight Iudges chosen out of the lesser Counsell or Senate, who determine Ciuill causes, Debts, and the like, and from them there is no appeale: but themselues referre the most difficult matters to the Senate. The other determines the causes of the Reuenue. *Basil* hath two Courts of Iustice in the great Towne, and a third in the lesser Towne. The greater Court consists of ten Iudges, who are partly taken out of the Senate, partly out of the people, and they determine Ciuill and Criminall causes: but the Burgomaster (or Maier) is President for Ciuill causes, and the Aduocate of the Empire for Criminall, and three men called the *Capitall Triumviri* of Senators degree, pleade and proue indictments against malefactors. But at *Zurech* and *Schaffhusen*, the new Senate iudgeth capitall causes, yet the Consull or Burgomaster is not then President as at other times: but the Aduocate of the Empire, whom the Senate by speciall priuiledge chuseth yeerely out of their owne body. And at *Basil* capitall Iudgements are giuen in a publike place: but at *Zurech* in a close priuate Court with the doores shut, and at *Schaffhusen*, the accusation and defence are made in open Court: but all are excluded when the Senate giues iudgement. The lesser Court of the great Towne at *Basil*, doth onely determine small controuersies not exceeding the value of

ten pounds. The Court of Iustice in the lesser Towne of *Basill*, hath his owne Burgo-master or Consull; and determines all causes except criminall. At *Schaffhausen* the Cities Court of Iustice, determines of debts, contracts, and the like: but if the summe of the controuersie exceed the value of one hundred gold Guldens, the Senate iudgeth it. And this Cities Court hath twenty Assessors, namely one of each Tribe, and eight other chosen by the Senate. It hath another Court of Iustice for the Mulcts or Fines, consisting of twelue men, and the Aduocate of the Empire is President thereof, and this Court imposeth Fines, and iudgeth the criminall causes of lesse weight, as small iniuries and vulgar reproches, for the Senate determines of the greater.

Touching the Magistrates and Officers of these Cities, the Consuls called Burgo-masters, are of chiefe dignity, then the Tribunes, then diuers Treasurers and Officers about the Reuenues and Tributes. The next degree is of those Officers, who haue the care of publike buildings and workes, then those who haue the care of victuals, as those who looke to the weight and goodnesse of bread, and those who ouersee the shambles, that no vnfound meate be sold, and that all things be sold at a moderate price, which they set downe, and appoint how flesh shall be sold by the pound. In like sort the ouerseers of the fish market, and salted meates, and butter and cheese. Likewise the Officers who protect Orphanes and widowes, who dispencc publike almes, governing those houses, and who ouersee weights and measures, and the publike Schooles. Some of the prefectures or gouernements belonging to the Cities, are gouerned by the Senate of the City, so as the Gouernours remaine Senators in the City, and onely at set daies goe to the Villages for administration of Iustice; but the Senate onely iudgeth of capitall causes: but to those Gouernements which be larger and farther distant, they send Gouernours, who iudge not onely ciuill, but most capitall causes. In priuiledges, customes, and peculiar Courts of Iudgement, where the prefectures haue power to chuse Iudges among themselves, the Gouernours alter nothing therein, but onely sit as Presidents in their iudgements, these their rights alwaies preferued. Thus among other, the City of *Zurech* hath two pleasant faire Townes subiect to it, which are ruled by the Lawes of *Zurech*, but haue their owne Magistrates, and serue *Zurech* in warre, but vnder their owne colours. And this shall suffice touching the Common-wealths generall and particular of the Cantons.

Among the fellowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of *Saint Gallus*. The Abbot is numbered among the Princes of the Empire, but his power is much diminished in these daies: yet he sets Gouernours ouer many places, and his Ammans doe Iustice in his name. Also he hath instituted an high Court of Iustice, to which appeales are made from the lesser Courts, and besides he hath Officers of all kinds, after the manner of Princes. The Towne (as likewise that of *Mulhuse* and *Rotenil*) is numbered among the Cities of the Empire, and it (as the other two) hath the forme of a Commonwealth formerly described, sauing that this Towne of *Saint Gallus* hath some peculiar things. It hath fixe Tribes, whereof one is of Gentlemen. It hath two Senates, the greater and the lesser, in which lesser Senate are foure and twenty Senators, namely three Consuls, nine Senators, and twelue Masters of the Tribes, (for each Tribe hath three Masters chosen by the Tribes, and confirmed by the lesser Court or Senate, and one of them yeerely by course gouernes each Tribe, being fixe in number, the other two are of the Senate, and make twelue): And twice enery yeere, is the choice made of the Senate and Magistrates. The first of the three Consuls exerciseth that Office for the present yeere, the second did exercise it the yeere before, and the third is Iudge of capitall crimes: And the Consull is yeerely chosen by the whole assembly of the people. The greater Senate consists of sixty fixe men. This Towne hath also an inferiour Consull, or (as I may say) a Deputy Consull. The lesser Senate iudgeth ciuill causes. The greater meeteth five times in the yeere, and iudgeth of appeales, and of taking new inhabitants, and the like, and extraordinarily it is called oftner, as for iudging capital causes, at which time the Aduocate of the Empire (who I said to be the third consul) is President of the counsel. The whole people is called together.

gether thrice in the yeere, first when the Consuls are chosen, 2. when oath is giuen to the newe Consul; thirdly when the Ordination of Tributes is read before the people: & the Lawes deuided into three Parts, are read before the people at these three meetings. The first Court of Iustice, is of five men, which iudgeth of debts, of wages or hires, of victuals, of iniuries, and fines, without appeale. The court of Iustice for the City, is of twelue men, changed twice each yeere; & from it apeale is admitted, to the lesser Senate, so the cause be aboue the value of five pounds; but if he that appeales lose the cause, he payes a fine to the Iudges. The common people of the towne and country, liues by making woollen cloth, whereupon strict Lawes are made for the same, that the web vndressed be viewed by three skillfull men, and be marked according to the goodnes, and if it be faulty, be rent in the middest through the breadth, or be burnt, where any great fault is found; and that publikely, besides a fine imposed vpon the weauer. After, sworne men measure and marke the cloth, besides other officers, who curiously and particularly view each cloth. I said before in the History of this towne, that it made warre vpon the Abbot, when he sought to remoue from it to another towne, more absolutely in his power, not only the gainefull trade of cloth-working, but also the holy reliques, whereby in those daies great gaine came to them.

Of the Gri-
sons.

Among the *Rhetians* or *Grisons*, each conuent or meeting, or community hath his Amman, and chiefe Magistrates, yeerely chosen, and a generall Gouvernor of the whole leage, called *Landtrichter*, that is, Iustice of the land, yeerly chosen at the publike meeting. They haue many conuents or meetings, but only three leagues. The head of the second leagne, called the house of God, is the City of *Chur*, which hath a Cathedral Church; and the common-wealth thereof is not vnlike that of *Zurech*. The three leagues haue but one common-wealth; for howsoeuer most places haue their owne Magistrates, and Lawes, or rather customes, and Courts of Iustice as well for Ciuill as criminall causes, yet the chiefe power is in the common or publike Senate of the three leagues, consisting of the Burgeses of the seuerall conuents, not vnlike the generall Senate of the *Sweitzers*, and the meeting of all the people is seldome called. But they haue another Counsell or Senate of the chiefe men, namely the Prouinciall Iudge of the vpper league, the Consull of *Chur* for the league of the house of God, & the Amman of the third league of the ten Iurisdictions, with other chosen men ioined to them, but this Counsell hath not full power, for the acts thereof are referred to the communities of the leagues, & that stands in force which the greater part of them doth confirme, and the iudgments of such causes as are referred to the seuerall communities, are registred in a written booke. They determine controuersies and giue Iudgements, as the *Sweitzers* doe. Among their Statutes, it is decreed by common consent, that the Bishop of *Chur*, or any Ecclesiasticall person, shall not appoint any Ciuill Magistrates, but that they shall be chosen by the voices of the people. The three leagues haue their prefectures or gouernments vnder them, & the gouernor of their Italian prefectures (as of those vnder the *Sweitzers*) is vulgarly called *Il Podessa*, from whom the subiects may appeale. The three leagues by course appoint these Gouvernors for two yeeres, and the conuents or communities by course in their owne league, name the said Gouvernors for two yeeres.

Of the Vale-
sians.

Touching the *Valesians*. The conuents of vpper *Valesia* are seuen, and of the lower are six. The Bishop of *Sedune* is the Prince of the Country or region, who is named the Earle and Gouvernor of the same, and he is chosen by the Cannons of the Church at *Sedune*, and by the Burgeses sent from the seuen conuents of vpper *Valesia*. The Capitaine of the Country is next to the Bishop, and is chosen by the Bishop and the said Burgeses for two yeeres, and confirmed by the publike consent of the seuerall conuents, and to him all Ciuill causes are referred. Each conuent hath a chiefe Magistrate or Maior, or Castellan, who with the Senate of that conuent iudgeth Ciuill and capitall causes, and vnder him is the Amman, (which is the highest officer in the Cantons dwelling in villages). Appeales are admitted from all the seuerall conuents to the publike Senate of *Valesia*, consisting of Burgeses chosen by the conuents, and this Senate meetes at *Sedune* twice euery yere, and the Bishop sits in that Counsell, and the

the Bailly takes the Voyces. By this Senate the Commonwealth is governed, the Governours, and publike Officers are chosen, and it is called the highest Court, from which there is no appeale. The Lords of *Churone*, of old were of great authority, and are the Marshalls of the Bishopricke of *Sedune*, Vicounts of *Sedune*, and Seneschalls (or Stewards) of *Valesia*. The Valesians have a peculiar Statute to repress the violence of mighty men. The Commonwealth is governed by the Bishop and the seven Conuents of vpper *Valesia*, whom lower *Valesia* obeyeth, being distributed into sixe prefectures or governments, and three other prefectures out of *Valesia*, taken or subdued in the Sauoian warre, are also subiect to them.

The Towne of *Bipenne* hauing league with the three Cantons, for ciuill causes acknowledged the Bishop of *Basil*, and for Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction is vnder the Bishop of *Losanna*, but hath cast off the yoke of the Papacy, and obtained immunitie from the Bishop of *Losanna*, when that Bishopricke and Citie were taken and made subiect to the Canton of *Bern*. The Bishop of *Basil* appoints the Maior, out of the Senate of the Towne, and the Maior taketh an oath from the Citizens, and they likewise an oath from him, and he with the Senate iudgeth criminall causes, and is President for capitall Iudgements. The Bishop hath halfe of all fines aboue three pound, and certaintie thythes with some other reuenues, but the Customes Impositions and Tributes belong to the Citie. The Citizens serue the Bishop of *Basil* in warre, but no further from the Towne, then they may returne home the same day: but if he will use them further, he must hire them with pay. The same priuiledges were granted to this Towne by the Bishop, in the yeere 1382, which he granted to the lesser Towne of *Basil*. The publike Senates, as well the greater as the lesser, are yeerely chosen by all the Citizens, and the Master of the Citizens, or Burgomaster is next in authority to the Maior, and is chosen by both the Senats, and when they consult of the Commonwealth, the Maior and the Officers of the Bishop goe out of the Counsell. The Consull, Tribunes, Iudges, and other Officers are chosen by both the Senates, onely the Ensigne is chosen by all the people, and he with the Consull hath the care of Pupils. This Towne hath some subiects, and their Conuents without any Governour exercise Iudgements: but the greatest matters are referred to the Senate of the Towne.

The Stipendiary Townes or Cities of the Cantons, haue two Counsels or Senates, and he that is President of the publike Counsell is called *Schultheiss* (as set ouer debts) and at *Baden* he is chosen by both the Senates. Also they haue their Officers, their Exchequers and Tributes belongiug to each City: but at *Baden* the customes at the gate belong to the Towne: but the impositions vpon Merchandise belong to the Cantons, to which the Towne is subiect. Lastly, they haue Iurisdiction in Ciuill criminall and capitall causes. Among them the Towne of *Frawenfeld* redeemed it selfe from the seruitude of the Monastery of *Augia*, for no small part of the Citizens were Ecclesiasticall slaues to that Monastery. At this day it giues an oath to the Lord of *Augia*, the priuiledges alwaies preserved, and that Monastery is incorporated to the Bishopricke of *Constantia* (vulgarly called *Costnetz*.) The City Iudges haue also power to iudge and punish capitally.

Touching the prefectures or governments vnder the Cantons, the Governours are sent by course from the Cantons for two yeeres, who iudge according to the lawes of the seuerall people, and for those beyond the Alpes, the Governour hath assistants of the Country chosen and ioyned with him to iudge of capitall and more weighty causes, but in Ciuill causes he iudgeth alone, though sometimes he calles some of the wiser inhabitants to aduise him therein. The Governours about the Solstice of the yeere, yeeld account before the Senate of *Sweitzerland*, which then iudgeth the appeales made by the subiects. They serue the Cantons in warre, to which they are subiect, and they follow the standard of that canton, which for the present yeere giues them a Governour, and in ciuill warre they are bound to follow the greater part of the Cantons to which they are subiect. The Governour of *Baden* is present in the publike Senate of the Sweitzers, he takes the voices, and they being equall, is the arbiter of the difference: but he hath only power in the territory of *Baden* not in the City, and there he

Of the
Towne of
Bipenne.

Of the
Stipendiary
Cities.

Of the
Governments.

he appoints capitall Iudges for life; for th eir manner is, that the Iudges once chosen by him, exercise that place so long as they liue. And the same Gouvernour hath the power to mitigate their Iudgements. The next in authority are the Clerke or Secretary and the vnder or Deputy Gouvernour. Two little Townes of the County or territory of *Baden*, haue Gouvernours from the Bishop of *Cöstnetz*: but they serue the Sweitzers in their warres, and the Gouvernour of *Baden* is their Iudge for capitall causes. The prefecture or gouvernement of *Torg* most large of all the rest, hath 50 Parishes, whereof some haue their own immunities or priuiledges, the rest are subiect to diuers iurisdictions: but the Soueraigne power is in the Gouvernour sent and chosen by the Cantons, excepting *Cella*, where the Citizens haue their owne gouvernement, the Bishop of *Cöstnetz* hauing only the keeping of the Castle, and halfe the mulcts or fines. The seuen Cantons with consent of the Lords in the seuerall iurisdictions of all this prefecture of *Torg*, appoint one forme of Iustice. And the Iudges impose very great fines, which belong to the Cantons, and especially vpon crimes which haue coherence with capitall offences, namely, foule iniuries, breaches of peace, violence offered by the high way, challengers of publike waies or passages, changers of Land-markes, or goods committed in trust to their keeping, breakers of publike faith, and those who scandale or reproch any Magistrate. The prefectures of the *Saracenes*, and the *Rhegusci*, and those of *Italy*, haue each a Gouvernour, vulgarly called Commissary, sent from the Sweitzers, and because the people speake the Italian tongue, hee hath a Sweitzer skilfull in that tongue for his interpreter. The people hath the power to chuse their owne Magistrates and Officers, and to determine of things concerning their Common-wealth, the Commissary not intermedling therewith.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Netherlanders Common-wealth, according to the foresaid subiects of the former Chapters.

The Commonwealth of Netherland in general.



Lower Germany, called of old *Belgia*, and now commonly *Netherland* (which the French name *Pais bas*, that is, Low countries) is diuided into seventeene Prouinces, as I haue formerly shewed in the Geographickall description thereof, namely, seuen Counties, of *Flaunders*, of *Artois*, of *Hannaw*, of *Holland*, of *Zealand*, of *Zutphane*, and of *Namurtz*; foure Dukedomes, of *Luzenburg*, of *Limburg*, of *Brabant*, and of *Gelderland*, the Lordship or Dominion of *West Freisland*, three Countries or Territories, or places of Iurisdiction, of *Groning*, of *Vtrecht*, and of *Transisola*, vulgarly *Dlandt* ouer *Ysel*. To which fifteene Prouinces, that the number of seventeene may be compleate, some adde the County of *Walkenburg* (which is part of the Dukedome of *Limburg*), and others adde the two dominions of *Mecklin* and *Antwerp*, (which are contained vnder the Dukedome of *Brabant*.) And howsoeuer it be not my purpose to speak of any other Prouinces, then those which they cal vnited, and through which onely I passed, yet it is not amisse in a word or two to shew, how these Principalities at first hauing seuerall Princes, by little and little grew into one body, and in our daies through ciuill warre became diuided into two parts, the one of diuers Prouinces vnited for defence of their liberty, the other of the rest remaining vnder the obedience of their Prince.

Flaunders.

The County of *Flaunders* hath giuen the name of Flemmings to all the inhabitants of these Prouinces before named, and the Earles thereof, when other Prouinces were erected to Dukedomes, did obstinately retaine their owne degree, least they should disgrace their antiquitie, with the newnesse of any Ducall or other title. And it

is manifest, that this Earle was the first Peere of *France*, hauing the prerogatiue to carry the sword before the King of *France* at his Coronation, and to gird the same to his side, being not bound to appeare in Iudgement before his Compeeres, except some controuersie were about the property of his Earledome, or he should deny iustice to his subiects: and finally hauing the badges of Soueraigne Maiesty, to raise an Army, to make Warre and Peace, to yeeld no tributes or subiection to the King of *France*, to punish or pardon his subiects, to make Statutes, to grant priuiledges, to coine mony, and to write himself by the Grace of God Earle, which no other Prince of *France* might do, but only the Duke of *Britany*. *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flaunders* in the yeere 1202, became Emperour of *Constantinople*, and held that dignity sixty yeeres, after which time the Empire returned to the Greekes. Earle *Lodwick* died in the yeere 1383, and *Margaret* his daughter and heire was married to *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, who by her right became Earle of *Flaunders*. *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* died in the yeere 1477, and *Marie* his daughter and heire was married to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and so *Flaunders* became subiect to the House of *Austria*.

For *Phillip*, Sonne to *Maximilian*, died before his father, and left two sons, whereof *Charles* the eldest was Emperour the fifth of that name, and heire to his Grandfather *Maximilian*. And *Charles* the Emperour taking the King of *France*, *Francis* the first, prisoner, in the battell of *Pavia*, in the yeere 1525, forced him to renounce all Soueraigne power ouer *Flaunders* and *Artois*, and to yeeld the Rightes of the House of *Anjou* to the Kingdome of *Naples*, and of the House of *Orleans* to the Dukedome of *Milan*, and of *Genoa*. *Charles* died, and his younger brother *Ferdinand* succeeded him in the Empire, being long before designed his successor, by being chosen King of the Romans: but he left al his States of inheritance to his eldest son *Phillip* King of *Spaine*. The rest of the Prouinces by like right of marriage became subiect to *Maximilian*, and so fell to *Charles*, and lastly to the King of *Spaine*, excepting *Vtrecht* and the *Transisolan* Dominion, which by the yeelding of the Bishop (reseruing his spiritual rights) and of the States of those Prouinces, were ioyned to the rest, and so finally fell to *Phillip* King of *Spaine*.

The
House of
Austria.

Histories witnesse, that some of these Prouinces did owe homage to the Empire, and the rest to the King of *France*, till they fell into the hands of the powerfull Dukes of *Burgundy*, who by diuers transactions tooke all rights from the Kings of *France*; and because the Empire hath been euer since in the House of *Austria*, it cannot seeme strange, the Kings of *Spaine* being of the same House, that these Prouinces haue been freed of the homage due to the Empire. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth happily gouerned these Prouinces with great iudgement, handling the people gently, who had alwaies been held vnder a gentle yoke by their Princes, inioying great priuiledges inuiolably kept to them. neuer vsed to absolute gouernement, but hauing often taken Armes, when their Princes imposed exactions vpon them, or broke any of their priuiledges, and so bringing their Princes to iust and equall termes. But his son *Phillip* K. of *Spaine*, and many other Kingdomes, straying from his Fathers example in the gouernement of *Netherland*, and obstinately despising his counsell, which at his death as it were by his last Testament he gaue him to handle this people gently, and not inducing their voluntarie and free subiection, hath caused the greater, or at least the richer part of these Prouinces to fall from him and his heires. For vpon the first dissention about Religion, Pope *Pius* the fourth induced *Phillip* King of *Spaine* to publish a Decree in *Netherland*, for the establisshing of the infamous Inquisition (first inuented in *Spaine* of late to punish the Iewes and Saracens, who being Christians yet retained their owne rites), and also for the execution of the Decrees made in the Councell of *Trent*; which done, more then 400 Gentlemen made petition to the King to abolish this decree, and ioyning the intercession of the Emperour, sent this petition to the King by the hands of diuers Lords and Gentlemen, whereof the Prince of *Egmond* was one, who had done the King very great seruice in the battell of Saint *Quintens*. These petitioners were despised by the Spaniards, and called *Gewes* (that is beggers or poore slaues), and the King sent them backe vnregarded, and sent the Duke of *Alua* to gouerne

The vni-
ted Pro-
uinces.

The Civill
warre.

The united
States.

The Prince
of Orange
killed.

England
protects
them.

The House
of Nassau.

uern *Netherland*, who cruelly raged against the Professors of the reformed religion, & beheaded the Prince of *Egmond* and the Earle of *Horn*, both Knights of the golden fleece, and on all sides proceeded butcherly. In the meane time the Prince of *Orange*, (who formerly had in vaine perswaded the Prince of *Egmond* to fly) foreseeing this tyranny, with other banished Gentlemen, was gone out of *Netherland*, and fled to the Prince of *Condy* in *Fraunce*. At last the Duke of *Alva*, having brought all in subjection, reformed the policy, and imposed an exaction of the tenth penny, was recalled into *Spaine*; whither he returned with much treasure he had extorted, and *Don Iuvan* of *Austria* succeeded in that Government, in whose time the fatall Civill warre began in *Flaunders*, and shortly after mutinous troopes called Malecontents ioined together, neither acknowledging the King nor the States of the Prouinces, and while *Don Iuvan* pursued them, he died in the Camp in the yeere 1578. Then *Alexander Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, was made Gouvernor of *Netherland*, and the King persisting in his purpose to bring that people to absolute subiection, and the Professors of the reformed religion being grievously persecuted, and all the people being mutinously affected for the newe and tyrannicall exaction of the tenth penny without consent of the generall States, the troubles still continuing in *Flaunders*, at last some few Prouinces, having the Prince of *Orange* for their Generall in the warre, strictly combined themselves in league for mutual defence. So *Flaunders* and the firme land was left vnder the Spanish yoke, but the confederate Prouinces firmly resolving to cast off all subiection to the King of *Spaine*, instituted a new forme of common-wealth; For the Prince of *Orange* wisely and valiantly procuring the publike good, was in the yeere 1584 traiterously slaine with a bullet by a desperate Rogue; whereupon the cities of *Flaunders* lay open to the Duke of *Parma*.

But the foresaid vnited Prouinces cast themselves into the protection of the Queene of *England*; and if my memory faile not, they are thus named, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Vtrecht*, *Groning*, west *Freeisland*, besides many townes for *Gelderland*, some fortes and strong cities of *Brabant*, and *Ossend* in *Flaunders*, a towne for neerer fit to annoy the Enemy. And the foresaid fortes and strong cities, for the most part lying vpon the coast of the sea within land, & vpon the mouth of the *Rheine* where it falls into the sea, gave freetraffick by sea to the vnited Prouinces, & forbad the same to the cities within land, and besides yielded this commodity; that as the Spanish soldiers from their forts send freybooters to spoile the vnited countries of *Gelderland*, *Groning* & *Friesland*, so the soldiers of the states might from thence make incursiōs vpon the countries subiect to the King of *Spaine*, wherby the country people were forced to pay large yearly contributions, to be free from this spoile. The few inhabitants of these small Prouinces, whome men will iudge but a breakfast to the Spanish Army, notwithstanding haue not only bene able to this day to keepe out these powerfull forces from entring their territories; but may iustly brag, that they haue wonne many strong forts and townes from the Spaniard, and carried their Army into *Flaunders*, where in a field fought at *Newport*, they obtained a glorious victory against the Spaniardes. And so much in small progresse of time haue their iust and moderate Counsellors increased their common-wealth, gouerned with great equity and equality, as at last forsaken (as it were) by the King of *France*, & for the time having little helpe from *England*, they alone did not onely long defend themselves from the powerfull reuenge of the Spaniard, but stoutly bearing out the warr to a wished peace, are now no more to be pittied, but in common iudgment rather to be enuied and feared by their neighbours.

Mention hath bene made of the Prince of *Orange*, and hereafter mention is to be made of his sonne Count *Maurice*, therefore it will not be amisse to say something of this noble family. The vnited Prouinces consisting of citizens and the common people, there being few Gentlemen in *Friesland*, and few or none in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and such kind of Plebeian men vnfit to leade Armies, they aswell for the common-wealths sake, first tooke the Prince of *Orange* for their head, as after for thankfulness to him much esteemed the Family of *Nassau*, and besides others of that Family gouerning in *Friesland* and other parts, made choise of the said Princes sonne Count *Maurice*.

rice

rice to be General of their Army, but with limited power from the States, and he hath a double (as I thinke) voice in their publike meetings, in which notwithstanding hee seldome or neuer vsed to be present. His father the Prince of *Orange* had all his inheritance in *Brabant* and *Flaunders*, excepting the Principality of *Orange*, seated in *France* neare the City of *Marseils*, and when he suspected the counsels of the King of *Spaine* (into whose net Count *Egmond*, confident in his innocency and great seruice done to the King, and the Count of *Horne*, vnaduisedly fell), he first withdrew himselfe into *France*, and after into *Holland*, where (as I said) hee ioyned with the States of the Vnited Prouinces, and was much respected and loued of them all, inioying from them honourable meanes of maintenance, well deserued in that his name and assistance much profited the common cause. He had many wiues; first, he married the Countesse of *Buren*, sole daughter and heire to her father, and she bare him a sonne, who in the beginning of these troubles, was a Student in the Vniuersity of *Louan*, whence the Gouvernour called him, and sent him into *Spaine*, and she bore him likewise a daughter, which was married to Count *Hollock*, a German well respected by the States for his warlike reputation and good seruices done to them, and he with his wife liued in *Holland*, when I passed through these parts. His second wife was the sister to the Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he had the foresaid Count *Maurice*, who yet being young, succeeded his father in the generall conduct of the States Army, and about this time whereof I write, had taken two strong Cities in *Brabant*, the inheritance of the Prince of *Orange*, namely, *Bredaw* and *Getrudenberg*; and because they were part of the Earldome of *Buren*, some difference was then about them, betweene the said Count *Maurice* and his said sister by the fathers side, wherein it was generally said, that the States fauoured the Count. Also the Prince had by this wife a daughter, after married to the Gouvernour of *Friesland*. His third wife was sister to the Duke of *Mompensier* in *France*, which had been a Nun, and by her hee had sixe daughters. *Lewis* married to the *Palatine* of the *Rhein*; *Marie* then liuing at *Hage*, the third liuing then in *France*, the fourth with the Count of *Schwarzenburg*, and *Francis* also then liuing at *Hage*, and a sixth then brought vp in the County of *Nassaw*. His fourth wife was a French Lady of the Family *Chastillon*, famous in that worthy Admirall of *France* killed in the Parisian Massacre. And this wife after the Prince was slaine liued then at *Hage*, with her onely sonne by him, who being borne at *Deiph* in *Holland*, was therefore, and for many respects much regarded by the *Hollanders*, and yet being a childe, was honoured with military commands, and a large stipend for his maintenance, and shortly after had the title of Colonell of *Holland*, with no small addition to his meanes.

Being now to speake of the Magistrates, Lawes and degrees of Orders in this Commonwealth, it will not be amisse, first for coniecture of the generall estate of *Netherland*, to write some few things out of *Marchantijs* a Flemming, and other approued Authours, particularly of the County of *Flanders*, for the preheminance it alwaies had ouer the rest of the Prouinces. The chiefe strength of the Common-wealth of *Flanders*, is in the Counsell or Parliament of the three generall States; namely, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the foure members, (in steed of the people making the third estate in other Kingdomes), and without the consent of these, the Earles were neuer wont to exact money, or make warre. And howsoeuer the King of *Spaine* hath weakened the authority of this Counsell, yet when Subsidies are imposed, the very forme of old proceeding comforts the people, as a shadow of their old liberty. The Earle by writing is to appoint the time and place of this Assembly, or in the Earles name the Counsell of *Flanders* vsed to call together the Burgeses or Deputies thereof.

In these three States the Clergy is of chiefe dignitie, as well for their degree, as for the greatnesse of their reuenues, and many Territories vnder their command, and among these were onely fise Bishops, till Pope *Pius* the fourth in the yeere 1560, established three new seates of Bishops at *Gant*, *Bruges*, and *Ypre*.

The first degree of Nobility, is that of Barons, hauing their name of *Banners*, which they are bound to follow, whereof there bee very many in *Flan-*

ders, and of them some in later times haue beene raised to the titles of Earles and Princes.

In the second ranke, are the Lords of Townes and Villages, whence Gentlemen haue their surnames, and they cannot be numbered without tediousnesse: But almost all of them haue possession giuen them from some of the Feudatory Courts of the Earles of *Flanders*, and differ in many customes, but in this all agree, that he who hath this fee, cannot alienate it, without the consent of the Prince and the next heire, or vpon oath giuen in Court, that hee doth it for pouerty and want. The inheritance of Fees descends to the eldest sonnes, a third part reserued for the younger brothers, so they giue ouer to the elder their part in the other goods that are not in Fee. And it is an high fault, if these Lords impose any tribute vpon their subiects, except it bee with the consent of the Earle of *Flanders*. There bee some of these that are called vassals, whereof some are clients of an higher, some of a lower degree. And the Earle of *Flanders* hath about seuentene feudatory Courts, and the number is very great of Clients in Fee, depending immediately vpon one or other of the said Courts, whereby the Earle hath many pecuniary profits and other seruices, vpon fines and alienations of inheritance.

In the third ranke of Gentlemen are they, who hold inheritance in Fee, whereof some are tied to the Iurisdiction and Counsell of the Earle, as the Chancellor (so called of correcting or cancelling writings ill drawne with blotting out lines), which dignitie is tied to the Prepositure of *Bruges* Church, and before the Counsell of *Flanders* was erected, this Office was of greater authoritie then now it is. Others of this kind are Burgraues or Castellanes or high Sheriffes, who are set Iudges ouer Townes and Castles, with prerogatiue to haue a proportion of the mulcts or fines, which dignity belongs to certaine Families, and may be alienated to others by sale, or for dowrie in marriage, and all haue not the like but diuers iurisdiction and preheminance. The Burgraue of *Dixmud* hath the Lordship or command of the Towne (which no other Burgraue hath), the ruling of the weights in the Market, the customes at the Gate, capitall Iudgement, the fines that are vnder three pounds of *Paris*, and a part with the Earle of the greater fines, and the power to appoint the Bailie, Scabins and Burgomaster, and a third part of the goods of bastards dying without children. Also the Burgraue of *Ypre* takes an oath to himselfe of the Officers of that Towne as well as to the Earle, and he hath the fines, and power to appoint Magistrates. Others of this third ranke of Gentlemen haue warlike Offices by inheritance, as the Constable (so called of *Coninc* and *slapel*, as the stay and vpholding of the King), who hath the highest command in the warres; and the Admirall (so called of a Greeke word), who hath the chiefe command in Nauall affaires. Then two Marshals (so called as skilfull in horsemanship, for the old Dutch called an *Horse-mar*, and now a mare is by them called *meri*, and *schale* signifies cunning.) Also the Steward of the house. And the militarie titles still remaine hereditary to diuers families, but the exercise of the Office is taken from them. Other Gentlemen of this third ranck, are by inheritance Officers to ouersee the Reuenues, and to take accounts; such are the Treasurers and receiuers for the Princes Rents, for perpetuall Tributes of land, and these honours still remaine to certaine Families, though these Rents are now brought in ready money into the Exchequer. Other Gentlemen of this third ranck, haue Offices in Court, as the Master of the household, Chamberlaine, Cup-bearer, which offices are proper by inheritance to certaine Families: but the Master of the game, as well for hunting as hawking, and the Water-Graues, (ouerseeing Lakes and Riuers for Swannes, fishing, and other like things), are offices giuen at the Princes pleasure, and not proper to any Familie.

The fourth ranke of Gentlemen is of those, who are adorned with the Knightly girdle, and they are called gilded Knights, of their golden spurres and other ornaments, which honour the Princes giue for great seruices, creating them, with laying a drawne sword on their left shoulder, and with certaine solemnity of words, & those who haue this title, be they neuer so meane, are made Gentlemen with their

their posteritie; and if they be Gentlemen, yet it addes dignities to them. And because I haue made this mention of Knights, giue mee leaue to adde a word of the Knightly order of the Golden Fleece, instituted by the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Phillip* the Good, in the yeere 1429, vpon the very day of his mariage with *Elizabeth* of *Portugall*, in imitation of *Gedions* Fleece, and of the Golden Fleece fetcht by the Argonauts of *Greece*. He receiued into this Order, Gentlemen vnblameable for life and valour in Armes, whereof the Prince and his successours are the Head or chiefe President; and hee gaue each of them a Scarlet gowne of woollen cloth (which his son *Charles* changed into a red Veluet Gowne), and a gold chaine, with his fathers Embleim, of a Steele striking fire out of a flint, vpon which chaine hangs the Golden Fleece, and vpon the death of any Knight this badge is sent backe, to be bestowed vpon some other Gentleman of merit. At first the number of these Knights with the Prince their head was twenty five: but within five yeeres they were increased to thirty five. And the Emperour *Charles* the fifth in the yeere 1516, made the number fifty one. At the first institution, this order had foure Officers, a Chancelor, a Treasurer, a King at Armes, and a Secretary; and in the Court of this Order, the vnlawfull flying of any Knight out of the field, and all other crimes, and the dissentions among them, are iudged without appeale. The feast of the Order hath been kept in diuers places, according to the Princes pleasure; but the Armes of the Knights are set vp in the Chancell of the chiefe Church at *Bruges*, where the feast thereof was kept at the first institution. In generall, *Flaunders* hath a great number of Lords and Gentlemen (as likewise the Dukedome of *Luxemburg*, and adioyning Prouinces), and they exercise themselues in feeding of Cattle and tillage, but iudging ignoble all trade of Merchants, and profession of manuell arts. They haue no immunities (as in *Artois*, *Hennault*, and all *France*), but beare the same burthen of tributes with the people, to keepe them from sedition, while the Gentlemen, hated by them, beare the same burthen as they doe.

Hauiing spoken of the two States of the Clergy and Gentlemen, it remaines to adde something of the third State, namely, the foure members, which haue the place of the common people in other Kingdomes; and they are *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Ypre*, and *Terra Franca*, that is, the Free land, which foure Territories haue the chiefe, or rather all authoritie in *Flaunders*. Each of these members is exempted from all confiscation of goods by old priuiledge, confirmed by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, in the yeere 1549. Other Cities, howsoeuer they haue their Magistrates, Lawes and Reuenues to themselues, yet in the common Counsell or Parliament for imposing tributes, or leauying of souldiers, they follow the foure members, and all *Flaunders* is bound to their Decree in this generall meeting of the States, the Clergie, Gentlemen, Lords and Burgeses of other Cities consulting with the foure members: but they challenging all authoritie to decree, and solely representing the whole bodie of *Flaunders* in the generall meetings of all *Netherland*. *John* Duke of *Burgundie* remoued from *Lille* to *Ghent* the Senate, called the Counsell of *Flaunders*, and giuing the Law to all *Flaunders*. *Bruges*, a most pleasant Citie is the second member, hauiing this priuiledge aboue all other Cities, that hee who is free of the same by birth, gift, buying, or marriage, is freed from all confiscation of any goods wheresoeuer found, no crime or case excepted; whereas the priuiledges of other Cities alwaies except violence offered to the persons of the Prince, his Wife, and Children. Also *Bruges* hath a stately Mint-house, with priuiledge to coyne money. *Ypre* is the third member, which City I passe ouer, for feare to be tedious. The fourth member is *Terra Franca*, added to the rest (being but three at the first institution), by *Phillip* the Good, in the yeere 1437, with intent to bridle the power of *Bruges*, which Citie then much repined at the same, and neuer ceased to raise tumults, till *Marie*, wife to the Emperour *Maximilian* abolished this fourth member, which *Charles* the fifth their Grand-child shortly after restored to that dignitie.

Among the Magistrates some of them doe properly belong to the Princes affaires, namely, the Legall Chamber, consisting of the Princes Counsellors, and being (as it were) the head of other Courts, the meeting and number where

of is at the Princes pleasure, but commonly the meeting is at *Ghant*, and they consult of waighy affaires, (which since haue beene referred to the Princes Priuy Counsell, or to the counsell of *Flaunders*, seated at *Ghant*). And to the same are referred all controuersies touching fees, and appeales from feoditary Courts, which are iudged without appeall, in the presence of the Earle or his Bailly, there being a chaire, cushion, and Sword of estate. Also the chamber *Hastredeninga*, that is, the supreme court of accounts, consisting of hereditary treasurers, yearly meeting at *Lile* for three daies, who iudge without appeale all things touching Receiuers, with personall and real actions belonging to the Princes patrimony, and giue oathes to new Treasurers and Feodaries. The third court of accounts, established at *Lile*, consists of a President, foure Masters, five helpers, and two clarkes. It examines the accompts of reuenues by rents of lands, woods, customes at gates, confiscations, Fines, goods left to the Prince, as by shipwracks and Bastards dying without children, by homages, Pensions, and like profits, and all hereditary treasurers, and the two generall Receiuers, giue accompt in this court. *Phillip* the bold gaue this court great authority, but *John* his sonne, remoued the counsellors thereof to the office of Iustice in *Ghant*, and left the court at *Lile* to register the Princes edicts, and Priuiledges granted by him. Fourthly the court called the Counsell of *Flaunders*, which I said was remoued from *Lile* to *Ghant*, and seems chiefe in dignity, first instituted, partly by litle & litle to draw *Flaunders* from the iurisdiction of *Paris*, in imitation of *Brabant*, *Hennault*, and *Holland*; for which howsoeuer the Princes did homage to the Emperour, yet they belonged not to the iurisdiction of the Empire, homage and iurisdiction by nature and in themselves being much different. But the chiefe cause of the institution, was the long absence of *Phillip* the bold in *France*, during the infirmity of the French King, in whose time this court formerly kept in diuers places at the Princes pleasure, was settled at *Ghant*, and to this court are referred all things belonging to the Princes right and authority, & the controuersies of Coiners, of the Church, of the Prouince and of Cities among themselves and with others, and appeales from Magistrates, and ratifying the Princes pardons for crimes. The Counsell consists of a President (of a Knightly degree by vertue of his office) eight Counsellors (hauing yearly stipends) foure Commissaries (hauing part of the profit by informations) and for Assessors, the Procurator & the Aduocate of the Prince, the Treasurer of the reuenues, a Secretary and a Notary. Besides these courts and this said Counsell, *Marchantius* mentioneth a court of Iustice highest and without appeale ouer all *Netherland*, instituted by *Charles* last Duke of *Burgandy* in the yeere 1473 at *Mechlin*, (as being in the Center of *Netherland*) and it iudgeth after that is, equall and good, in imitation of the Parliament of *Paris*; so as suiters needed not to follow the Earles Court. And the Prince was chiefe head of this Counsell, or in his absence the Chancellor, he being not present, the Bishop of *Tornay*, with two Presidents, ten Lay and nine Clergy Counsellors, six Masters of Requests (who were commanded to ride on horseback to the Senate, clad in Purple.) But *Mary* the daughter of the said *Charles*, fearing the French and Ciuill war, commanded the ceasing of iudgement in this Court, which *Phillip* her son restored, and in the yeere 1493 reestablished that court at *Mechlin*, but lesse and more weake, as it still remaines.

And this shall suffice of the Magistrates belonging to the Princes affaires. Others belong to the subiects in seuerall Countries and Cities. Such are the Scabines and the Bailies. Scabines are so called of a German word *Schaffen* (that is to dispatch, or of an Hebrew word (as the Germans say.) These defend the rights and priuiledges of the people, determine controuersies by the Statutes and municipall customes, or for want of them, by the written Law, and are present when any are tortured, and iudge capitall causes, the pardoning whereof is rather permitted to the Prince, then much vsed by him. And these Magistrates are diuersly named in diuers places, as *Voegte* (Tutor) Portmeister, (Officer of the Port or Hauen), *Lanthouder*, (that is, Keeper of the Land,) *Kourcher* (that is, chosen Lord), and Burgermaster (that is, Master of the Citizens). Vnder them are the Treasurers or Receiuers in each City, and aswell they as the Scabines, are chosen by the Commissaries of the Prince. Next are the Baylies,
so

so called of a French word, as Tutors and Keepers; and they are diuersly called in diuers places, namely *Schultheisen*, as Iudges of debts: and they differ from the Scabines, in that the Scabines Iudge, the Bailies execute their Iudgements and the Princes Edicts; they haue stipend, these are paid out of the Fines; they are changed after one or two yeeres, these continue long in Office; lastly, they respect the rights of the people; these of the Prince. In the Villages they haue Officers called *Ammans*, who proclaim the Edicts of the Magistrate, and warne Debtors to make payment, and vpon longer delay then is permitted by the Municipall Lawes, sell their goods at the outcry. They haue a supreme Iudge of capitall causes, whom they call Soueraigne Bailly, instituted in the yeere 1374, to apprehend murtherers and banished men, and to put them to death, or otherwise punish them, with the assistance of two Gentlemen hauing fees, or being Feodatory Clients to the Prince. And to this Officer authority was lately giuen & confirmed by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, to release banishment, and for theues and manslaughterers by chance, or vpon their owne defence, and like offenders, vpon satisfaction made to the next Kinsman of the man-killer, and to him that was robbed: not onely to giue them safe conduct to passe for forty daies, but also to pardon their crimes, so as the Mulcts or Fines be gathered for the Prince, not to his behoofe; and the Counsell of *Flanders* approue the confessions of the offender to be true. But in case the Magistrate of the place where the offender dwelt, require him to be there tried, it cannot be withstood. And this Office is of such dignity, as Knights for long time haue executed the same. Many Tributes were of old granted to the Prince, as perpetuall Tributes of the Fields, of Corne, Oates, Cheese, and Larde; which things for foode, haue long time beene redeemed with money, the price being yeerely set diuersly by the Counsell of accounts seated at *Lile*. And no doubt through troubles and ciuill warres, from the beginning to this day, all like burthens are greatly increased both in number and measure, which may more easily bee coniectured, by that which shal be said of this subiect, in the discourse of the vnited Prouinces.

Flanders is most ruled by municipall Lawes and customes of Townes and Cities, and for want of them by the Ciuill Lawes. The Lawes of *Flanders* forbid any man to giue in Legacies by his last Will and Testament, more then the thirds of his goods, (wherein are comprehended Lands in Fee); or that any stranger should beare the office of Magistracy: yet strangers may there inherite their Kinsmens goods, contrary to the custome of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, where the Kings haue the goods of all strangers dying intestate, and hauing there no childreu. In *Flanders* no man is deprived of his mothers inheritance for bastardy, no not the children of a noble woman being a concubine, except some municipall Statute made by the Princes, doe in some places preiudice them. The Citizens of *Curtrac* about the yeere 1557, and those of *Ghent* some sixe yeeres after, haue excluded those who are borne in adultery or incest from their mothers inheritance: but the prouinciall Counsell of *Flanders* in the yeere 1532, gaue sentence, that a Bastard should succeed in the fee of his mother, with priuiledge of age and sex, euen where the Parents leaue Children lawfully begotten.

I returne to the foresaid Prouinces, which I said to be vnited in mutuall league for their defence against the Spaniards. The said Prouinces, at the first breaking out of the ciuill warre, when *Antwerp* was besieged, humbly and instantly besought *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, to vndertake their patronage and defence, and to encourage and giue her more power, offered her the Soueraignety of those Prouinces; but the most wise Queene with graue counsell, and for weighty reasons, refused to take them for Subiects. Perhaps (among other reasons of greater weight) fearing lest vndertaking that warre as Queene of the Prouinces, most part of the burthen thereof should fall vpon her English subiects, thinking it probable, that the *Netherlanders*, being a people which had often taken Armes against their Prince, of all other things least bearing new taxes and impositions, (which they professed, next the persecution for Religion, to be the chiefe cause of this warre), would alwaies be apt to stir vp sedition when her Maiesty as their Prince should impose but half the tributes & customes, which themselves by general consent, & for loue of liberty haue imposed & borne with incredible

Of the commonwealth of the vnited Prouinces, protected by the Queene of England.

patience, during this warre. And howsoever her Maieſty deſired their liberty ſhould be preſerued, yet the peace betweene *England* and *Spaine*, howſoever ſhaken by many iniuries on both ſides, prouoking deſire of reuenge, notwithstanding was not yet fully broken. And it ſeemes probable to me (not knowing thoſe counſels but by coniecture), that her Maieſty being a woman, the King of *Spaine* being powerfull, and ſome of her Subiects being alienated from her for the reformation of Religion, thought it more wiſdome to ſuffer warre for her iuſt defence, then her ſelfe openly to beginne the ſame: yet would ſhee not altogether neglect the afflicted people of thoſe Prouinces, but reſolved with the States thereof, that they ſhould make Count *Maurice ſonne* to the Prince of *Orange*, Generall of their Army, gouerning their owne affaires, and her Maieſty ſhould profeſſe the defence of that afflicted people, with whom *England* alwaies had ſtrict league of trade and amity, till meanes might be vſed for reſtoring them to the King of *Spaines* fauour. Whereupon at the inſtant ſuite of the States, the tenth of Auguſt in the yeere 1585, her Maieſty granted them an aide of five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, to whom her Maieſty was to giue pay during the warre; yet ſo as the Prouinces were bound to make reſtitution of all her expences, when the warre ſhould be compoſed; and for pledge of performance, ſhould giue into her Maieſties hands the Towne of *Vliſhing* in *Zealand*, with the adioining Caſtle of *Rammekins*, to be kept with a Garrifon of ſeauen hundred Engliſh foote, and the Towne of *Brill* with ſome adioining Forts, to be kept with a Garrifon of 450 Engliſh Foot, the ſaid Prouinces being bound (as I ſaid) to make reall ſatiſfaction to her Maieſty at the end of the warre, for all expences, aſwel of the ſaid Forces, as of theſe Garrifons, which amounted yeerly to the ſumme of one hundred twenty ſix thouſand pounds ſterling. And her Maieſty for the ſafety of her neighbours bore this intollerable burthen, till the yeere 1594, at which time Sir *Thomas Bodley* Knight, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour for thoſe Prouinces, by a new tranſaction diminiſhed thoſe great expences, the wealth of thoſe Prouinces being then much increaſed, aſwell by the concurrence of Merchants leauing deſolate *Flanders* to dwell in that flouriſhing State, as becauſe they had brought many Countries by right of warre to yeeld them contributions, namely, all the Sea Coaſt of *Brabant*, ſome part of *Flanders*, with the Countries vulgarly called, *Ommelands*, *Drent*, *Twent*, *Linghen*, *Limbrough*, and *Walkenbrough*, and had greatly increaſed their tributes, aſwel in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Freesland*, and *Vtrecht*, as in *Guelderland*, *Zutphan*, *Dlandt* ouer *Yſell*, and laſtly, had taken many ſtrong Townes of no ſmall moment, namely, *Denenter*, *Zutphan*, *Nimmenghen*, *Stonwicke*, *Bredaw*, *Hulſt*, *Steneberg*, and *Groninghen*. The ſtate of thoſe Prouinces being (as I ſaid) thus increaſed, and her Maieſty being forced for many yeeres to keepe a ſtrong army at home, to ſubdue the *Iriſh* Rebels, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour at the foreſaid time made a new tranſaction with the States, for diminiſhing the charge of the Engliſh Forces ſeruing them. And this helpe ſo long giuen by her Maieſty to the vnited Prouinces, cannot ſeeme of ſmal moment: For howſoever the Queen did not alwaies keepe the full number of the ſaid Forces, and ſometimes called home, or caſhied part of them, yet ſhee did alwaies maintaine the greateſt part, decreaſing or increaſing the ſame according to the neceſſity of the preſent affaires, and imploied the Forces called home, onely in voiages by Sea, profitable aſwell to the vnited Prouinces, as to *England*, and that for a ſhort time of Sommer ſeruiſe, after ſending them backe to ſerue the States:

The States
or chiefe
Gouerners.

The States who gouerne theſe Prouinces (if they haue made no change in particulars, which at pleaſure they both can and vſe to doe), are graue men, Counſellors or Burgeſſes, vulgarly called States, choſen by the people of each City and Towne, not for a limited time, but during pleaſure, and with full power; who reſiding in the chiefe City of the Prouince, haue care all iointly of the prouinciall affaires, and each particularly of his Cities or Townes affaires: And this Counſell muſt needes be diſtracted with diuers opinions, ariſing from the diuers affaires of each Prouince, City & Town, and the ſeueral commandements they receiue at home. Theſe prouinciall States, chuſe among themſelues one, two, or three Burgeſſes for each Prouince, (according to the condition and capacity of thoſe that are choſen: for how many ſoever they be,

be, they haue but one voice for their Prouince at generall meetings), and these they send to reside at *Hage* in *Holland*, with like authority as they haue, there to gouerne the publike affaires of all the vnited Prouinces; and they are called the generall States. And as the prouinciall States may be diminished in number or increased, according to the occasions of the publike businesse; or of any particular meeting, and may bee called home by the Citizens who chuse them; so the generall States chosen by them to reside at *Hage*, enioy their places vpon like condition. And out of these generall States certaine chosen men are made Counsellors, to order the affaires of warre, and to assist and direct the Generall of the Army therein. Others are set ouer the affaires of the Admiralty, others ouer the Chauncery of *Brabant*, and others ouer diuers particular Offices, (I call them Counsellors of the Chauncery of *Brabant*, who manage the affaires of *Brabant* belonging to *Holland*). This must alwaies be vnderstood, that the Burgeses or States of *Holland*, in respect of the dignity of that Prouince, many waies increased and enriched aboue the rest, haue somewhat more authority and respect, then any other; but the wheele of the publike State is turned by the Senate of the generall States residing at *Hage*, yet so, as they doe not take vpon them to determine difficult matters, without some diffidence, till they haue the consent of their particular Cities and Prouinces, except they be made confident by the concurring of eminent men, who can draw or leade the people to approue of their doings, or in such cases as by long practice they fully know not vnpleasing to the people. So wary are they, notwithstanding the Prouinciall States from their Communities, and the generall States at *Hage* from them, haue most ample power and absolute commission, in expresse words, to doe any thing they iudge profitable for the Commonwealth. And it is a remarkeable thing, to obserue their Art, when in difficult cases they desire to protract time, or delude Agents, how the generall States answere, that they must first consult with the prouinciall States, and they againe answere, that they must first know the pleasure of their Communities, before they can determine, and each of them hath nothing more in his mouth, then the consent of his superiours, (for so they call them). Whereas if, businesse were so to be dispatched, no doubt great difficulty would arise in all particular actions. In the Senate of the generall States, besides the States themselves, Count *Maurice* hath (as I thinke) a double voice, yet I neuer obserued him to be present at their assemblies. The Ambassadour of *England* hath likewise his voice, and Count *Solms* (as I heard) because he married the widdow of Count *Egmond*, and for his good deserts in the seruice of the vnited Prouinces, hath for himselfe and his heires the like priuiledge. Thus the Commonwealth in generall is Aristocraticall, (that is, of the best Men), saue that the people chuseth the great Senate, which rules all.

Touching the Commonwealths of particular Cities. *Amsterdam* is the chiefe City of *Holland*, where the great Senate consists of thirty sixe chiefe Citizens, whereof one dying, another is chosen into his place; and this Senate yeerely chuseth foure Consuls, who iudge ciuill causes; and haue power to appoint ten Iudges of criminall causes (vulgarly called *Skout*), though they be not of that Senate. The other Cities are in like sort gouerned, but according to the greatnesse of the City or Towne, they haue greater or lesser number of Senators.

The Tributes, Taxes, and Customes, of all kinds imposed by mutuall consent, (so great is the loue of liberty or freedome) are very burthensome, and they willingly beare them, though for much lesse exactions imposed by the King of *Spaine* (as they hold) contrary to right, and without consent of his Subiects, they had the boldnesse to make warre against a Prince of such great power. Yet in respect of the vnequal proportioning of all contributions; they are somewhat at ods among themselves, & many times iarre, so as it seemed no difficult thing to breake their concord, had not the common Enemy & the eminent danger of Spanish reuenge, together with the sweetnesse of freedome once tasted, forced them to constant vinity. This I dare say, that when they humbly offered themselves vassals to the Queene of *England*, in the first infancy of their Common-wealth, if her Maiesty, or any other Prince whosoever,

vndertaking their protection, had burthened them with halfe the exactions they now beare, it is more then probable, that they would thereby haue beene so exasperated, as they would haue beene more ready to haue returned vnder the obedience of the King of *Spaine*, whose anger they had highly prouoked, then to endure the yoke of such a Protector: For each Tunne of Beere (which they largely swallow), they pay into the Exchequer sixe Flemmish shillings (each shilling being sixe stiuers), I meane of Beere sold abroad, for they pay onely foure shillings for such Beere, as men brew for the vse of their priuate families, which frugality few or none vse, except perhaps some brew small Beere for their Families, and indeed I doubt they would find small frugality in brewing other Beere for themselves, if the Cellar lay open to their seruants. And howsoeuer the Tunnes be of diuers prices, according to the goodnesse of the Beere, namely of two, three, foure, fise, or sixe Guldens, the Tunne (though at *Leyden* onely the Brewers may not sell Beere of diuers prices, for feare of fraud in mixing them), yet there is no difference of the Tribute. They haue excellent fat pastures, whereof each Aker is worth forty pound, or more to be purchased, and they pay tribute for euery head of cattle feeding therein, as two stiuers weekly for each Cow for the Paile, the great number whereof may be coniectured, by the plenty of cheefe exported out of *Holland*, and the infinite quantity of cheefe and butter they spend at home, being the most common food of all the people: For Oxen, Horses, Sheepe, and other Beasts sold in market, the twelfth part at least of the price is paid for tribute, and be they neuer so often by the yeere sold to and fro, the new Masters still pay as much. They pay fise stiuers for euery bushel of their owne wheate, which they vse to grind in publike Mills: And since they giue tribute of halfe in halfe for foode and most necessary things, commonly paying as much for tribute as the price of the thing sold, the imposition must needs be thought greater, laid vpon forraigne commodities, seruing for pleasure, pride, and luxury: besides that, these tributes are ordinary, and no doubt vpon any necessity of the Commonwealth, would be increased. French wines at *Middleburg* the Staple thereof, and Rhenish wines at *Dort* the Staple thereof, are sold by priuiledge without any imposition, but in all other places men pay as much for the Impost, as for the wine: Onely in the *Campe* all things for food are sold without any imposition laid vpon them: And some, but very few eminent men, haue the priuiledge to pay no imposition for like things of food. Each Student in the Vniuersitie, hath eighty measures of wine (vulgarly called *Stoup*) allowed him free from imposition, and for six barrells of Beere, onely payes one Gulden and a quarter, that is, two shillings six pence English, being altogether free from all other tributes, which priuiledge the Citizens enioy in the name of the Students dieting with them, and no doubt the Rector and professors of the Vniuersity haue greater immunity in these kinds.

One thing is hardly to be vnderstood how these Prouinces thus oppressed with tributes, and making warre against a most powerfull King, yet at this time in the heate of the warre, (which vseth to waste most flourishing Kingdomes, and make Prouinces desolate), had farre greater riches, then any most peaceable Countrey of their neighbours, or then euer themselves formerly attained in their greatest peace and prosperitie: Whether it be for that (according to the Poet) *Ingenium mala saepe mouent*, Aduersity oft whets the wit, so as by warre they are growne more witty and industrious. Or for that *Flanders*, and *Antwerp* the famous City, in former times so drew all trafficke and rich Merchants to them, as all the neighbour Prouinces were thereby impoverished, all which trade by the warre, fell to *Holland*, most strong in shipping; or for that, the vnited Prouinces haue such commodity by the Sea, and waters running to all Townes, and by the strength of their cities, as in the heat of war they are free from the enemies incursions, or any impediment of their traffick, and seeme rather to carry the war to their confines, then to haue it in their bosomes. In which point, it is not vnpleasant to remember, how the Hollanders mock the Spaniards, as if, not acquainted with the Northern Sea, & the ebbing and flowing therof, they thought they might at pleasure come into any hauen, & leade their army into any of those Prouinces, & that when
the

the Spaniards first entered *Holland* with their Army, and they cutting the bankes of the sea drowned their Country, the Spaniards were therewith astonished, and gaue gold chaines, money, and the most precious things they had to the Country people, on condition they would bring them out of those watery places to firme land. If any man require truer and greater reasons of these Prouinces growing rich by warre, let him make curious search thereof, for it is besides my purpose. No doubt, the frequent Armes of the sea within land, passing by their Cities, the innumerable waters (though for the most part standing, or little mouing), which by made ditches carry boats and barks to all their Cities, (being there more frequent then in any other part of the World), and to all their Villages, and compasse almost all their pastures, yeeld no small commodity to their Common-wealth. For they hauing little of their owne to export, and wanting Corne, Wood, or Coales, and many necessaries for their vse, yet by this onely benefit, and their singular industry, not only most abundantly inioy all commodities of all Nations for their owne vse, but by transporting them from place to place with their owne ships (whereof they haue an vnspeakable number), make very great gaine, being delighted in Nauigation by nature (as borne and bred in the midst of Seas and waters), and hauing by warre, heating their Flegmaticke humours, attained to such skill therein, as for trafficke they saile to the most remote coasts of the world, and in proceesse of time being growne so bold sea-men, as they will scarcely yeeld in this Art, to the English for many former yeeres excelling therein. So as their tributes imposed on Merchants commodities, must needs be of exceeding great moment.

And not to weary my selfe with the curious search thereof, I will onely adde for coniecture of the generall, one particular related to me by credible men. That in time when *Italy* suffered dearth, and was supplied with corne from these parts, the tributes of one Citie *Amsterdam*, in one weeke, exceeded the summe of ten thousand pounds sterling, whence the reueneue of all tributes in all the Hauens and Cities, may bee coniectured to be exceedingly great. So as adding the impositions vpon domesticall things, and the great contributions paid by the enemies subiects vpon the confines in time of warre (to purchase the safety of their persons and goods, with freedome to till their grounds from the rapine of freybooting souldiers), a man may well say, that the vnited Prouinces are no lesse able, then they haue been daring, to doe great things.

This Common-wealth is gouerned by particular lawes and customes of diuers *The Lawes.* places, and by the publike edicts vpon diuers new occasions made by the States of the Prouinces, and these wanting, by the Ciuill law. The particular Cities are gouerned after the manner aboue named. And particularly at *Leyden*, my selfe haue obserued the inhabitants of Villages, called by writings set vpon posts in the publike streets, to haue their controuersies iudged by the Magistrates of the city, not at any set time of the yeere, but according to the occasions of other affaires, at the Iudges pleasure. High iniuries and maimes of any member, are punished by the law, which passeth ouer lighter iniuries, not giuing such ample satisfactions to the wronged euen by word, as the constitutions of the Sweitzers giue; so as with them no lesse then in *England*, quarrels and brawlings are frequent, and often breake out into man-slaughters, wherein those who will reuenge themselves by force, first agree betweene themselves, whether they will strike or stab; and then drawing out long kniues, which they ordinarily weare, they wound one another by course, according to their agreement, either by slashes or stabs (which they call *schneiden* and *stecken*.) They commonly allow mony to be put out to vse, and to the end poore men vpon pawnes may borrow small summes for a short time, they admit an Italian or Lumbard (vulgarly so called) in each Citie, who taking a pawne, lends a gulden for a brasse coine called a doigt by the weeke. But this Lumbard in the French Church there, is not admitted to receiue the Communion. The pawne vseth to bee worth a third part more then the mony lent, and one yere & a day being past after the mony is due, the vsurer hath the pawne to himselfe: but before that time, the debter at his pleasure may at any time haue his

pawne

pawne, first paying the borrowed mony, with the vse to the day of paiement. And the common report then was, that the States would take this as a publike Office into their owne hands, to help the poore not able to pay, by selling the pawnes to the owners best profit.

Touching inheritance: Vpon the Mothers death, the children may compell their Father to deuide his goods with them, least perhaps hee should consume or waste the same. And the wife that brought a dowry, be her husband growne neuer so rich by his trade, may when shee dies giue, not only her dowry, but halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, to her owne Kinsmen after his death, if shee haue no children by him; and if she brought no dowry, yet shee hath the same right to dispose of halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, and (as is suppoled) by their mutuall labor. A sonne may not be disinherited but vpon causes approued by the Law, for the Father is bound to giue a third part of his estate among his children, and only hath power to dispose of the rest or any part thereof in Legacies at his pleasure.

The Wines. The wiues of *Holland* buy and sell all things at home, and vse to saile to *Hamburg* and into *England* for exercise of traffique. I heard from credible men, that the Citizens of *Enchusen*, within thirty yeeres then past, vsed to marry a wife, and put her away at the yeeres end, if they liked her not; which barbarous custome, Ciuility and Religion hath since abolished: and at *Delph* I did see two examples, of men who hauing buried their wiues, did after marry their wiues Sisters. It is no rare thing for blowes to happen betweene man and wife, and I credibly heard that they haue slight punishments for that fault, and my selfe did heare the Crier summon a man to answer the beating of his wife before the Magistrate.

The multitude of women is farre greater then of men, which I not only formerly heard from others, but my selfe obserued to be true, by the daily meetings of both sexes, where a man may see sixty or more women sliding vpon the yce, and otherwise recreating themselues, with five or six or much fewer men. But the reason thereof is not easily yeelded, since wee cannot say that the men are much consumed by the Ciuill warres, their Army consisting altogether of strangers, and few or no *Hollanders*, except some willingly serued, for otherwise they cannot be pressed by authority, but onely for the defence of the City or Towne wherein they dwell: except these reasons thereof may bee approued, that the watery Prouinces breed flegmaticke humors, which together with the mens excessive drinking, may disable them to beget Males; or that the Women (as I haue heard some *Hollanders* confesse) not easily finding a Husband, in respect of this disparity of the Sexes in number, commonly liue vnmarried till they be thirty yeeres old, and as commonly take Husbands of twenty yeeres age, which must needs make the Women more powerfull in generation. And the Women not onely take young Men to their Husbands, but those also which are most simple and tractable: so as by the foresaid priuiledge of Wiues to dispose goods by their last will, and by the contracts in respect of their Dowry, (which to the same end vse to be warily drawne,) they keepe their Husbands in a kind of awe, and almost alone, without their Husbands intermedling, not onely keepe their shops at home, but exercise trafficke abroad. My selfe haue heard a Wife make answer to one asking for her Husband, that he was not at home, but had newly asked her leaue to goe abroad. Nothing is more frequent, then for little girles to insult ouer their brothers much bigger then they, reprouing their doings, and calling them great lubbers, whereof when I talked with some Schollers, my companions, as a fashion seeming strange to mee, they were so farre from wondering thereat, as they told me, it was a common thing for Wiues to driue their Husbands and their friends out of the doores with scolding, as if they consumed the goods wherein they had a property with their Husbands. I should be too credulous, if I should thinke all Families to be sicke of this disease; and I must confesse, that in few other Nations all Families are altogether free frō like accidents: but I may boldly say, that the Women of these parts, are aboue all other truly taxed with this vnnaturall domineriug ouer their Husbands.

The Nobility or Gentry hath long been rooted out by the people (as *Iunius* witnesseth, and experience shewes) after the example of the Sweitzers, especially in *Holland* and *Zealand* (for in *Friesland* they haue many, and within land as frequent Families of Gentlemen as other where.) I could not heare of more then some three Families of Gentlemen in *Holland* and *Zeland* (for the Lords of *Nassau* are strangers), and these Gentlemen liued after the Plebeian maner of the other inhabitants, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Order of Knighthood among them. Neither are these Gentlemen (as those of *Germany*), curious to marry among themselves; for those who come to greatest honour in this Commonwealth, are either Aduocates of the Law, or sonnes of Merchants. My selfe did once in the high way meete a Gentlemans Waggon, to whom our Waggon gaue the way; and the custome in *Holland* being, that the Waggon setting forth, giue the way to all they meete, till they haue gone halfe the way, and after in like sort the way is giuen to them, and our Waggon hauing then passed more then halfe the way, the Plebeian *Hollanders* my companions were much offended with our Waggoner, that contrary to the custome he had done that honor to the Gentlemen. The vulgar sort so despise Gentlemen, or any superiour, if hee affect greatnesse, as vpon like occasions they prouerbially vse to say, If hee bee rich, let him dine twice; as if they despised rich men, of whom they stood not in neede, being content with their owne, after the manner of the *Italians*; saue that the *Italians* doe it out of pride, these out of clownishnesse, and affecting of equalitie.

Touching capitall Iudgements: Where the offences are hainous, and such as former ages haue not knowne, the Iudges inflict exquisite punishments and torments vpon the Malefactors. In such sort with strange torments the wicked person was put to death, who killed the Prince of *Orange* with a Pistoll. Theeues and Pyrates are put to death by hanging, and of all other offenders, they neuer pardon Pyrates vpon any intercession, as destroyers of traffick, vpon which their Commonwealth and priuate estates depend. The man-slayer is beheaded, and buried in the same coffin with the man he killed; and if perhaps he cannot bee apprehended, but escape into some forraigne parts, he may perhaps, but very rarely, obtaine pardon, if he can first bee reconciled with the friends of the man slaine by him: but in case he be apprehended, they cannot, or at least vse not, to scandall Iustice by pardons. But wilfull murderers, according to the circumstances of the person killed, or of the more or lesse wicked manner of the act, are put to death with more or lesse torment, and hang in iron chaines till the bodies rot, for terror to others. Coiners of money haue their bones broken vpon the wheele, a death more vsuall in *Germany* for hainous crimes: but in all torments they commonly mitigate the severity of the Law, more then the *Germans* doe; for I haue scene some executed in this manner, who were first hanged, and so had no feeling of the paine. Hee that burnes priuate (and much more publike) houses, and hee that purposeth or threatneth to burne them, though hee neuer doe the act, is himselfe burned by fier, with a marke vpon his head if the act were done; vpon his breast if it were onely purposed; or vpon his mouth, if it were onely threatned. An offender escaped by flight, how soeuer hee liue long in forraigne parts, yet if hee euer returne, bee the distance of time neuer so great, he escapeth not vnpunished. My selfe haue scene a man-slayer, who hauing liued six yeeres in forraigne parts, and then for loue of his Country returning home, was then beheaded, as if the crime had been newly committed. No man will apprehend any malefactor, nor hinder his flight, but rather thinke it a point of humanity to helpe him, only the hangman and base fellowes appointed for that office, lay hold vpon capitall offenders, so as very many escape by flight. Neither can any so base or poore man be found, excepting the hangman and his said companions, who for any reward will bee hired to do the Office of an executioner, both these actions being infamous here, as in *Germany*. Among the apprehenders, the chiefe are called Prouosts, and they of old had power to hang vagabonds, till abusing it to reuenge and rapine, it was taken from them. Vpon the rumour of any crime committed, these men with their seruants armed, are sent out into the country, to apprehend the malefactors.

The
Gentle-
men.

Capitall
Iudge-
ments.

It was credibly told me, that the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, having suddenly commanded a man to be hanged, who after, by an others confession of the fact, was found guiltles, vpon this error made a decree, that no hangman should euer lue at the *Hage*, or neerer the court then *Harlam*, to the end, he being not at hand, the Magistrate might lesse offend in deliberate or protracted iudgments. For as in vpper *Germany*, so in *Netherland*, there is litle or no distance of time, betweene the offence committed, and the execution of iudgment; whereas in *England*, these iudgments are exercised at *London* once in six weeks, & for the Country, at two or foure let times in the yeece. No man is put to death without confession of the fact, neither doe they as in *Germany*, force confession by torture, but they condemne vpon one wiues, where probable coniectures concur to proue the malefactor guilty.

Of their
warfare in
generall.

I thinke (sauiing the iudgment of the better experienced in these affaires) that the military discipline of the States Army is very commendable: For since those commonwealthes are most happy, where rewardes and punishments are most iustly giuen, surely the States neither detaine nor delay the payments due to the soldiers, nor leaue unpunished their insolencies, nor yet their wanton iniuries, either towards the subiects, or the Enemy yeelding vpon conditions. In the camp all things for food are free from all impositions, so as a man may there lue more plentifully or more frugally then in any of their Cities. And besides the soldiers pay duly giuen them, all sick & wounded persons are sent to their Hospitals, vulgarly called *Gasthausen* (that is, houses for Guests) where all things for health, food, and clenlines of the body, are phisically, plentifully, and neatly ministred to them; of which kinde of houses fairely & stately built, they haue one in each City. Also when they are recouered of their sicknesses and wounds, they are presently sent backe to the Campe or their winter Garrisons. They who are maimed in the warres, and made thereby vnfit for service, haue from them a Pension for life, or the value of the Pension in ready mony. On the other side they so punish the breakers of martiall discipline, as when bandes of Soldiers are conducted to any seruice or Garrison through the middest of their Cities or Villages, not one of them is so hardy as to leaue his rancke, to doe the least wrong to any passenger, or to take so much as a chicken or crust of bread from the Subiects by force. And while my selfe was in those parts, I remember that vpon the giuing vp of a Castle into the States hands, after Proclamation made, that no Souldier should doe the least iniury to any of those who had yeelded the same, a souldier wantonly taking one of their hats away, or changing his hat with one of them, was presently hanged vp for this small insolency.

Their Foote
and Horse.

For warre by land, they haue no great power, (I speake particularly of the vnited Prouinces, not of *Netherland* in generall, which we reade to haue of old raised an army of eighty thousand men). For since the subiects cannot be pressed to the warre, but when their owne City or Towne is besieged, and in that case their Magistrate going before them, and leading them to the wals; and since the number of them is very small, who willingly follow that profession, hereupon almost all their army consisted of strangers, and long experience hath concluded mercenary Souldiers to be vnfit for great Conquests. So as wise men thinke for this reason, that the Commonwealth of the States, is more fit, by due obseruing of their leagues and amity with confederates and neighbours, to defend their owne, then ambitiously to extend their Empire by inuading others. They haue heauy Friesland Horses, more fit to endure the Enemy charging, then to pursue him flying, (I speake not of *Flanders* and the other Prouinces yeelding good light Horses); but all the waies and passages being fenced in with ditches of water, they haue at home lesse vse of Horse, which makes them commonly sell these Horses in forraigne parts, vsing onely Mares to draw their Waggon and for other seruices of peace, which Mares are very beautifull and good.

Of their na-
uall power.

The Inhabitants of these Prouinces, by nature, education, and art, are most fit for Nauigation; & as in the exercise of all Arts, they are no lesse witty then industrious, so particularly they haue great skill in casting great Ordinance, in making gunpowder, cables,

cables, ankers, and in building ships, of all which things and whatsoever is necessary to nauall warre, they haue great abundance, the matter being bought in forraigne parts, but wrought by their owne men at home: So as they are most powerfull at Sea, neither hath any King a Nauy superior or equall to theirs, excepting onely the King of *England*. And for coniecture of their generall power at Sea, I will be bold to adde what I haue credibly heard: That one City of *Amsterdam* at this time had some hundred shippes for the warre, (or men of warre), and some foure hundred ships of Merchants well armed for defence, besides (as they said) some ten thousand Barkes, or without all doubt an vncredible number.

Therefore if perhaps the vnited Prouinces forgetting their old league with *England*, and our late merit in defending their liberty, shall at any time resolve to haue warre with *England*, (which for the good of both Nations God forbid), then are such bloody fights at Sea like to happen as former Ages neuer knew. Yet the course of those times whereof I write, gaue small probability of any such euent like to happen, for many reasons combining our minds together. First the happy amity that hath beene time out of mind betweene our Nations. Next the bond of loue on our part, towards those wee haue preferred from bondage, and the like bond of their thankfulness towards vs, which howsoeuer ambition may neglect or despise, yet neuer any Nation was more obliged to another in that kind, and so long as the memory thereof can liue, it must needs quench all malice betweene vs. Besides, that they being not able to raise an Army of their owne men by Land, aswell for want of men, as because it must consist altogether of voluntaries, no man being bound to serue in the warre, except his Towne be besieged, and his owne Magistrate leade him to the walles; they haue hitherto happily vsed, and may euer so vse, our men for souldiers, (wherein *Britany* aboundeth aboue all other Nations, neither doe they by much so esteeme the auxiliary bands of any other Nation as of ours). Lastly, in that they wanting many necessaries of their owne, and yet abounding in all things by trafficke, cannot long subsist without the freedome thereof; and nothing is so powerfull to diminish their wealth, and to raise ciuill discords among them, as the barring of this freedome, which then seemed more easie or lesse difficult to the King of *England*, then to any other neighbour Prince, or (I will boldly say) to all other neighbour Princes ioined together against them, (they hauing strength of their owne to maintaine that freedome by Sea, and being able with the onely support of *Britany*, to defend themselves by land against all other Enemies). For they had onely three passages to Sea, one by *Vlissing* in *Zeland*, another by *Brill*, vpon the South-west Coast of *Holland*, and a third narrow passage by the Island *Fly*, to the *Tassell*, on the North-east side of *Holland*, whereof the two first were guarded by the said two strong Cities, with the Forts belonging to them, all kept by Garrisons of English Souldiers, and the stopping or restraining of the third, seemed lesse difficult to the Nauy of *Britany*, then to the power of any other Enemy. At this time when I passed through these parts (of which time I write) the vnited Prouinces much complained of the English for taking their goods at Sea, & hindering their free traffick: wherein they should haue considered, that they caused the warre with *Spaine*, which we bore onely to second them. And if our Merchants were forced to leaue the trafficke of *Spaine*, where they had great freedome and amitie onely for their sakes, how could they thinke it iust and equal, that they should free lie supplie *Spaine* with food and necessaries for warre? so as the very commodities of *England* could not then be vented into *Spaine*, but onely by Flemmish (and some few Scottish) ships and Marriners, except they desired to make the warre Eternall, by which they onely grew rich, in which case our proiect was more iust, who for a time made war, that we might after liue in peace. And whereas they then complained that not only prohibited wares carried to prohibited places; but also other their commodities carried to friends, were spoiled by our men of war, (which perhaps through the insolency of Captaines and Souldiers, might sometimes happen); no doubt these iniuries were rare, and neuer borne with by the Queene or inferiour Magistrates; and they could not bee ignorant how hardly the insolency of Souldiers can be restrained
by

by land, & much more by sea. For all good Englishmen I may professe; that they abstaining from prohibited traffick, no good Englishmen wished good successe or impunity to any English ships exercising piracy, especially against so neare confederates. These complaints I well remember to haue been at that time frequent in those parts, I know not how since appeased or continuing. And because the Q. of England had disbursed much treasure for their safety, which they were bound to repay at the end of the warre, and threatned to deduct these spoiles out of the same, many then feared, lest this difference might in processe of time breed discord between England and those Prouinces. Also because the Townes and Forts giuen to the Queene as pledges for money disbursed, were then kept with weake Garrisons, ouer-topped in number by the very Citizens, it was then thought, that the States might take them by force, if our Gouvernours had not watchfull eye vpon their designs, and changes of counsell. In generall, good men on both sides are to wish the continuance of Peace betweene England and these Prouinces, by which both Common wealths haue long had, and may still haue vnspcakable benefit, and that the rather, because we neuer yet had warre but perpetual amity together, neither can any war proue more bloody or mischieuous to either part, then that betweene our selues. To conclude, happie be the makers, cursed the breakers of our peace.

FINIS.

Besides the faults literall, and easie to be vnderstood, these errors haue escaped.

PART. I.

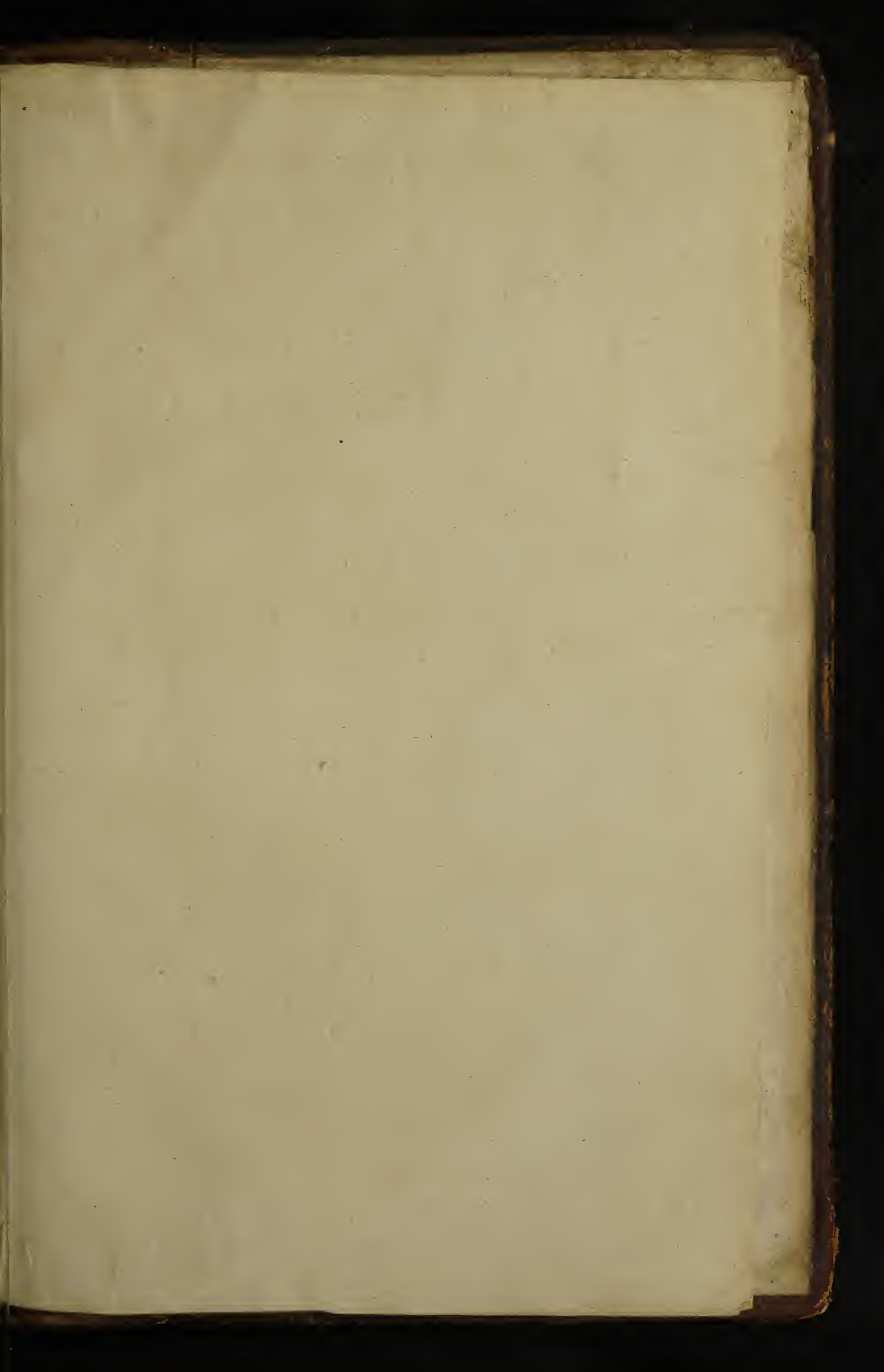
Page 13, line 40. read *Poets*. p. 153, 47. r. 867. p. 451, 37. r. *house of*. p. 581, 34. r. *on the other*. p. 693, 4. r. *she paid*. p. 831, 53. r. *of Walsin- tree*. p. 891, 18. r. *Georgij*. and 1, 26. r. *Fof. arins* and 1, 34. r. *Cornari*. and 1, 35. r. *Ormani*. p. 901, 4. r. *lower part*. p. 1151, 27. r. *Puteu*. p. 1241, 37. r. *minsh Gaze*. p. 1321, 13. r. *Mole*. (4). p. 1501, 19. r. *del Fiore*. p. 1831, 14. put out these words. *The first day in the morning I rode thither*. p. 2581, 55. r. *Naxos*, and *Meline* ninety.

PART. II.

p. 141, 43. r. *Belike*. p. 311, 50. r. *possessed*. p. 321, 2. r. *Longford* and 1, 28. r. *one hundred*. p. 421, 33. r. *Erington*. p. 471, 33. *had that*. p. 531, 41. r. *seven pounds* and 1, 42. r. *three pound*. p. 541, 27. r. *Ceryll*. p. 611, 33. r. *weeke each*. p. 691, 22. r. *thousand pounds*. p. 771, 21. r. *fine on*. p. 891, 17. r. *Lordship*. p. 901, 49. r. *done*. p. 981, 17. r. *submitted*. p. 1011, 17. r. *giuing*. p. 1061, 33. r. *daily*. p. 1091, 47. r. *which*. p. 1201, 20. r. *Guire*. p. 1211, 39. r. *these*. p. 1311, 17. r. *abherents*. p. 1371, 25. r. *them for*. p. 1381, 7. r. *onely as*. p. 1431, 16. r. *ales*. p. 1521, 34. put out, *gine* & *leave*. p. 1561, 40. r. *his*. p. 1681, 12. r. 14. p. 1691, 46. r. *inaccessable*. p. 1851, 124. r. *signed*. p. 2291, 10. r. *your*. p. 2571, 11. r. *Barkley*.

PART. III.

p. 51, 25. r. *Magni*. p. 91, 9. r. *Stellas*. and 1, 42. put out, *is*. p. 221, 33. r. *death*. *First in forraigne parts, when*. p. 241, 12. r. *sonnes*. and 1, 51. r. *premedo*. p. 281, 32. r. *invention whereof*. p. 511, 19. r. *courteous*. and 1, 25. r. *inoyed them*. and 1, 26. r. *wish white*. p. 521, 36. r. *marro*. p. 641, 44. r. *for the*. p. 741, 17. r. *Wandelscia*. p. 801, 7. r. *they buy*. and 1, 35. r. *pay them*. and 1, 53. r. *linnen clothes*. p. 851, 54. r. *sp one*. p. 881, 14. r. *meale of* & *be*. p. 911, 10. r. *hath these*. p. 1051, 47. r. *Spoleto*. and 1, 50. r. *Lamoro*. p. 1201, 1. r. *of Istimus*. & *neck of land*. p. 1421, 17. r. *exporting*. p. 1491, 25. r. *as the*. p. 1581, 12. r. *Shannon*. p. 1561, 43. r. *humiditie*. p. 1601, 55. r. *large Hauens*. p. 1611, 4. r. *for part*. p. 1641, 12. r. *Cowes*. p. 1681, 48. r. *No- bles women*. p. 1701, 45. r. *troues*. and 1, 49. r. *collers*. p. 1771, 42. r. *broad*. p. 1781, 12. r. *fluffes*. p. 1791, 12. r. *Like is*. p. 1811, 47. r. *in Fr. nce*. p. 1841, 15. r. *borne she*. p. 1931, 69. r. *Dietas*. and 1, 52. r. *Dietas*. p. 1971, 12. r. *Schwaben*. p. 1981, 25. r. *French as*. p. 1991, 55. r. *consisting*. p. 2021, 23. r. *of fixtence*. p. 2081, 45. r. *Coiners*. p. 2311, 37. r. *das*. p. 2401, 47. are chosen she. p. 2011, 2. r. *six* & *Plebeans*. p. 2441, 4. r. *this Senate*.



4/5 204 11/2 20

